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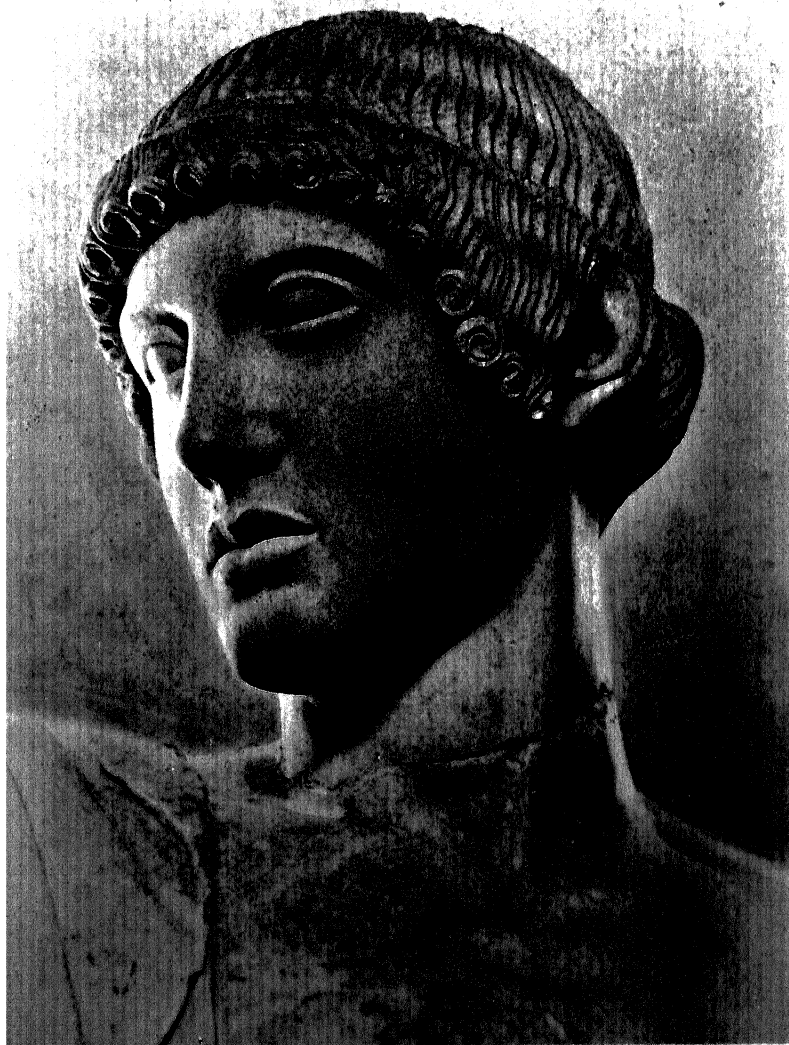












HEAD OF APOLLO FROM THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE  
OF ZEUS, OLYMPIA

*Photograph by Walter Hege, Weimar; Courtesy Deutscher Kunstverlag*

*The*  
MEDITERRANEAN WORLD  
*In* ANCIENT TIMES

By

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*A volume of the*

RONALD SERIES IN HISTORY

*Edited by* ROBERT C. BINKLEY, Western Reserve University, *and*  
RALPH H. GABRIEL, Yale University

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## PREFACE

THE CENTRAL PURPOSE of this book is to present the ancient Mediterranean world as a whole, with emphasis on the controlling factors in its development at successive periods, and to set before the student, as far as the limitations of a text-book permit, those aspects of the ancient civilizations which are most significant in the general study of history. Hence the time-honored division of Ancient History into three compartments has been discarded in favor of a more unified plan which has been found practicable in actual teaching. The relationship of the Mediterranean states to their eastern neighbors is treated more fully than is customary, both because of its increased significance in the light of recent research, and because of the lack of reading on this topic which is readily available to undergraduates.

The maps were prepared especially for this book and as far as possible include all places mentioned in the text. The suggestions for reading are arranged in topical studies; they do not in any sense constitute a bibliography, but afford a selection of books suitable for the use of college students.

The illustrations have been chosen on the basis of close integration with the text and of the quality of the reproductions available. Preference has been given to significant material which is not often reproduced, and especially to objects in American collections. My thanks are due to many members of museum staffs and to other scholars in this country and abroad for their generous cooperation, and particularly to Professor Walter Agard of the University of Wisconsin, and to Dr. John A. Wilson, Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Among the members of the staff of the Oriental Institute who have given valued guidance in their difficult and ever-changing field, Dr. Waldo Dubberstein saved me from many pitfalls by his critical reading of the earlier chapters, and with Drs. Raymond Bowman and Neilson Debevoise supplied much information from unpublished sources. Among the friends whose specific advice and criticism, and still more their discussion of general historical problems, have helped me more than I can say, I owe especial thanks to Professor Robert C. Binkley, who has afforded a constant stimulus by his freshness of approach, breadth of interest, and clarity of thought.

EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD

Sweet Briar College  
May, 1938



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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

NOTE: Since early chronology cannot be definitely established, all dates before about 2000 B.C. are conjectural and accurate dating is seldom possible before about 500 B.C. The dates given in the earlier tables are therefore to be taken as approximate; in some cases scholarly chronologies differ greatly.

### I. THE EARLIEST AGES

---

Extent of geological time perhaps 200,000,000 years  
Period of human development perhaps 500,000 years or more  
Earliest fossil remains of man perhaps c. 250,000 B.C.

#### *The Palæolithic Age:*

earliest chipped flint tools from the Pleistocene period of the Quaternary during the Ice Ages, perhaps 25,000 B.C.  
cave-paintings, ivory and bone carvings, etc., from the Upper Palæolithic Age in the Magdalenian period, about 16,000 B.C.

#### *The Neolithic Age:*

established between about 10,000 and 7000 B.C. in the East:  
by about 5000 B.C. in the West  
about 5000 B.C.: Painted Pottery Folk in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Elam, and the Iranian Plateau  
*Mesopotamia:* early settlements at Tepe Gawra, Tell Arpachiyah, and other sites, followed by the Obeid period (architecture, increased use of copper)  
*Syria:* neolithic strata at Jericho and Ras Shamra  
*Egypt:* Tasian and Badarian cultures  
early predynastic culture

#### *The Chalcolithic Age, from about 4000 B.C. in the East:*

*Mesopotamia:* Uruk period, monumental architecture  
Jemdet Nasr period: coming of Sumerians; invention of writing  
c. 3100 B.C., First Dynasty of Ur  
*Egypt:* formation of kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt; invention of writing  
c. 3200 B.C., First Dynasty of united Egypt  
*Crete and the Ægean:* c. 3200 B.C., Early Minoan Age in Crete  
early Helladic culture in Greece and the Ægean

#### *Copper Revolution, about 3000 B.C.:*

expansion of commercial and cultural contacts

For fuller detail on this period see M. Burkitt & V. G. Childe,  
"A Chronological Table of Prehistory," *Antiquity* VI (1932), 185-205.

---

## II. THE EARLY KINGDOMS: c. 3200-1750 B.C.

NOTE: In this and subsequent tables, major invasions are italicized, and are inserted at the approximate period of their greatest importance.

EGYPT	MESOPOTAMIA	ASIA MINOR & THE ÆGEAN	OTHER DISTRICTS
3200-2270 Old Kingdom, Dynasties I-VI	3100 1st Dynasty of Ur Sumerian & Semitic city dynasties	3200 - 2200 Early Minoan Period in Crete 3000 Troy I Helladic Culture in Cyclades & Greece	3000-2500 Indus Valley Culture
2720-2560 Pyramid Age IVth Dynasty (Khufu, Khafre)	2550 Sargon of Akkad  2400-2300 Gutian supremacy		c. 2500 <i>Indo-European</i> <i>migrations</i> begin
2270-2100 Dark Ages Dynasties VII-X	2200 IIIrd Dynasty of Ur Gudea of Lagash <i>Amorite Invasions</i>	2200 - 1600 Middle Minoan, Cretan sea power 2000 Fall of Troy II Assyrian colonies in Cappadocia	Swiss & Italian lake villages <i>Indo-Iranians</i> south of Caspian; <i>western</i> <i>Indo-Europeans</i> in Balkans, Asia Minor, & western Europe
2100-1788 Middle Kingdom, Dynasties XI-XII (Amenemhet, Sesostris)	2049 - 1750 Amorite Dynasty of Babylonia 1947 - 1905 Hammurabi <i>Hurrian Expansion</i> <i>Kassites</i> invade Babylonia	1800 Old Hittite Kingdom	
BRONZE AGE BEGINS IN THE EAST: c. 2000-1750 B.C.			
1788 <i>Hyksos Invasions</i>	1749 Kassite Dynasty	1750 Murshil I: Hittites raid Babylon	

## III. EMPIRES AND INVASIONS: c. 1750-1000 B.C.

EGYPT	HITTITES	SYRIA
		Age of Hebrew patriarchs
1788-1580 Hyksos rule	1650 fall of Old Kingdom	Hurrian states
		<i>Habiru raids</i>
1580 - 1555 Ahmose restores Theban rule	1650-1480 Dark Ages	
1555-712 New Kingdom (Em- pire)		
1555-1350 Dynasty XVIII		1500-1350 Kingdom of Mitanni
1540-1501 Thutmose I		
1501-1477 Hatshepsut & Thut- mose III	1480 New Kingdom	
1411-1375 Amenhotep III	1435 Hattushil II	<i>Aramaean</i>
1375 - 1358 Amarna Age, Ikhnaton	1380-1345 Shuppiluliuma	1425 Confederacy of Israel
1350-1200 Dynasty XIX	1350 Hittites conquer Mitanni	
1313-1292 Seti I	1345-1320 Murshil II	<i>Achaean Expansion</i>
1292-1225 Ramses II		
Wars of Egypt and the Hittites for Control of Syria		
1288 Battle of Kadesh		
1280-1260 Hattushil III		
1272 Treaty of Ramses & Hattushil		
1223 Sea Raiders attack Egypt		
c. 1200 <i>Invasions and Raids of the Peoples of the Sea</i>		
1200-1090 Dynasty X	1190 Fall of Hittite Kingdom	Philistine Settlements
Ramses III-XII		1175 Confederacy of Judah
		Rise of Aramaic cities
		1015 Hebrew monarchy Saul

## THE IRON AGE

III (*Continued*)

MESOPOTAMIA	CRETE & ÆGEAN	OTHER DISTRICTS
1720 Samsi-Adad I	1700 ruin of palace at Cnossus	Terra mara settlements in Italy;
1750-1171 Kassite rule in Baby- lonia		Bronze Age in the West
1650-1480 Dark Ages	1600-1450 Late Minoan Age growth of Mycenæan king- doms <i>Indo-European invasions</i> of Balkans and Asia Minor	
	1450 destruction of palace at Cnossus end of Cretan power Great Age of Troy	<i>Indo-Iranian settlements</i> in In- dia and Iranian plateau
<i>Invasions</i>	1400-1100 Mycenæan supremacy	
1380-1341 Assur-uballit	<i>Achæan expansion</i>	
		<i>Indo-European invasions</i> of Italy; formation of Italic tribes
1260-1232 Tukulti-Urta I	<i>Sea Raiders</i>	
	1184 fall of Troy	Voyages of Sea Raiders to the West?
1171 Elam destroys Kassite power		
1146-1123 Nebuchadrezzar I of Babylonia		
1115-1102 Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria	1100 <i>Dorian Invasions</i> Æolian and Ionian colonies in Asia Minor	

## THE IRON AGE

## IV. THE EARLY IRON AGE, ASSYRIA, AND HELLAS: 1000-550 B.C.

EGYPT	SYRIA	ASSYRIA & BABYLONIA	HIGHLANDS & IRAN
1090-945 Dynasty XXI (Theban priests)	Phœnician commerce 975-935 Solomon 969 - 936 Ahiiram of Tyre	Dark Ages	Hurri form kingdom of Urartu
945-712 Libyan dynasties	933 division of Hebrew kingdom  885-874 Omri of Israel  853 Syrian coalition vs. Assyria; battle of Qarqara	<i>Arameans</i> in Babylonia 911-889 Adad-nirari II  884-612 Assyrian Empire 884-859 Assurnasirpal 859-824 Shalmaneser III  745 - 727 Tiglath-Pileser III Merodach-baladan in Babylonia 722-704 Sargon II	<i>Iranian invasions</i> Medes & Persians occupy Iranian plateau  840 Sarduris I of Urartu  750 Sarduris II: alliance of Urartu & Syria  708 - 635 Deioces of Media
718 Piankhi	722 fall of Samaria		
712-663 Ethiopian rulers	<i>Cimmerian and Scythian Invasions</i> 708-680 Sennacherib 680-669 Esarhaddon		Rusas I: alliance
670-663 Assyrian supremacy			Ruin of Urartu by Cimmerians
663-525 Saite Dynasty 663 - 609 Psammetichus I 650 f. of Naucratis			655 - 633 Phraortes of Media 633 - 584 Cyaxares of Media 614 Medes capture Assur
	621 Deuteronomic Code	625 revolt of Chaldean Nabopolassar  612 fall of Nineveh 612-539 Chaldean Empire	612 - 549 Median Empire 585 Median treaty
609-593 Necho II	597 fall of Jerusalem	605 - 562 Nebuchadnezzar	584 - 549 Astyages of Media 559 Cyrus of Persia, king of Anshan
569-525 Amasis	586 - 539 Babylonian Captivity	556 - 539 Nabonaid & Belshazzar	

IV (*Continued*)

ASIA MINOR	GREECE	WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN
formation of Phrygia	Dark Ages	c. 1000 f. of Gades Villanovan culture in Italy Latins & Sabines on site of Rome Phœnician trading posts 10th-8th cc. Etruscans colonize Italy Kingdom of Tartessus
	Age of Homer	
	Greek monarchies	
	Greek aristocracies	825 f. of Carthage
	776 1st Olympiad	770 Greeks at Cumæ? 753 traditional founding of Rome
formation of Lydia	c. 750 Hesiod	753-509 regal period at Rome
	735-550 Age of Greek Colonization	
	735-715 Spartan conquest of Messenia	c. 735 f. of Syracuse
	unification of Attica	
Midas of Phrygia	715-665? Pheidon of Argos	710 f. of Tarentum
	Lelantine War	
<i>Cimmerian invasions</i>	Greek tyrannies	
e of Urartu & Phrygia		Etruscan domination in Italy
685-652 Gyges of Lydia		664? law code of Zaleucus
	655 Cypselus of Corinth	
	Orthagoras of Sicyon	
	630 Messenian revolt	c. 630 - 550 Arganthonius of Tartessus
	revolution at Megara	
	621 Draconian code	
	610 "Reforms of Lycurgus"	600 f. of Marseilles
with Alyattes of Lydia	594 constitution of Solon	
	Periander of Corinth	
	586 Pittacus of Mytilene	580 f. of Acragas c. 570 Phalaris
560-546 Cræsus of Lydia; conquest of Asiatic Greeks	560-528 Pisistratus of Athens	560 f. of Alalia
	early Greek philosophy	
	550 f. of Byzantium	550 fall of Tartessus

## V. GREECE, PERSIA, AND THE WEST: 550-323 B.C.

PERSIAN EMPIRE	GREECE	THE WEST
550-529 Cyrus the Great		
550-549 conquest of Media		
546 conquest of Lydia		
545 Persian conquest of Asiatic Greeks		
546-539 eastern conquests		
539 surrender of Babylon	539-524 Polycrates of Samos	535 battle of Alalia
return of Hebrew exiles		530 Pythagoras at Croton
529-523 Cambyses: conquest of Egypt	528 death of Pisistratus	
521-486 Darius I		Carthaginian supremacy in western seas
512 Scythian expedition	510 fall of Hippias	510 fall of Sybaris
	508-502 reforms of Cleisthenes	509 Roman republic; treaty of Rome & Carthage
	505 Peloponnesian League	
499-494 revolt of the Ionian Greeks	493-492 Themistocles archon	493 Roman treaty with Latins
492 expedition of Mardonius		491-478 Gelon of Syracuse
490 expedition of Datis & Artaphernes: Marathon		485 alliance of Gelon & Theron
486-464 Xerxes	483 naval program of Themistocles	
480 expedition of Xerxes: Thermopylæ, Salamis		480 battle of Himera
479 Plataea, Mt. Mycale		478-466 Hiero of Syracuse
	478 Confederacy of Delos	476 battle of Cumæ
467? Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon River		
464-424 Artaxerxes I	464 revolt of helots	Carthaginian imperialism in north Africa
	461-431 Periclean Age	459-453 Ducetius in Sicily
	460-445 1st Peloponnesian War	Latin wars with Volscians, etc.
454 Persian capture of Athenian fleet in Egypt		449 Laws of XII Tables
448 peace between Greece and Persia		
	445 Thirty Years' Peace	
	full development of Periclean democracy	
	435-433 war of Corcyra & Corinth	
	431-404 Peloponnesian War	
	429 death of Pericles	
	421 Peace of Nicias	
	416 reduction of Melos	
	415-413 Sicilian expedition	
	413 renewal of war in Greece	
	411 oligarchy in Athens	
Cooperation of Sparta and Persia against Athens		
	405 Ægospotami	405-367 Dionysius of Syracuse
404-359 Artaxerxes II	404 surrender of Athens	

V (Continued)

PERSIAN EMPIRE	GREECE	THE WEST
401 Cyrus and the Ten Thousand	399 death of Socrates	<i>Gauls in the Po Valley</i>
396 Campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia Minor	394 battle of Cnidus	396 Roman capture of Veii
	Corinthian War	390 Gallic sack of Rome
387-386 The King's Peace	(Peace of Antalcidas)	
	387-371 Spartan supremacy	
	378 2nd Athenian confederacy	
	374-370 Jason of Pheræ	
	371 battle of Leuctra	
	371-362 Theban hegemony	367 Sexto-Licinian Laws
	362 battle of Mantinea	360 Roman supremacy over Latins
359-338 Artaxerxes Ochus	359-336 Philip II of Macedon	<i>Gauls in Illyria</i>
	355-352 Phocian hegemony	354 Roman treaty with Samnites
	354 archonship of Eubulus	Samnite aggression vs. Greeks
353 death of Mausolus of Caria		348 treaty of Rome & Carthage
	346 Peace of Philocrates	344-337 Timoleon at Syracuse
		343-341 1st Samnite War
		340 Latin revolt
	338 battle of Chaeronea	
	Hellenic Congress	
336-330 Darius III	336-323 Alexander of Macedon	
336-324 Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire		
	334 battle of Granicus River	
	333 Issus	
	332 siege of Tyre	
	annexation of Egypt	
	foundation of Alexandria	
	331 battle of Gaugamela (Arbela)	
	annexation of Babylonia, Persia, etc.	
	330-324 eastern campaigns	327-304 2nd Samnite War
	323 death of Alexander	321 battle of Caudine Forks

## VI. THE HELLENISTIC MONARCHIES AND ROME: 323-121 B.C.

THE EASTERN MONARCHIES	MACEDONIA & GREECE	ROME & THE WEST
323-276 wars of the Successors	323 Lamian War	316-289 Agathocles of Syracuse
323-316 regency		312 censorship of Appius Claudius
305 Successors take royal titles	Hellenic colonization of Asia	298-290 3rd Samnite War
305-283 Ptolemy I	301 Zeno founds the Stoa	295 battle of Sentinum
305-281 Seleucus I		
301 battle of Ipsus	290 expansion of Ætolian League	
285-246 Ptolemy II Philadelphus		287 Hortensian Law
281 battle of Corupedium	280 revival of Achæan League	282-272 war with Pyrrhus & Tarentum
281-261 Antiochus I		
279 <i>Invasions of the Celts</i>		
rise of Pergamum	279-239 Antigonus Gonatas	269-215 Hiero of Syracuse
263-241 Eumenes I of Pergamum	266-261 Chremonidean War	269 silver coined at Rome
261-247 Antiochus II	259 battle of Cos	264-241 1st Punic War
250 independence of Bactria	251 rise of Aratus	260 battle of Mylæ
247 Arsacid era in Parthia	245 battle of Cnidus	249 battle of Drepana
247-226 Seleucus II	244 Agis IV of Sparta	242 battle of Ægatian Islands
246-221 Ptolemy III Euergetes	238-229 Demetrius II	Carthaginian imperialism in Spain
241-197 Attalus I of Pergamum		
	229-221 Antigonus Doson	232 Flaminius tribune
	229 liberation of Athens	230-228 Illyrian War
	226 reforms of Cleomenes	227 provinces of Sicily, Sardinia & Corsica
226-223 Seleucus III	225 Hellenic League	225 defeat of Gauls at Telamon
223-187 Antiochus III the Great	222 battle of Sellasia	218-201 2nd Punic War
221-203 Ptolemy IV Philopator	221-179 Philip V	217 battle of Trasimene
		Fabius dictator
217 battle of Raphia	215-205 1st Macedonian War	216 battle of Cannæ
	207 revolution of Nabis	214 revolt of Syracuse
203-181 Ptolemy V Epiphanes		206 Roman conquest of Spain
	200-197 2nd Macedonian War	202 battle of Zama
	197 battle of Cynoscephalæ	
197-159 Eumenes II	196 Flamininus proclaims Greek freedom	
191-189 Asiatic War of Antiochus III and Ætolian League against Rome		184 censorship of Cato
189 battle of Magnesia	179-168 Perseus of Macedon	
175-163 Antiochus IV Epiphanes		
171-138 Mithradates I of Parthia	171-168 3rd Macedonian War	
165-135 <i>Saca invasions of Bactria</i>	168 battle of Pydna; end of Antigonid rule	167 end of Roman war-tax
159-138 Attalus II of Pergamum		
	148 province of Macedonia	149-146 3rd Punic War
Chinese envoy visits Bactria	146 destruction of Corinth	146 fall of Carthage
138-133 Attalus III of Pergamum		143-133 Numantine War
133 Pergamum bequeathed to Rome		135-132 Sicilian slave war
132-129 revolt of Aristonicus		133 tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus
129 defeat of Antiochus VII by Parthia		129 Pergamum made province of Asia
123-87 Mithradates II of Parthia		123-121 Gaius Gracchus
121 diplomatic relations of Parthia & China		

VII. THE END OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC: 120-27 B.C.

ROME & ITALY	FOREIGN AFFAIRS
107 1st consulship of Marius	121-101 <i>invasions of Cimbri &amp; Teutones</i>
104-100 consulships of Marius	111-105 Jugurthine War
	105 battle of Arausio
99 Saturninus & Glaucia	102 battle of Aquæ Sextiæ
91 legislation of Drusus	101-100 aggression of Mithradates & Nicomedes
90-89 Social War	91 aggression of Mithradates & Tigranes
88 consulship of Sulla; Sulpician Laws	89-85 1st Mithradatic War
87 consulship of Cinna	88 massacre of Italians in Asia
86 6th consulship of Marius; proscriptions	
83-82 return of Sulla; 1st Civil War	86 battle of Chæronea
82-79 dictatorship of Sulla	
78-71 war with Sertorius in Spain	75 legacy of Bithynia to Rome
73-71 revolt of Spartacus	74-63 2nd Mithradatic War
70 consulship of Pompey & Crassus	74-67 command of Lucullus
	67 Pompey's command against the pirates
	66-62 Pompey's command in the East
	64 end of the Seleucid dynasty
63 consulship of Cicero	
conspiracy of Catiline	
60-49 1st Triumvirate	
59 consulship of Cæsar	58-49 Cæsar's conquest of Gaul
58 exile of Cicero	52 siege of Alesia
56 conference at Luca	54 Crassus' Parthian campaign
55 consulship of Crassus & Pompey	53 battle of Carrhæ
52 riots of Clodius & Milo	
Pompey sole consul	
49-44 2nd Civil War	
48 battle of Pharsalus: dictatorship of Cæsar	
46 battle of Thapsus	
45 battle of Munda	
44 assassination of Cæsar	
43-33 2nd Triumvirate	
42 3rd Civil War: Philippi	40 Parthian invasion of Asia Minor & Syria
40 Peace of Brundisium	
37 renewal of Triumvirate	
34 Donations of Alexandria	36 Antony's Parthian expedition
31 battle of Actium	
29 triumph of Octavian	
27 "Restoration of the Republic"	

## VIII. THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE: 27 B.C.-A.D. 284

ADMINISTRATION	PROVINCES & FRONTIERS
	27 B.C.-A.D. 14 Augustus
23 revision of constitution	20 Parthian settlement 16-9 annexation of Danube provinces A.D. 9 defeat of Varus
	A.D. 14-68 Julio-Claudian Emperors
14-37 Tiberius	
37-41 Gaius	
41-54 Claudius	43 annexation of Britain 50 direct voyages to India begin 51-77 Vologases I of Parthia 58-63 Parthian War 63 coronation of Tiridates at Rome 66-70 Jewish War
54-68 Nero	
	68-69 Year of the Four Emperors
Galba, Otho, Vitellius	
	69-96 The Flavian Dynasty
69-79 Vespasian	69 revolt of Civilis 70 capture of Jerusalem formation of <i>limes</i> in Germany 85-89 Dacian wars
extension of franchise	
79-81 Titus	
81-96 Domitian	
	96-180 The "Good Emperors"
96-98 Nerva	
98-117 Trajan	106?-130 Osroes of Parthia 101, 105-106 Dacian Wars 114-116 Parthian War 117 revolts in the East 132-135 Jewish Wars 135 <i>Alan invasion</i> of Asia Minor 148-191 Vologases III of Parthia 161-166 Parthian War 167-175, 177-180 wars with Quadi, Marcomanni, etc. direct commerce with China
paternalism in the provinces & Italy	
117-138 Hadrian	
development of bureaucracy & civil law	
138-161 Antoninus Pius	
161-180 Marcus Aurelius	
161-169 Lucius Verus	
166 plague	
175 revolt of Avidius Cassius	
180-192 Commodus	
	193-235 Military Monarchy: the Severi
193 Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus	
193-211 Septimius Severus	196, 197-199 Parthian War 197 breakdown of Parthian rule 208? Sasanid era begins
permanent garrison in Italy	
211-217 Caracalla	
212 edict of citizenship	
218-222 Elagabalus	226 coronation of Ardashir of Persia 232-233 Persian Wars
222-235 Alexander Severus	
	235-284 Military Anarchy
235-253 Maximinus, Gordians, Philip, Decius, Gallus and others	Persian Wars; <i>Gothic, Sarmatian, Frankish, Vandal invasions</i>
253-260 Valerian	259-273 Gallo-Roman Empire 260 capture of Valerian by Sapor <i>Gothic invasions</i> 270 abandonment of Dacia 271-272 revolt of Palmyra
253-268 Gallienus	
268-270 Claudius Gothicus	
270-275 Aurelian	
276-284 Probus, Carus, Carinus	

## IX. THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE: A.D. 337-641

284-305 Diocletian  
 286-305 Maximian  
 293 Galerius & Constantius, Cæsars  
 306-313 wars of succession  
 307-337 Constantine; sole ruler 324-337  
 307-324 Licinius  
 337-340 Constantine II  
 337-350 Constans  
 337-360 Constantius II  
 c. 350 formation of empire of Huns  
 360-363 Julian  
 363-364 Jovian  
 364-375 Valentinian I  
 364-378 Valens  
 367-383 Gratian  
 375-392 Valentinian II  
 378 battle of Adrianople  
 378-395 Theodosius I, the Great

## THE EAST

## THE WEST

395-408 Arcadius

396-410

408-450 Theodosius II

438 Theodosian Code

450-457 Marcian

457-474 Leo I

473-474 Leo II

474-491 Zeno

491-518 Anastasius

506 treaty with Persians

518-527 Justin

527-565 Justinian

529-534 publication of *Corpus Juris Civilis*

533-534 reconquest of Africa

535-555 reconquest of Italy

610-641 Heraclius

627 Roman victory over Persians

633-651 Mohammedan conquest of Syria, Egypt,  
Persia

636 defeat of Heraclius by Moslems in Syria

395-423 Honorius

*attacks of Alaric & the Visigoths*

406 Vandal, Burgundian, Frankish invasions

410 sack of Rome by Alaric

412-418 Visigoths settle in Gaul &amp; Spain

423-455 Valentinian III

427-455 Aetius Master of Soldiers

429 Vandals in Africa

439 Vandals seize Carthage

451 defeat of Huns in Gaul

455 Maximus

Vandal sack of Rome

455-472 Ricimer Master of Soldiers

476 end of line of emperors in the West:

Odoacar rules in Italy

481-511 Clovis king of Franks

488 Ostrogoths invade Italy

493-526 Theodoric king of Ostrogoths

568 Lombard invasions of Italy



Part I

CITY-STATE, TRIBE, AND EMPIRE



# I

## THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

*Thus the world is constantly renewed and human life undergoes its cycles of change. While some peoples increase, others decline; so in a brief space the generations of living creatures are transformed and like racers pass on the torch of life.* —Lucretius

THE FIELD OF ANCIENT HISTORY is a wide one, that of the "inhabited world" about the Mediterranean Sea. Egypt, the Fertile Crescent which arches from the southeast corner of the Mediterranean to the head of the Persian Gulf, and the Highland Zone which lies north and east of the Fertile Crescent, all belong geographically and historically to the Mediterranean world. The Iranian plateau was linked with the Fertile Crescent and the Highland Zone by commercial and cultural contacts, but usually lay outside the sphere of Mediterranean politics. Northwestern Europe became an integral part of the ancient world under the Roman Empire.

Chronologically, the ancient world extends from the dawn of history to the beginning of the Middle Ages, a span of more than 4,500 years. It includes the whole course of the ancient empires of the Near East and of classical Greece and Rome, from the earliest known political developments to the fall of the most extensive and lasting empire which the western world has yet experienced. To the modern student this period may seem too remote to have any bearing on his own life. But its very remoteness is of value for the study of history. The drama of the ancient world was finished more than a thousand years ago; its broader outlines may now be grasped in a sweep of time and space which compensates for the loss of much valuable detail. Its action and characters are seen in clearer perspective than those of times which have played a more intimate part in shaping our present loyalties and antagonisms.

The ancient civilizations comprehend the greater portion of our history. The mediæval and modern periods have a time span scarcely more than a quarter as long as that from the dawn of history in the Near East to the end of the Roman domination of the Mediterranean world, and a few centuries less than elapsed between the first dynasty of Egypt and her great imperial age. During this relatively short period, a new western civilization has developed, but inheritances from the ancient world have provided a considerable measure of historical continuity. The inner disintegration of classical

culture in its later stages so modified many institutions that they could be more readily assimilated by the successor-states which grew up in the former lands of the Roman Empire. The mediæval church was Roman in its organization and political theory, and based its educational system on the Roman rhetorical schools. The renaissance movements of the twelfth century and later renewed the direct influence of a wider range of classical literature, philosophy, and art, while the new national governments found useful precedents in Roman law. For good or ill these elements from the ancient world had their part in the development of modern civilization long before its present rapid technological transformation began.

### THE RECOVERY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

Our own generation has added reason for the study of the ancient world. Until a century ago our knowledge of antiquity was gained chiefly from the works of Hebrew, Greek, and Roman writers, whose sources of information about the earliest periods were very limited. For later centuries there are contemporary accounts, but even historians who intended their work for posterity had no means of knowing what future scholars would require of them. In the sixteenth century, while the surviving monuments of the past were still being destroyed by greed, neglect, or vandalism, archæological interest increased. Thereafter collections of antiquities became fashionable, and learned societies were formed for their study and for that of ancient buildings and literature.

During the nineteenth century the records of Egypt and Babylonia, inscribed on stone, papyrus, or clay tablets, began to be made available to scholars by the deciphering of hieroglyphic and cuneiform writing. This task was given fresh impetus by the deciphering of Hittite cuneiform during the World War, and our understanding of other ancient languages has constantly increased in recent years. These studies and a century of excavation in the Near East have greatly extended our knowledge of ancient civilizations and have restored to history many peoples whose very names were forgotten, but who exerted a decisive influence on better known countries. The work has been facilitated in the last few years by more favorable political conditions in the Near East, by improved techniques and tools for excavation, preservation, and recording of finds, and by the use of comparative methods of study.

In 1870 Schliemann amazed the world by discovering at Hissarlik in western Asia Minor, and later at Mycenæ and Tiryns in Greece, the ruins of such cities as Homer described in his epics of the Trojan War, to which scholars had denied any historical reality. Many expeditions were sent to the new kingdom of Greece, and notable ancient cities were freed from the earth and debris with which centuries of decay and neglect had covered

them, and were studied in relation to the written records and to each other. Early in the present century the independence of Crete made it possible for Sir Arthur Evans to recover the great prehellenic culture of the Minoan Age.

Since the World War we have had better opportunities for archaeological research in Turkey, Iraq, and other lands of the Near East. We have gained much information about the peoples of the prehistoric periods in Egypt, the Fertile Crescent, Asia Minor, and Iran. The earlier reconstruction of palæolithic life in western Europe has been paralleled by discoveries in the East. So much light has been cast on the varied development of neolithic culture at different sites, that the growth of agriculture and industry, the gradual process of urbanization, and the far-reaching commerce associated with the transition to historic times can at last be studied as part and parcel of history. (Reading List 1)

The transformation of our knowledge of the ancient world is still in progress. It is accompanied by reexamination of the older materials for the light they throw on aspects of human life which did not concern earlier scholars. Thus the history of the ancient world has become an essentially living and modern study; its course was run in the remote past, but its recovery belongs in large measure to the present and future.

#### THE CHRONOLOGICAL SCOPE OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Since the ancient world has thus expanded in time and space, the old definition of history as depending on the existence of written sources has become inadequate. Much that was once considered prehistoric is now an essential part of historical study. At the earliest periods to which the written records of Egypt and Sumer refer, these districts were in close touch with lands in which writing was still unknown but which shared in the general diffusion of culture. Long before the names of the gods or the ritual by which they were worshipped were recorded, we can learn the general character of religious beliefs from the representations of divinities and the manner in which the dead were buried. Before there were written laws, there were settlements too complex to do without a clearly defined social and political organization. Before we have any account of the means by which power and wealth were acquired, we find proof of great riches and honor in magnificent burials; before we find business records, we have goods whose material or technique indicates a far distant origin. Thus the essential character and development of a community can be established on broad lines, although the details of its history and its very name remain unknown.

In the latter part of the fourth millennium B.C., the development of metallurgy and the consequent increase in the use of copper tools and

weapons helped to transform static local cultures by fruitful contacts with distant lands. This copper revolution, which necessitated far-flung commerce to obtain the precious raw materials, introduced the true historical period, throughout which the consecutive development of individual peoples under the influence of contacts with one another by migration, commerce, and conquest can be definitely traced.

Before 2500 B.C. many of the prehistoric villages from the Ægean Sea and the Nile Valley to the Indus River were transformed into town centres with concentrated population and complex inner organization. The cultures which early developed along the river valleys became the basis of a Mediterranean civilization, with the island-strewn inland sea as the chief medium of communication. By the middle of the sixth century the ancient world was clearly defined; it was to reach its completed form in the Roman Empire. For over twelve hundred years, the essential unity of the Mediterranean world on the joint basis of the oriental and classical civilizations continued. During the eighth century of our era this unity was broken down, and the three chief heirs of the ancient world were thereafter increasingly alien to one another in language, customs, and religion. While western culture developed in the Christian states of Europe, the Moslem population of Spain, Africa, and the East became more oriental in character. The classical traditions survived most fully in the Byzantine Empire, though orthodox Christianity had supplanted paganism.

#### LEADING FACTORS IN THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

It is customary to subdivide the field of ancient history, and to study as separate units the Orient, Greece, and Rome. This method tends to obscure the true relations of contemporaneous development in different sections. If we undertake instead to treat the cultural history of the Mediterranean world and the lands closely associated with it at different periods as a whole, we may trace more clearly the expansion of civilization from its earliest known centres, its periods of progress and decline, and the interaction of city-state, tribe, and empire upon one another throughout the ancient period.

In this history migration and settlement played a significant and often a dominant part. Nearly all the major political units were built up by peoples who entered their territory after the neolithic period began, or by an indigenous population that was stimulated by contacts with such invaders. The slow movements of a whole people, the more rapid invasions of small groups, the attempts of desert or highland folk to settle in fertile plains, migration from a country devastated by war or natural catastrophe to one of greater promise, or from an undeveloped area to one already made productive by human labor, all contributed to build up the ancient world, to form diversified stocks, and to break down political units which

had become too decadent to resist external attacks. The relative sparseness of population made migration a feasible solution for many difficulties. The great difference between ancient and modern conditions in this respect is illustrated by the contrast between the frequent invasions of the ancient world by migrating peoples and the current problem of finding land for the settlement of oppressed minorities.

The ancient world included the most varied social groupings and relationships of people to their leaders or rulers, from patriarchal monarchy to extreme democracy on the one hand, and to the oriental type of despotism on the other. By aggressive wars, ambitious rulers often subjected alien territory to their sway. Such conquests usually meant that the conquered communities paid tribute in goods and services to the conqueror, and that the influx of tribute increased the prosperity of his court and his people, while the victories won added to his personal glory. When this process was carried on with sufficient success over a large territory, the resulting political organization became an empire. This process of forming empires, which we know as imperialism, was frequently the dominant factor in the politics of the ancient world, since imperialistic warfare was the accepted means for gaining territory, slaves, booty, and glory, and was usually highly profitable for the victors. Yet local self-government has never been more fully achieved than it was by the Greek cities in the fifth century B.C., and with a lessening degree of independence the autonomous, or self-governing, city-state became the basis of the Roman imperial system.

A fundamental principle of the earliest monarchies was the right to draft the free members of the state not only for military service but also for labor on flood control and irrigation, roads and fortifications, temples and other public buildings, and on royal tombs and palaces. The modern equivalent for these services to the state is military conscription and the mobilization of private industry for public purposes in time of war, or during other crises. As economic specialization advanced, the wealthier classes contributed money or goods in place of the personal services which were still exacted from peasants and craftsmen. The underlying assumption was that men were primarily members of the state, and only secondarily individuals with personal rights. In free states the application of this principle was modified in the interest of the dominant class of citizens. These services and contributions, which are often designated by the Greek term *liturgy*, provided for much of the work now done by public employees whose salaries are paid by the state from the proceeds of taxation.

Widespread commerce greatly influenced the diffusion of culture. The small scale and comparatively simple tools of most workshops did not lead to capitalistic organization of industry, but a high degree of technical specialization was reached and the products of individual localities were widely distributed. Commerce was facilitated by the use of a common

language for business and diplomacy. Babylonian, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin were so used at different times.

The widespread practice of slavery put an abundance of human labor at the disposal of states and individuals and accentuated the problem of employment of the free urban proletariat. Slaves were extensively used in industry and domestic service throughout the ancient world. Agricultural slavery developed chiefly in the west during the later Roman Republic; during the Roman Empire, it became economically unprofitable and was gradually superseded by serfdom, which absorbed both free and slave labor. There are few indications of objections to slavery on moral or humanitarian grounds, such as motivated the abolition movement in modern times.

Agricultural land was always the chief source of wealth both for individuals and for states. Great fortunes were normally derived from land rents. Substantial public revenues were drawn from state-owned land and from taxation of the land of subject territories.

The peoples of the ancient world worshipped many gods, whom they pictured as men and women like themselves. This type of religion is described as polytheistic and anthropomorphic. The worship of the gods was conducted by the state through its rulers and other priests, and was shared by the people to a greater or less extent without the obligation of an individual act of faith. The practice of religion consisted essentially of participation in religious ritual, not in the acceptance of religious belief. The theory of the divinity of the ruler and of his function as mediator between god and man gave religious sanction to political authority in many states.

The need of a more personal religion was met not only by the worship of household divinities, but by the oriental and Greek cults known as mystery religions, which required individual conversion and promised personal salvation to those who participated in their secret ritual. The great religions of the modern world, Christianity and Islam, belong to this type. The general adoption of Christianity in the later Roman Empire led to the extinction of earlier polytheistic religions.

Independent of religion, and sometimes in conflict with it, a succession of great thinkers sought by reason and reflection to discover the fundamental principles of the universe and of human life. Out of these investigations arose the Greek systems of philosophy which culminated in the Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic schools and laid the foundations for the work of most mediæval and many modern philosophers.

The practical arts of the Egyptians and Babylonians were transmuted by the rational thinking of the Greeks into various sciences. Thus geometry originated in methods of land surveying, and the data gathered in priestly observation of the stars furnished the material for the science of astronomy, as well as for astrology, which served as the chief means of divining the future. The line between magic and science on the one hand,

and magic and religion on the other, was never clearly drawn. Throughout the ancient world, men who accepted religion unthinkingly and understood little or nothing of science and philosophy believed firmly in the efficacy of magic arts. Many of the techniques of magic, its incantations and ritual procedures, which became common practice in all the cities of the ancient world, originated among the Magi, the "Wise Men" or priests of Babylonia. (Reading List 2)

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A twelfth-century scholar used to say to his students:

We are like dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants, so that we can see more and farther than they, not by the keenness of our own vision or our bodily eminence, but because we are lifted up by their gigantic size.

Despite the many inventions which have since increased the range of our vision, we still depend in large measure on the depth of insight and breadth of view afforded by the vast scope of past human history.

## II

### THE GENESIS OF CIVILIZATION

*After the Flood came, kingship was sent down from on high.*  
—Sumerian Kinglist

DURING THE GEOLOGICAL PERIODS in which the early development of man took place, the land and water masses from the Atlantic coast of Europe to the Iranian plateau and from the Sahara to the Baltic, the area within which the ancient cultures were to develop, took substantially their present form. In the briefer course of historic time further alterations have taken place.

The coast cities of ancient Mesopotamia are now separated from the Persian Gulf by a hundred miles of alluvial land, districts once well watered are arid, and floods, earthquakes, and volcanic action have wrought minor changes. While the earth's surface was still undergoing minor oscillations which changed the level of the land masses and the relationship of land and sea, the Ice Ages, with alternating periods of precipitation and drought, greatly affected the conditions of life and imposed an arctic climate on the temperate zones. (Reading List 3)

#### THE PALÆOLITHIC AGE

In the primitive foodgathering stage, when man lived by hunting and fishing, he expected little of his dwelling-place except adequate supplies of food and water and a tolerable climate. The thousands of years of the glacial and interglacial periods stimulated the slow process by which, in the course of countless generations, man learned to utilize his environment to provide for his basic needs. He gained superiority over other animals through his ability to use his brains, his hands, and handmade tools to secure food and some degree of comfort and security. The greatest of his inventions, the production and control of fire, was essential for this progress, as were the arts of utilizing and supplementing natural shelter, making tools and weapons of wood and stone, and fashioning clothing from the skins of animals. Wooden implements must have been the most common

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NOTE. By editorial decision, the ligatured diphthong has been used in the typography of this book.

and in many respects the most useful aids that he had, but these have disappeared, and palæolithic man is known to us chiefly through the many chipped or flaked flints which attest his high degree of technical efficiency.<sup>1</sup>

The limestone caves of France and Spain have preserved notable remains of palæolithic life and art, and recent discoveries prove that Palestine and other eastern lands had a kindred culture. In late palæolithic times, contemporary with the last Ice Age, the struggle for existence no longer occupied man's whole attention. He made himself ornaments of bone and shell, molded figurines of clay, perhaps for cult purposes, and carved the animals he hunted on his implements of reindeer horn or of mammoth ivory, or painted them on the walls of his cave. His work showed remarkable realism and skill (Plate 1a). His paintings and carvings, which were probably intended as votive offerings or as magic to provide good hunting, represent a high degree of achievement. We know nothing of palæolithic speech, but it is clear that men who could develop these graphic and plastic arts and carry the techniques of working flint to such perfection would have words for more than the bare necessities of life. (Reading List 4)

In the earliest ages Europe and Africa were closely related in population and culture. Land bridges connected Spain and Italy with Africa, and the great plains of northern Africa provided a desirable habitat over which migration was easy. Egypt was a part of this north African plain. During the transition from the middle to the late palæolithic culture, European development was conditioned, as it was in later times, by a complex succession of folk movements which stimulated cultural changes.

At the same time the tragedy of north Africa began. Rainfall on the high plateaus diminished and at last failed, and deserts began to spread. The people had either to migrate to other lands or to concentrate in dwindling numbers about the Mediterranean coasts, the oases, and the Nile. For the first time the Nile became the dominant factor in Egyptian life. As rainfall diminished and desiccation progressed, the contrast between the fertile valley and the surrounding desert increased, and their respective populations became sharply differentiated. The nomads of the Sahara were to be the hereditary enemies of the Egyptians throughout their history.

### THE TRANSITION TO THE NEOLITHIC AGE

The Neolithic Age is distinguished from the Palæolithic less by the character of the stone tools and weapons used than by the fundamental change from foodgathering to food production, and the various arts which sprang from this revolution.

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<sup>1</sup> The major divisions of the prehistoric period are: (1) the Palæolithic or Old Stone Age; (2) the Neolithic or New Stone Age; (3) the Chalcolithic Age, when copper tools were being used, but had not generally superseded stone.

Types of palæolithic culture are classified chiefly by variations in the character of flint implements, but for the more localized neolithic cultures the best criterion is pottery with its many shapes and styles of decoration; and pottery was a concomitant of the new art of conserving natural resources. Painted pottery is found at the later neolithic sites throughout the eastern world from Japan and China to Palestine and the Nile Valley. The comparative security of cave life in the late Palæolithic Age permitted an increase of population which inspired new needs and made division of labor desirable. The domestication of plants and animals to solve the problem of feeding larger groups meant the development of agricultural and pastoral economy, and of village life with organized government and society. In many cases this development was stimulated by the immigration of new stocks.

### PALESTINE IN THE STONE AGES

The development of both palæolithic and neolithic cultures is illustrated by recent discoveries in Palestine. Since the famous Galilee skull was found a few years ago, other early skeletons have been discovered in the caves of Mount Carmel. A cemetery of the middle Palæolithic Age, with complete skeletons of a type related to the Neanderthal man in contemporary Europe, shows that the local stock was not even then homogeneous. Race mixture has a very ancient history.

These caves present a complete sequence of tools, from the small flaked flints found at bedrock, which were made with a minimum of labor, through the full series of stone implements, such as are found in deposits of the same periods in Europe and in Egypt. The remains of the transitional period are of more localized types and include implements of bone and horn, harpoons, needles, scrapers for preparing skins, beads, and pendants. Most significant are the numerous flint sickles, once set in bone hafts, which show that a rudimentary form of agriculture was an essential step in the slow transition from the life of the Old Stone Age to that of the New. Here at least primitive agriculture preceded the domestication of animals and the invention of pottery.

Recent excavations at Jericho have recovered a continuous sequence of seventeen building levels, of which ten belong to the Neolithic Age, while the last seven, which were contemporary with the early dynasties of Egypt, are distinguished by copper implements. In the early neolithic levels no pottery was found, but there were substantial houses with well laid floors and walls faced with lime and polished. One shrine, which had a large inner chamber and a portico supported by wooden posts, was devoted to the worship of some pastoral divinity, and contained clay figures of men and domesticated animals (Plate 1b). At Jericho the development of pottery was much later than that of architecture.

In the middle of the Neolithic Age holes scooped in the ground were lined with marl for storage of foodstuffs; later this rudimentary technique was developed to produce movable clay vessels carefully shaped, decorated with painted bands and splotches, and baked. There are no signs of external influence until the early Bronze Age, when a Babylonian shrine appears. The similarities between the finds at Jericho and those at Ras Shamra on the northern coast of Syria suggest that we have here an indigenous neolithic culture developed in Syria and Palestine before the influence of Babylonia and Egypt reached this district. (Reading List 5)

### NEOLITHIC CIVILIZATION

Palæolithic man took the world as he found it; neolithic man learned how to adapt his environment to his needs. Concentration of population at desirable sites led to community life. Villages developed, and in some sections city-states grew up under separate rulers, each with its local customs and with clearly defined territory. This development was made possible by the domestication of plants and animals, which provided a more secure livelihood than hunting and fishing alone could secure. Probably agriculture and herding were practically simultaneous innovations, although agriculture may have come first.

Thus the concept of property developed. Palæolithic man probably felt that his weapons, his tools, and his clothing were his own. But in the neolithic era there are evidences of more complicated concepts of rights, such as rights to the use of particular fields and to the use of water, and ownership of herds of domestic animals. It is probable that the distinction between property in land utilized and defended by the community, and land reserved for a particular family or individual within the community, dates from this period. We have of course no written documents to guide us. But the structure of public and private property rights, in the earliest period for which we have written information, presupposes a long anterior period of development. And the archæological remains of neolithic communities such as Jericho suggest that the fundamental economic organization was so similar to that of later communities for which we have records, that the principles of private and public property recognized there may well have been similar to those of later times.

### CRAFTS AND COMMERCE

Specialization of crafts naturally developed. Houses were built of mud and reeds, of sundried or baked bricks, or of stone, according to local resources. More elaborate and permanent buildings were erected for gods, kings, and wealthy men. At first the heavier building materials were transported on sledges; in Mesopotamia and adjacent lands wheeled carts

came into use earlier than in Egypt, where the land was less suited to such traffic. The invention of the wheel aided commerce and transportation, and required the construction of roads. Its significance was obviously felt in early times, for it was used as a religious symbol. The chronicles of Mesopotamian kings frequently mention the building of roads for the sake of conquest. Boats were built for river traffic (Plate 4) and later for navigation on the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean. Cretan sailors probably made seafaring boats known to the Egyptians, whose own land provided no ship-timber, and who early established contacts with the Phœnician coast for the sake of the masts and beams supplied by the tall cedars of Lebanon.

Domestic furnishings ranged from the simplest necessities of the peasant's hut to the royal furniture of the tombs of kings, who lived more sumptuously than they could have done in many later ages. The textile arts were fully developed as far as the quality of the goods produced was concerned, though the implements for spinning and weaving were simple. The clay or stone whorls, which served to weight the yarn as it was spun, are second only to pottery as archæological clues. Earrings, bracelets, necklaces, and diadems of shell, carnelian, turquoise, and richly wrought gold indicate that there was a wide margin between the necessities of life and the luxuries enjoyed by favored individuals.

The earliest mining expeditions to Sinai probably sought for turquoise, not copper, and the Egyptians extracted malachite eye-paint from copper ore before they discovered the real properties of the metal and the method of working it to provide an efficient substitute for stone implements. Stone tools were adequate for the work to be done, and since the kings could exact labor from their subjects at will, there was little demand for labor-saving inventions. The first copper tools, for which the metal was beaten out but not smelted, were less efficient than stone, and did not at once suggest the value of further experiments.

#### SCIENCE AND RELIGION

The medicine of the Stone Ages has left no traces, but the skill of surgeons in the difficult technique of trepanning is attested by the skulls of men who survived the operation. Astronomy early claimed the attention of Egyptians and Sumerians, and the former developed a workable solar calendar with a year of 365 days, while the Sumerians based their year on the lunar months.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The date at which the Egyptian calendar took final form is uncertain: according to the cycle of 1460 years on which it was based the calendar must have been established by either 4236 or 2776 B.C. The former date was previously stated as certain, but at present scholars engaged in studying the problem feel that the evidence thus far discovered is not adequate for a final decision.

The development of religious ideas can best be studied later in connection with individual countries. It can be traced to some extent by religious symbols on works of art, by the early tombs and temples, and by the evident antiquity of the legends of the gods recorded in later literature.

### THE ART OF WRITING

The Egyptians and the Sumerians of lower Mesopotamia both developed the art of writing before the end of the fourth millennium B.C. In each country the materials available determined the line of development from primitive picture-writing (pictographs) to a conventionalized script. Egypt had ample stone for monuments, temples, and tombs, on whose walls pictorial records and explanatory texts were carved. The ordinary writing material was made of the pith of papyrus reeds which grew in the marshes along the Nile (Plate 4b). This was cut and pressed out, and the strips were fastened together to form thin smooth sheets which could be joined in rolls for longer works. Papyrus was inexpensive and easy to manufacture, and in the dry climate of the Nile Valley it was very durable, so that many papyrus documents thrown away more than two thousand years ago are still preserved. Ink and a reed stylus were used for writing on papyrus (Plate 5). The Egyptian signs used on stone monuments and for the most formal writing are known as *hieroglyphs*; a simpler script called *hieratic* was based on the hieroglyphic forms. The early pictographic writing gradually developed into conventionalized forms which were used to represent complete words and syllables. The Egyptians also had alphabetic symbols, but made little use of them.

The Sumerians, whose country lacked both papyrus and stone, wrote on small tablets of the clay which was at hand everywhere. While these tablets were still soft, they were marked with a wedge-shaped stylus of bone or reed to make a clear impression that could not be altered after the clay once dried. This *cuneiform* (wedge-shaped) script early reached a syllabic stage, but did not become alphabetic. It was so widely adopted that the phrase "cuneiform peoples" has come into use as an inclusive term for the many different stocks which were strongly influenced by Sumerian and Babylonian culture. Until the end of the second millennium B.C., cuneiform writing on clay tablets was very widely used for business records, an indication of the commercial influence of Sumeria and Babylonia (Plate 6c).

### THE PROBLEM OF CHRONOLOGY

For most of the prehistoric period even approximate dating is impossible. The chronology of each cultural area depends chiefly on changing techniques and styles in pottery, seals, and tools, and on the successive

strata of town sites. This sequence cannot be accurately stated in calendar years. It is not likely that a sound chronology can be established for the period before the end of the fourth millennium B.C. We must remember also that the choice of exact dates for the transition from one historical period to another, or from prehistory to history, is dangerous. It conceals the real nature of the transition, in which many elements of the new age exist side by side with the old, it disregards the varying rate of progress in neighboring districts, and it overemphasizes the particular event or catastrophe by which the date is determined.

The transition from the Palæolithic to the Neolithic Age varied in different regions. A fair notion of the duration of the Neolithic Age may be formed by assuming that it was established by about 7000 B.C., that the transitional period known as the Chalcolithic Age generally occupied the fourth millennium B.C., and that the change to the Copper Age, with full understanding of metallurgy and a consequent impetus to commerce and urbanization, was accomplished by about 3000 B.C. in many parts of the east.<sup>3</sup> The introduction of metals into Europe was retarded several centuries behind that in the east; it spread slowly from the agricultural villages along the main trade routes to the pastoral tribes of the uplands, and did not lead to urbanization, although it increased interest in commerce.

#### POTTERY AS AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL CLUE

Pottery is particularly useful to the modern student as an aid to comparative chronology and an indication of the development and diffusion of local cultures. Suitable clay was found almost everywhere; the clay could be shaped by hand and made impervious to water and fire by baking, and once baked was indestructible. The vessel might break and be thrown on the village dump, but the broken sherds would survive indefinitely.

Clay vessels, with baskets and hampers of wicker, served all the domestic purposes of our china, glass, metal, wood, and paper utensils and containers. The homemade pot cost nothing, but the finest examples of the potter's craft were counted as royal treasures. Pottery was made in such quantities that it was readily influenced by new techniques and by changing styles in incised and painted decoration, which spread with comparative uniformity over areas that shared a common culture.

The sequence of shapes and patterns in a given district can ordinarily be determined by the successive layers in a dump-heap, or in city ruins in which a considerable amount of pottery is found. Pottery figured in distant commerce not only as containers for grain, wine, oil, perfumes, etc., but as independent artistic products. Imported vases found with the domestic

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<sup>3</sup> For a recent summary of prehistoric chronology, see M. Burkitt and V. G. Childe, "A Chronological Table of Prehistory," *Antiquity* VI (1932), 185-202, and the table facing p. 256.

ware of a known period help us to establish contemporaneity of culture in different countries. The best handmade pottery is finer than that produced in the same districts after the invention of the potter's wheel led to mass production. In many sections pottery was the chief artistic product, and the copying of ornaments, shapes, and techniques affords an important clue to the diffusion of culture (Plate 3).

In many parts of the Near East the stamp and cylinder seals used as official signatures on clay tablets, or as jar-sealings, etc., also serve as evidence of relative chronology and of cultural diffusion. The mythological scenes so often used in their designs show the wide currency of favorite myths centuries earlier than the first literary versions which have been preserved (Plate 6a).

### WRITTEN RECORDS

Written records begin at the end of the fourth millennium or later, and were at first dated in terms of individual events or religious festivals which cannot now be reduced to exact dates. Later they were dated by years of the king's reign, but no fixed era was established. In the third millennium B.C., lists of rulers were compiled by Mesopotamian scholars, but the earlier parts of these are mythical, at least as far as the element of time is concerned. The inscriptions of the early rulers show that dynasties which in the kinglists cover thousands of years must be assigned to the period from about 3000 to 2500 B.C. The Egyptian dynastic lists which have come down to us are preserved chiefly by the historian Manetho, who lived in the third century B.C.; these also are difficult to interpret in terms of exact dates. In any case they do not extend back of the latter part of the fourth millennium B.C., when the historical first dynasty of Egypt probably began. Contemporary records for the early dynasties are fragmentary and give names of rulers without clear indications of time. It is still difficult to synchronize Egyptian and Mesopotamian history previous to the latter part of the third millennium B.C., and the problem is even more serious in connection with districts whose early history is comparatively unknown.

### PEOPLES AND CULTURE AREAS IN THE PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

Various Mediterranean stocks, which were characteristically short, dark, and long-headed, occupied the ancient world in the late Palæolithic Age. The Egyptian Hamites and various Semitic peoples of Arabia, Syria, and adjacent lands belonged to this Mediterranean group. The recurrent invasions of Syria by fresh hordes of Semitic nomads from Arabia have been a decisive factor in the history of the Near East. The Highland Zone, which extends from Armenia and the Zagros Mountains to the heart of Europe, was occupied chiefly by the thickset and broad-headed Armenoid or High-

land stock.<sup>4</sup> Many tribes in Asia Minor, the Caucasus district, and the Zagros Mountains spoke related dialects, which we may call Caucasian, of a different type from the Semitic speech. The Sumerians, who settled in lower Mesopotamia during the fourth millennium B.C., spoke a language which has not been identified with any known group, and their origin is an unsettled question. Current studies of obscure dialects of the Near East which are known through inscribed clay tablets and other records, or through place names and foreign words in works written in a language already known, are constantly increasing our knowledge of these peoples.

The later neolithic settlements were seldom isolated communities. Their contacts were not so broad as those of the later Copper and Bronze Ages, but were sufficient to establish well-defined culture areas with characteristic fashions in pottery and other articles of daily use, modified on the one hand by local taste, and on the other by the influence of neighboring areas. East of the Zagros Mountains, the Iranian plateau formed the centre of such a district, with a distinctive civilization in contact with the Indus Valley on the east and the Highland culture on the west (Plate 2c). The Highland Zone extended over upper Mesopotamia, the Caucasian highlands, and central Asia Minor, and was in close contact with the neighboring Syrian culture. Egypt and the coasts and islands of the Ægean Sea complete the list of major divisions of the Near East in late neolithic times. The Danube Valley and Spain seem to have been the chief centres for the diffusion of culture in the west; the extent to which they were affected by eastern influences is uncertain. (Reading List 6)

#### TYPES OF NEOLITHIC CULTURE: THE MEGALITHS

The most conspicuous monuments of the Neolithic Age are the great pillars, dolmen graves, and circles or avenues of huge stone found at widely scattered sites along the coasts and islands from southern India and Persia to Scandinavia. They were the work of settled agricultural peoples of diverse racial types, and their apparent connection with one another may illustrate the diffusion of culture among unrelated groups. The megalithic culture in Europe seems to have spread north and west from Spain along the Atlantic and Baltic coasts. The monuments are regularly associated with burials and must have had a religious significance, but their builders remain almost as mysterious to us as to the Hebrew writer who said: "There were giants in the earth in those days."

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<sup>4</sup> The anthropological evidence for the peoples of the Near East is still very incomplete. It is clear that race mixture had begun in early times, and that the classifications here given on the basis of physical types indicated by skeletal remains and on that of the languages used, when these are known, by no means represent distinct or unified "races." An interesting study of the question in relation to the modern peoples of Europe is given by J. Huxley and A. C. Haddon, *We Europeans* (New York, Harper, 1936), ch. 7. For Sumerian portrait heads of the Mediterranean and Armenoid types see Plate 2.



## I. EARLY PEOPLES AND CULTURE AREAS



Basic Outline by J. P. Goode, Courtesy of The University of Chicago Press



## THE LAKE-VILLAGES

An unusually severe drought in Switzerland in 1853 disclosed the remains of pile-villages built by the Alpine population of the lake district in the late neolithic period. These villages were built on platforms supported by piles driven into the bed of the lake, and were connected with the shore by bridges. Their inhabitants lived by fishing, and by agriculture and hunting in the nearby fields and forests. Unlike their neighbors, they began to cremate the dead and to deposit the ashes in clay vessels, instead of burying the bodies. Such villages were naturally limited in size, so that increase of population entailed sending out some members to found new settlements. Traces of such colonies are found along the Danube, Rhine, and other European rivers, and in the British Isles. There is evidence that the Swiss villages belonged to a series of similar settlements in highland lake districts in Bohemia, and as far east as the Caucasus.

The Po Valley furnished sites for many such villages. Early in the second millennium B.C., when the lake-dwellers were beginning to use bronze, they established villages on artificial platforms on dry land south of the Po. These are preserved in the so-called *terra mara* sites, which will be discussed in connection with the civilization of Italy in the Bronze Age. (Reading List 4)

## PRE-DYNASTIC CULTURES IN THE NEAR EAST

Conditions at the close of the Neolithic Age presuppose a long anterior period of settled life, which is sharply contrasted with the old view of the dawn of civilization in Egypt and lower Mesopotamia at about 5000 B.C. Historical accident has preserved the ruins of early Egyptian and Mesopotamian sites for our study and directed our first attention to them. Current excavations over a wider area show that urban life developed at various sites in Syria, northern Assyria, and Asia Minor at an early period, and that these settlements in some cases antedated Egypt and Sumer in the development of formal architecture and of pottery. Egypt and Mesopotamia, however, are still the only countries for which we can reconstruct something of detailed history in the fourth millennium B.C., a period which we call the predynastic age, since it precedes the first dynasties which are included in the kinglists.

## THE EARLY CULTURES OF EGYPT

The valley of the Nile and the lower borders of the Tigris and Euphrates were peculiarly suited to the development of complex cultures. In both, the river was of primary importance, as it provided rich alluvial soil and ample water for irrigation of marginal land, as well as means of trans-

portation. In both, the danger from floods and the need of irrigation to increase the arable land and to lengthen the growing season were factors which led to cooperative action. They necessitated special inventions and scientific observation and measurement, and required a central authority to direct and control this work. Both lacked timber and metals, the need of which stimulated the trade of Mesopotamia with Syria, Anatolia, and Iran, and that of Egypt with Nubia and Sinai, as well as with Syria.

In the narrow valley of the Nile, hemmed in by cliffs and deserts, with its arable land not more than ten miles wide south of the broad delta, a unified government developed in which the chief divisions, called nomes, were originally units for water administration. Egypt was occupied continuously from palaeolithic times, and recent discoveries of the early Tasian and Badarian settlements have extended our knowledge of the neolithic period to the sixth millennium B.C. The climate was still much more moist than in the historic period, and the population was less dense, so that the unirrigated land was adequate. The Badarians (named from the chief modern village of the district) made a peculiar type of pottery with a rippled surface, and used flint implements, including some of foreign manufacture.

Egypt has been compared to a tube open at both ends. The old myth of its unity of race has long since been abandoned. In the predynastic period, from about 5000 to 3200 B.C., the Delta region of Lower Egypt was united in a single state in which Semitic tribes from Arabia mingled with related peoples from Libya, while a similar state was formed in Upper Egypt by another Mediterranean people, the Hamites, who entered the valley from the south. These two groups absorbed other elements in the population, and remained distinct long after the Upper Kingdom conquered the Lower and established the first dynasty of united Egypt (about 3200 B.C.). Groups from Libya, the Syrian coast, and Arabia continued to establish themselves in Egypt from time to time, and the rivalry between the Upper and Lower Kingdoms persisted after the first union was established by the Hamitic dynasty of Thinis. (Reading List 7)

#### THE EARLY CIVILIZATION OF MESOPOTAMIA

In Mesopotamia, the extent of cultivable land was greater than in Egypt, and included areas which have since become part of the desert bay.<sup>5</sup> The lower part of the valley of the two rivers was not available for settlement until comparatively late, because of erosion during the heavy rains and floods of the glacial period. The land was much poorer in natural resources

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<sup>5</sup> A process of desiccation, ascribed partly to climatic factors and partly to human occupation, has produced great changes in Arabia, Syria, and other ancient lands since the beginning of the historic period. See W. C. Lowdermilk, "Man-made Deserts," *Pacific Affairs* VIII (1935), 409-419.

than the Nile Valley, but was well adapted for the development of industry, which, aside from pottery and textiles, depended chiefly on imported materials. It was favorably situated for the trade on which any but a very simple culture in such a district must depend. The date palm was probably its chief natural attraction.

Recent excavations have greatly enriched our knowledge of the pre-dynastic cultures in Mesopotamia, but have not solved the problem of the identity of their founders or the date and order of settlement of the historic peoples of the district. The chief elements were the Armenoid Caucasian stocks of the Highland Zone, Semites from Arabia, and the Sumerians, who came either from the eastern highlands or along the shores of the Persian Gulf, wherever their original homes may have been. Thus not only the geographical location of the valley, but its varied population (Plate 2) led to connections with the Iranian, the Highland, and the Syrian cultures, all of which are reflected in the sites which have been excavated. Painted pottery of exquisite shapes and workmanship, with both conventional and naturalistic patterns akin to those found over a very wide area, from China to the Ægean, is a conspicuous feature of early Mesopotamian cultures (Plate 3). Its distribution includes the mountainous districts west of the rivers, as well as valley sites. Susa, in the mountains of Elam, was one of the leading centres. Archaeologists now trace four successive overlapping periods, each characterized by distinctive styles of pottery, and usually designated by the name of the site where it was first clearly recognized.

During the first period, which is the most recently discovered, the Painted Pottery Folk produced pottery finer in fabric, form, and ornament than any of their successors. The chief sites of this first period thus far excavated are Tepe Gawra and Tell Arpachiyah in northern Assyria, both of which are notable for their architecture and handmade pottery. At the latter a large stock of fine pottery was found which was clearly intended for export, and shows that a village of some two hundred inhabitants could prosper by a specialized luxury craft, making use of the neighboring town of Nineveh as a market place. The foundations of round buildings apparently intended for religious purposes are the remains of the earliest domed structures known.

The towns of the next, or Obeid period, had close relations with the east and north. Their painted pottery resembles that of Susa, Anau, and the Iranian district in general. Much more copper appears here than in the earlier stage. During this period, not later than 4000 B.C., the inhabitants of Tepe Gawra built an acropolis, with temples laid out about a central court on a symmetrical and harmonious plan. This acropolis suggests that the people of Tepe Gawra had a well-developed religious and civic sense, which led them to create a monumental centre for their state, in marked contrast with the simple structure of their private houses.

This acropolis of Tepe Gawra is at least 500 years earlier than the first monumental brick architecture of Egypt, and similarly antedates architectural development in southern Mesopotamia. In later periods also, Tepe Gawra rivalled the great cities of the south, and proves that early Assyria did not lag behind Sumer and Akkad in its culture.

In the Uruk period, the influence of the northwest is strong, which may indicate the domination of an Anatolian group. The monumental architecture of this period includes early *ziggurats* or temple towers, and unpainted pottery was in vogue. The Jemdet Nasr period combined eastern, northern, and western elements, and was closely related to the Sumerian first dynasty of Ur. This was an eclectic culture, as the range of contacts shows. There were two number systems in use, the sexagesimal and the decimal, both of which persisted in Babylonia and the countries which it influenced. Contact with Egyptian culture began at this time. Both the architectural forms and the system of writing show that the Sumerians contributed much to the civilization of this period, but we do not know how much earlier they may have come. In any case, they brought with them a well-developed culture which took root in the country and remained the essential basis of Mesopotamian political and social institutions, science, religion, literature, and art (Plate 12), long after the Sumerians themselves were assimilated by their Semitic neighbors and ceased to be a distinct people. Control of floods and irrigation of marginal lands were as essential as in Egypt, but were provided for by rival city-states, each governed by a priest-king. These Sumerian and Semitic cities strove to gain supremacy over their neighbors by wars which often originated in conflicts over water rights, boundaries, and cattle raids. A notable factor was the worship of the Great Mother, which was to be one of the chief religious cults of the ancient world. (Reading Lists 5, 7)

#### THE COPPER REVOLUTION

Copper is found to some extent at all these predynastic sites, but the earlier copper tools were less useful than the best flint implements. Before the end of the fourth millennium the real properties of metal came to be more widely understood, and copper ores were reduced, remelted, and worked with full metallurgical technique. The new art involved a real cultural revolution. Copper for the first time became a better material than flint for practical uses, and the discovery of its various alloys, especially the combination of copper with tin to form bronze, increased its value. It was several centuries, however, before bronze was widely used, partly because tin was available in the east chiefly in small surface deposits which were soon exhausted. Whether the new technique was developed first in Egypt or elsewhere is a moot question, but the arguments for western Asia seem

particularly strong. The demand for copper spread rapidly; it stimulated the growth of town life in the east and gave great prosperity to districts which could supply the metal, or which, like the Cycladic islands of the *Ægean*, were in a position to profit by the transit trade with Asia. Cyprus, the copper island, became the meeting-place of the nations. Greece now took an active part in eastern commerce. Regular weights of metal in convenient forms served so well as a medium of exchange that actual coinage was not invented for over two thousand years more. Side by side with the metals thus used, however, the old practice of estimating prices in terms of sheep, cattle, or other traditional money-barter goods persisted. Local standards of weights and measures were established in this period, and some were widely adopted. (Reading List 28)

Other cultural elements naturally shared in this quickened diffusion, as artistic progress and the increased use of writing testify. Among the outlying areas which entered into the nexus of trade were the Caucasus and Bosphoran seaports, which had access to rich deposits of copper, and the Indus Valley. The use of copper spread in southern Europe along the lines of communication with western Asia, especially along the Danube. In the west the new traffic spread primarily from Spain and later from Italy, both of which were well supplied with metals at the time. The northern demand for southern metal wares was balanced by trade in Baltic amber, the northern product then most prized in the Mediterranean world. (Reading List 6)

This essentially modern period, which developed many of the possibilities that lay dormant in the provincial cultures of the Neolithic Age, saw the rise of great powers in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Crete, and Anatolia. The contrast between the different Mediterranean lands became increasingly marked in the third millennium when dynastic states developed in the East, while village and tribal organization predominated in Europe, and northern Africa could support only a nomadic population.

### III

#### THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF THE NEAR EAST

*Hammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king who hath brought to subjection the four quarters of the world, who hath brought about the triumph of Marduk, the shepherd who delighteth his heart, am I . . . As for the land of Sumer and Akkad, I collected the scattered peoples thereof, and I procured food and drink for them. In abundance and plenty I pastured them, and I caused them to dwell in peaceful habitations.*

—Inscription of Hammurabi<sup>1</sup>

THE DIVINE RIGHT of kings was no mere catchword in the ancient east, for the mediation of the ruler between gods and men was essential to the development of centralized power. The land belonged to the gods who created it, and the king was their earthly representative. Through the king's favor and in his service, the people lived on the land and were bound to pay taxes and taskwork at his will. The title of the head of the early Sumerian city was "the tenant farmer of the god." In Egypt the chief threat to union came from failure to control the nobles who represented the royal power in the nomes. Mesopotamian rulers had to fear the leaders of rival groups within their city-states, who were sometimes of alien stock, as well as attacks from neighboring cities and raids of highland tribes.

#### EGYPT: THE OLD KINGDOM

The rulers of the first dynasty of united Egypt, which began about 3200 B.C., were natives of Thinis in Upper Egypt, whose protecting deity was the sky-god Horus, symbolized by the falcon. The worship of Horus was the prerogative of the king and of the priests who acted for him.

In spite of recurrent struggles with rebellious local rulers, Menes, traditionally the first king of united Egypt, and his successors developed the central administration, increased the natural wealth of the country by improvements in irrigation and agriculture, and acquired great riches, as their luxurious tombs near Abydos indicate. The transition from one dynasty to another seems to have been peaceful. We know little of the first two dynasties except the names of the rulers, since royal inscriptions are few

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<sup>1</sup> From the translation of L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, III (London, 1900), 190-191.

and brief and the later dynastic lists are incomplete. The Egyptians did not attempt to chronicle past events; their history was summed up in the deeds of the all-powerful ruler, which were recorded on royal monuments for the glory of the kings and gods, and were not intended as an unbiassed account for posterity.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF EGYPT FROM THE THIRD TO THE FIFTH DYNASTY

At the close of the second dynasty the capital was transferred to Memphis, just south of the Delta, to secure better control of Lower Egypt. Unification was at last accomplished and the rulers of the third dynasty completed the internal organization of the kingdom. Their official name, Pharaoh, signified "the royal house." The land was Pharaoh's, and the people were in equal measure tenants by his will, however unequal their holdings might be. The 42 nomes formed the units of fiscal, judicial, and military administration under the supervision of nobles appointed by the king and responsible to him alone, although hereditary grants developed in actual practice. The peasants were serfs with limited civil and private rights. They cultivated the land allotted to them and owed forced labor on public works and service in the militia of the nomes, since there was no standing army. The nobles were responsible for the collection of taxes in kind, for the levy of the militia, and for the administration of local justice, under the strict supervision of the viceroy, "chief of all the works of the king," and his subordinates. The court was a business establishment which recorded and stored the grain, vegetables, fruit, beer, oil, cattle, poultry, fish, and other taxes paid in kind, built and repaired irrigation canals, and maintained order. The work of the scribes was most important, and the keeping of local records required a number of literate individuals in the villages.

#### INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

The functions of the king, as in other eastern countries, included full responsibility for economic activity. Local industries were a substantial source of revenue and the finer crafts contributed to the luxury of the court. Merchants depended largely on the royal interest in goods from neighboring districts, and on the safeguarding of the route to Nubia and to Punt on the coast of the Red Sea, where gold, ivory, jewels, ostrich feathers, panther skins, spices, incense, and precious woods were obtained. The red granite quarries of Syene were worked to procure stone for the temples, royal tombs, and statues. The turquoise and copper mines of Mount Sinai were exploited by military expeditions under the king's command. The royal ships, their masts made of the cedars of Lebanon, sailed to Byblos on the Phœnician coast to bring back more masts and roofbeams,

for which Egypt had no suitable timber. All this activity was for the service of the gods, the king and his officials, and the richer merchants and craftsmen. The poorer townspeople and the peasants needed little that could not be provided by local resources and domestic industry.

### IMHOTEP

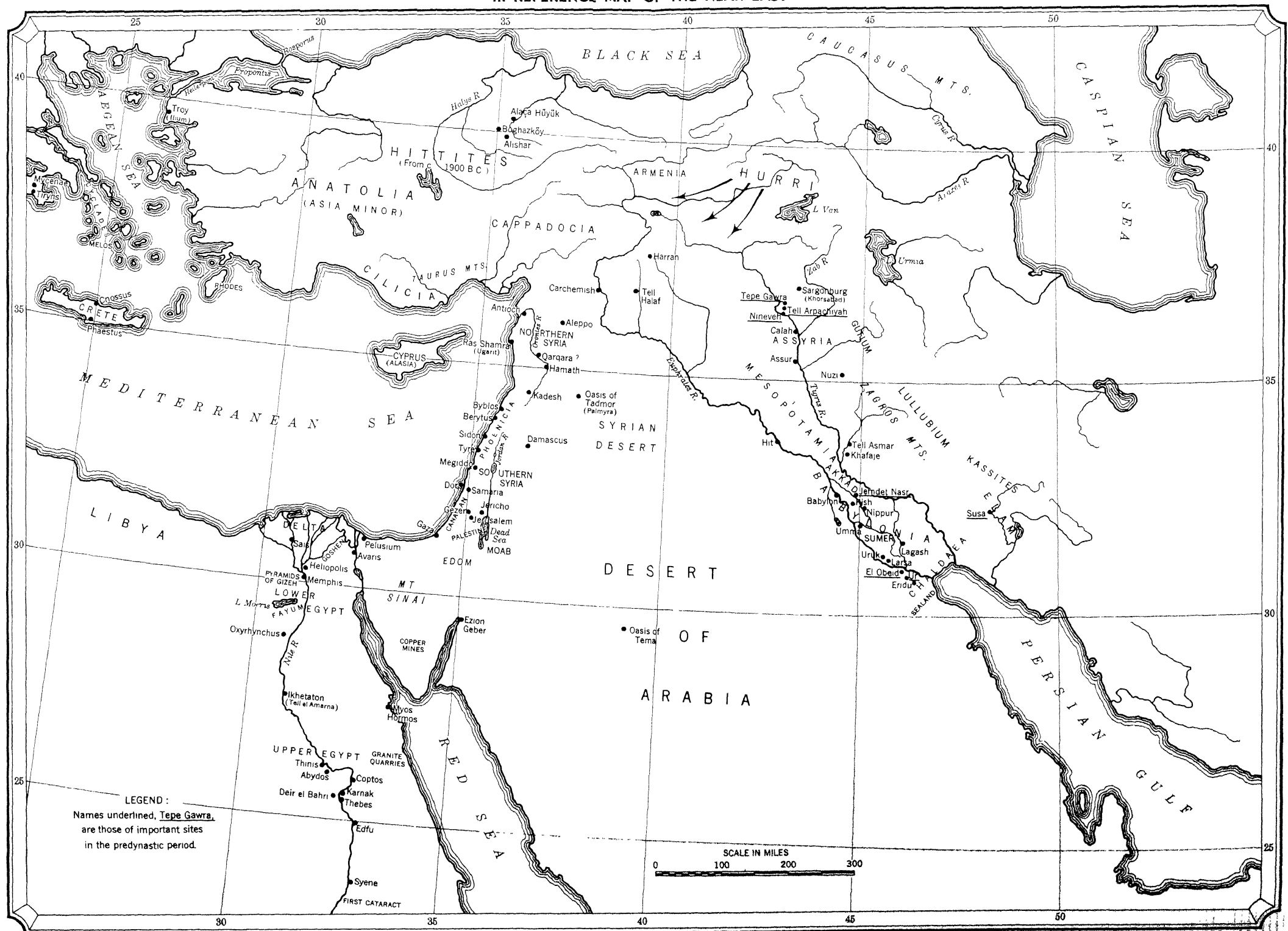
Imhotep, the viceroy of King Zoser in the third dynasty, illustrates the manifold interests of the administration. He came of a noted family of architects and designed the first temple at Edfu, as well as the first step-pyramid, which was built as Zoser's tomb. He was chief priest and chief justice; he was considered the greatest of sages and scribes and a notable astronomer and magician, for magic was a monopoly of the king's court. He had such fame as a physician that he was deified over two thousand years after his death and was worshipped at Memphis as the patron god of medicine. His career shows the importance of the practical arts and sciences in the Egyptian régime, as well as the versatility which a brilliant man might gain.

### THE PYRAMID AGE

The erection of massive stone structures was a conspicuous feature of the fourth dynasty (Plate 10). The great pyramids built to serve as the tombs of the royal family and as the enduring monuments of their glory were reckoned in later times among the wonders of the ancient world. The greatest was that of Khufu, whom the Greeks called Cheops. The stone chamber tombs of the nobles, which were grouped near the royal pyramids, also show the wealth and luxury of the Old Kingdom. The scenes carved and painted on their walls to provide the dead with a happy life in the "western land" show us all the activities of the great estates, and the pleasures of feasting, music, or boating and fowling in the papyrus swamps (Plates 4b, 11). These reliefs and paintings show that the artists of the Old Kingdom, like its architects, had reached the height of technical skill and artistic accomplishment. Their work is unexcelled in its feeling for line and contour, its delightful harmonies of form and color, and its delicate balance between naturalism and conventionalism. The formal stone, wood, and copper statues of the kings and nobles are less rigidly conventionalized than those of later periods. We owe much to the Egyptian belief that the pleasures of life could be continued after death if the tomb were equipped with representations of its occupant's earthly life, and to their desire to provide the soul with an individual habitation not only by embalming the body, but by portrait statues. In this art of the tomb the common people figured as necessary accessories to the good life, and thus gained a vicarious immortality. The pyramid texts, hymns, and other liturgical fragments form the chief extant literature of the time. (Reading List 9)



## II. REFERENCE MAP OF THE NEAR EAST





## RELIGION

The Egyptians worshipped many divinities of various types. Gods represented in animal forms, such as Anubis, the jackal, were honored as the patron deities of the nomes long after the united kingdom was formed (Plate 9). Horus, the falcon, was a nome god who gained national significance when the ruler of his nome became king, and assumed the character of a solar deity as the king's chief protector. The Pharaohs of the Pyramid Age made Re, the sun-god of Memphis, the chief divinity of Egypt; henceforth each Pharaoh was considered the incarnation and earthly representative of Re. The obelisks erected in the courts of the temples which stood before the pyramids took the place of cult statues in his worship. Horus was still represented as the king's protector, however (Plate 8).

Among the many nature gods were Hathor, the sky-god, called the "eye of Re," and the Nile which gave life to Egypt. Deities in human form, chief of whom were Isis and Osiris, were closely associated with the processes of birth, growth, and death. The most personal elements in Egyptian religion developed in connection with the cults of Isis and Osiris, which had great influence not only under the Pharaohs, but in the period of the Roman Empire, when they were prominent among the mystery religions which promised salvation and immortal life to their devotees. A fourth type of god was the personification of abstract qualities, such as Maat, or Truth; such gods are mentioned especially in later literature connected with the judgment of the soul after death.

Priestly ritual dominated the cults of the great gods, but the people had their own household divinities whom they worshipped in their homes from generation to generation. In Egypt, as in the other countries of the Near East, magic was a very important element in the religion of kings and people, and many magic spells for curing diseases, for harming one's enemies, or for protection against crocodiles, snakes, and lions, have been preserved. (Reading List 10)

## TRADE AND CONQUEST

The rulers of the Old Kingdom, especially Pepi I, Mernere, and Pepi II in the sixth dynasty, extended the earlier interest in the treasures of the lands which bordered on Egypt. Canals made the first cataract of the Nile navigable, and facilitated intercourse with Nubia and the safe transport of precious goods brought from Nubia and from the fabulously wealthy land of Punt. The services of the nobles of the southern nomes were essential for this commerce, and a new administrative post, that of Governor of the South, was created. The tombs of these governors record the first explorations of inner Africa and the southern coasts of the Red Sea. The expedi-

tions to Sinai for copper and turquoise, and to Canaan and the Phœnician coast for sheep, goats, asses, Syrian bears, olive-wood and oil, also required the aid of the nobles. These men began to inscribe their names with that of the king on the monuments of their campaigns, and to call themselves great chiefs and lords of the nomes.

Lower Nubia was made loosely tributary, and Sinai was exploited by repeated expeditions. The products of Egyptian artists and craftsmen were important in the growing trade with independent lands. Textile arts, the jeweller's craft, ivory-carving, and the making of stone vases were highly developed. Wheelmade pottery, here as elsewhere, fell below the standards of the best predynastic handmade ware. Egypt now claimed a far greater territory than at the beginning of the Old Kingdom, but her acquisitions were made largely in the interest of trade, in adjacent lands which were under loose tribal government.

#### THE DARK AGES: C. 2270-2100 B.C.

After the sixth dynasty came a century and a half of anarchy and revolution, the dark ages of Egyptian history. No consecutive account of this period exists; we have only confused glimpses of the rulers from the seventh to the eleventh dynasties, who had no glories to record. We know the nature of the revolution chiefly through the feudal character of the restoration period that followed, which indicates that the weakness of the king as compared with the growing power of the nobles was the internal cause for the breakdown of the united kingdom after nearly a thousand years of centralized rule. A single papyrus now in Leyden, the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, apparently composed in this period of anarchy, gives a graphic picture of conditions.<sup>2</sup>

According to Ipuwer's account, the rich were in direst poverty, while "the poor man was full of joy. Every town said: 'Let us suppress the powerful among us.'" Foreign trade had ceased. The courts of justice were no longer held, but their halls, the temples, and the king's storehouses were thronged by the rabble, who plundered and destroyed, and made free with the records and the liturgical and magical texts which should be sealed books to them. Even the doorkeepers said: "Let us go and plunder." The tombs of the kings were looted. The ploughman was fighting, no work was properly done, and no traveller was safe. Famine and plague were abroad in the land. The weakness of Egypt was a temptation to her neighbors: "The tribes of the desert have become Egyptians everywhere." The Asiatics overran the land; they settled in the Delta, more dangerous enemies

<sup>2</sup> For text, translation and commentary, see A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909). The *Admonitions* are sometimes assigned to the Hyksos period, but the evidence for the earlier date seems sufficient to justify their use to illustrate the period of revolution after the sixth dynasty.

than the Libyans or the Nubians. Yet Ipuwer believed that Re would send salvation, and he called on the king to rouse himself from his inertia and save the state.

### THE FEUDAL AGE

The restoration of order was the work of strong families in the individual nomes, who became firmly entrenched in hereditary feudal rights. They claimed complete jurisdiction in the lands which they controlled, and were practically independent of any central authority. The power of the Theban kings was reduced to a shadow. This period is therefore analogous to the Feudal Age in mediæval Europe. The peasants, however, were no longer serfs, but were free tenants with hereditary tenure and legal status. The taxes and forced labor exacted from them for their use of the land probably meant that they gained little from the change. A greater benefit was won through the spread of the cult of Osiris, whose worship ceased to be merely a part of the formal state ritual. The people of every village took part in the annual festival of the death and rebirth of the god, and thereby gained assurance of their own resurrection by his grace. Burial in the name of Osiris gave them the comforting hope of personal immortality.

### THE MIDDLE KINGDOM: THE XIITH DYNASTY

The Theban monarchs who reestablished the central power associated their god, Amon, with Re, the great god of the Pharaohs. The kings of this dynasty used the names Amenemhet and Senusret (the Greek Sesostris). Gradually they reduced the immunities of the feudal nobles, and set royal commissioners over them. The local nobility, however, still profited by the right to collect taxes in the nomes. The kings thus received less income from the land than before, while their expenses were increased by the public works needed to replace ruined canals and temples, the salaries of the new middle class bureaucracy, and the need of supplementing the local militia by a standing army under the sole authority of the king. Consequently new projects were undertaken to increase the revenue.

The marshes of the Fayum district west of the Nile were drained by canals, which aided in reclaiming much waste land. Nubia was annexed as far as the second cataract of the Nile; this added 100 miles to the length of Egypt. Sinai was permanently occupied, and expeditions were made into southern Syria. A fleet was built, and vigorous trade was carried on with Crete, Cyprus, and Syria. Egypt was thus well on the way to empire.

Meanwhile the bureaucracy and the fiscal system were elaborately developed. Every family was registered for purposes of taxation, probably at intervals of fifteen years. Countless scribes were needed, and this career,

which often led to great power (Plate 5), was open to any bright boy in the village schools. Education became very important, and the great increase in general literature attests the numbers and tastes of the reading public. Moral precepts were popular, and reflected shrewd middle class ethics. The scribe's profession was exalted above all other occupations in this literature; even the courier and the hunter were menial by comparison. Popular romances included the adventures in foreign lands of the political exile Sinuhe, and those of the shipwrecked sailor, the prototype of Sinbad. This was the classical age of Egyptian literature. Architecture and the fine arts flourished, but failed to rival the achievements of the Old Kingdom. (Reading Lists 8, 9)

The work of reconstruction, brilliant though it was, failed to establish the central government on a permanent basis. Under the weak rulers of the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties, feudal disintegration again set in. New states were formed in Syria under the influence of invaders from the northeast. The Hyksos, a mixed group of Highland and Semitic stocks with some Indo-European elements, overran the Delta and reduced the later Theban kings to the status of provincial rulers.

#### THE SUMERIAN, SEMITIC, AND BABYLONIAN DYNASTIES IN MESOPOTAMIA

Sumerian historians ascribed great antiquity to their cities and listed the names of kings who ruled in them for thousands of years before the flood. The two thousand years during which the predynastic cities and the early dynasties actually flourished in the Land of the Two Rivers are scarcely less impressive. From the first dynasty of Ur, which probably began at about 3000 B.C., records of the rivalry of the cities supplement the archaeological evidence of their material remains. The Sumerians now controlled southern Mesopotamia, while their culture, and at times their political sovereignty as well, extended over the Semitic cities of Akkad and the Assyrians farther north. The mountain tribes of the Elamites, the Guti, and the Lullubi, whose Caucasian speech was alien to both Sumerians and Semites, remained independent and were a recurrent source of danger to the wealthy cities of the plain. The first political event recorded in Mesopotamian history is a defeat of Elam by a predynastic ruler of Kish.

#### THE SUMERIAN CITY-STATES

The ruler of a Sumerian city was the chief priest of the patron god and, in theory, had autocratic power over the land and the people as his representative. The building and upkeep of the canals, the worship of the gods, the maintenance of communications with districts from which copper, stone, timber, and other essential materials were procured, and the defense

of territory, water rights, and movable property against the aggression of neighbors required a strong central power. But there was more opportunity for individual initiative than in Egypt. Property rights were fully recognized; the carved cylinder seals by which documents were authenticated and goods were protected from unauthorized tampering have a prominent place in Sumerian art. Social classes from slaves to aristocracy were clearly defined and differed markedly in legal status.

#### LAND TENURE

A large part of the land, aside from the royal domain, belonged to the gods and was administered by the priests. The ziggurat, or temple tower with the god's shrine at its summit, was surrounded by a complex group of offices for the administration of the temple estates, the receipt, storage, and distribution of goods brought in as rent and tribute, and the practice of various crafts. Since the chief temples reproduced the economic activities of the state as a whole, the priests had to be good business men. Most of the land in private possession belonged to the estates of the nobles, but there were some small landholders also. Aside from slaves captured in war or enslaved for debt, farm labor was carried on chiefly by semi-free serfs, with some free laborers. The burden of taxation and of forced labor on the canals, roads, and public buildings fell most heavily on the peasants.

A map of a later period shows the characteristic plan of an agricultural district in Mesopotamia, with the villages situated on the branches of a canal, common pasture land, and marshes to furnish reeds for the peasants' huts and furniture. The small area shown on this map also included the fields of the god Marduk, those of the king, a noble's estate, and one assigned to "the table of the priest who interprets the omens" (Plate 7a).

#### INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Far-reaching commerce and intensive development of local industries were inherited from the predynastic period. The copper, gold, silver, bitumen, lapis lazuli, limestone, and diorite with which Sumerian and Akkadian craftsmen worked were imported from Anatolia, the Caucasus, Elam, the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and Iran. There were well-established trade routes by land and sea to the east, by sea from Syria to Egypt, and by land to the mines of the Caucasus district and Anatolia. It is probable that the rulers of the cities encouraged the immigration of alien craftsmen who could teach new methods. The finest metallurgy was developed in this early dynastic period. Many business letters and records in cuneiform script illustrate the character of private business. The ruler was responsible for regulating business and for fixing prices to prevent hardship and unfair speculation in time of scarcity.

The wealth and skilled craftsmanship of the Sumerian cities are best illustrated by the rich treasures of the royal tombs at Ur, where the bodies of the kings and their wives and attendants have been found with golden ornaments, chariots, inlaid harps, and vessels and boxes richly wrought.

#### THE RIVAL DYNASTIES OF SUMER AND AKKAD

Between the first dynasty of Ur and the victory of Sargon of Akkad at about 2550 B.C., rival cities controlled the plain. Chief among these were Kish, Ur, Eridu, Lagash, Nippur, Umma, and Uruk. Patriotic rivalry led the rulers of these cities to keep fuller records than we find in Egypt at this time. Contemporary inscriptions record details of their achievements; centuries later Sumerian scribes wrote chronicles based on oral traditions and on these early documents. Portrait statues of the rulers and reliefs illustrating their deeds have been found at Ur and elsewhere.

The wars of the rival cities with each other and with the Elamites led to the early development of the heavy-armed phalanx. Men fought on foot in close formation with javelin, spear, battle-axe, and bow. War chariots furnished a powerful attacking force. A professional army, whose members were given land from the royal domain, was supplemented by popular levies. The military organization of the Sumerians was taken over in turn by the Semitic conqueror Sargon of Akkad and by the Amorite dynasty of Babylonia.

Ur-Nina founded a dynasty at Lagash which flourished for several generations. Eannatum, third ruler of this dynasty, claimed control over other cities and boasted of his complete conquest of Elam, "the wondrous mountain." His boasts outran his achievement, for the dynasty was overthrown by the rival city of Kish, but it was restored before long by Urukagina, the first ruler known to have undertaken a program of social reform. In spite of the conventional description of the rulers as champions of the poor against the rich, oppression by priests and officials had become very serious. Under Urukagina, however, "the high priest came not into the garden of the poor mother and took not wood therefrom, gathered not tax in fruit therefrom." The less scrupulous nobles may have been relieved when Urukagina was overthrown by Lugal-zaggisi of Umma, a city which had a long-standing feud with Lagash over boundaries and water rights. Such a defeat was usually interpreted as the god's punishment of a wicked ruler, but the chronicle of the reformer's reign charged the people of Umma with wickedness instead, and absolved the king: "there is no wickedness on the part of Urukagina."

Lugal-zaggisi proved to be the greatest of Sumerian conquerors; he ruled nearly all the cities of Sumer and conducted swift and successful raids from the Persian Gulf to the coast of Syria, the land of the Amorites.



a: Palæolithic Painting of Reindeer

*Breuil, La Caverne de Font de Gaume; Courtesy Institut de Paléontologie Humaine,  
Monaco*



b: Neolithic Head of sundried  
clay found at Jericho

*From Liverpool Annals of Archaeology  
& Anthropology, XXII; Courtesy of  
Sir John Garstang*

## PLATE I

a

b



## PLATE 2

*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of  
the University of Chicago*

a, b: Portrait Heads from Khafaje  
showing racial types in Mesopotamia  
in the early dynastic period

a: the Armenoid or  
Highland type

b: the Mediterranean  
type



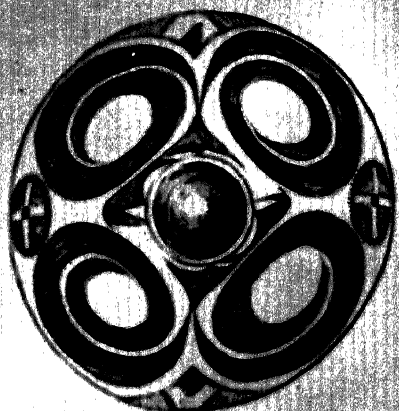
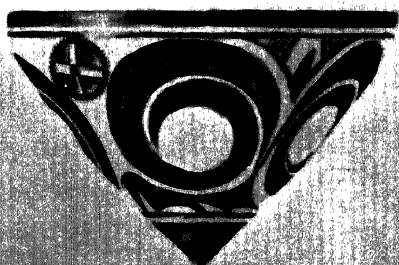
c: Cultural Diffusion: fragment of a steatite vase from Iraq, showing a  
humped bull of Indian type

# PLATE 3

## NEOLITHIC POTTERY

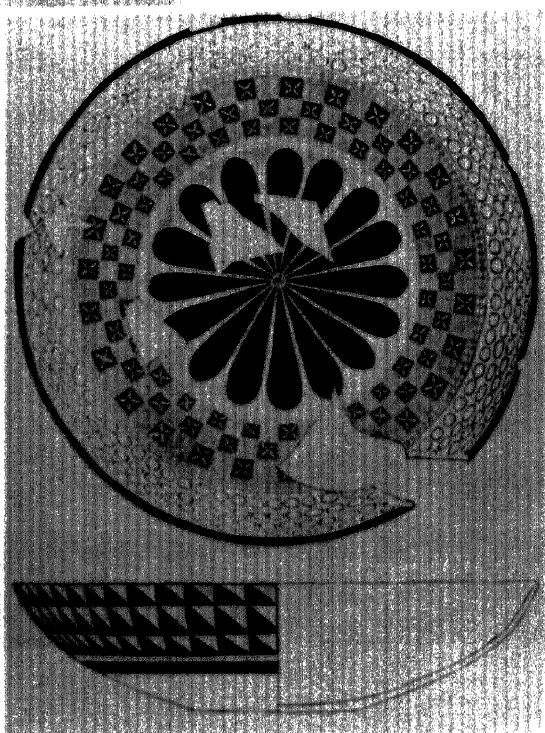
a: From Persepolis

*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of  
the University of Chicago*



b: From Tell Arpachiyah

*From Mallowan & Rose, Prehistoric Assyria; Courtesy of the Oxford University Press*





a: The Tigris River: Relief from the Palace of Sennacherib

British Museum

*Photograph by W. F. Munsell*



b: The Nile River: Relief from the Tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara, showing a papyrus boat in the papyrus marshes

*From W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte; Courtesy J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, Leipzig*

## PLATE 4



An Egyptian Scribe of the IIIrd Dynasty, with pen-case, palette, and water bottle  
for mixing ink: Tomb of Hésy, Saqqara

*Courtesy Service des Antiquités, Cairo*

PLATE 5

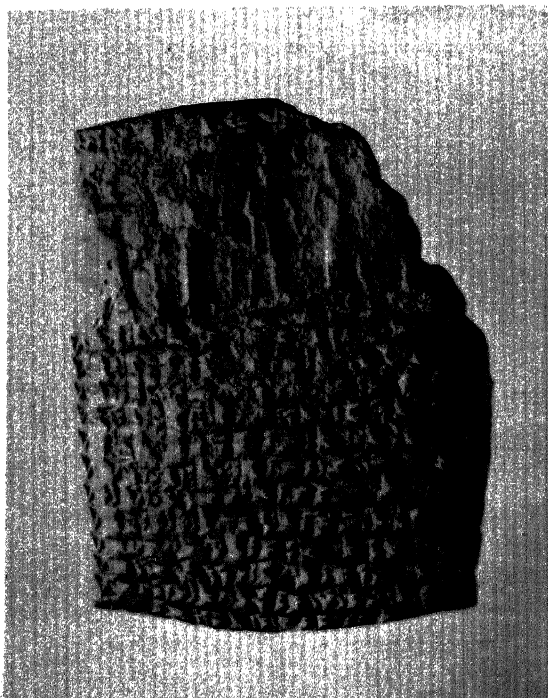
a

b



a, b: Babylonian Cylinder Seal showing Gilgamesh and Enkidu fighting a bull and a lion, c. 2500-2400 B.C.

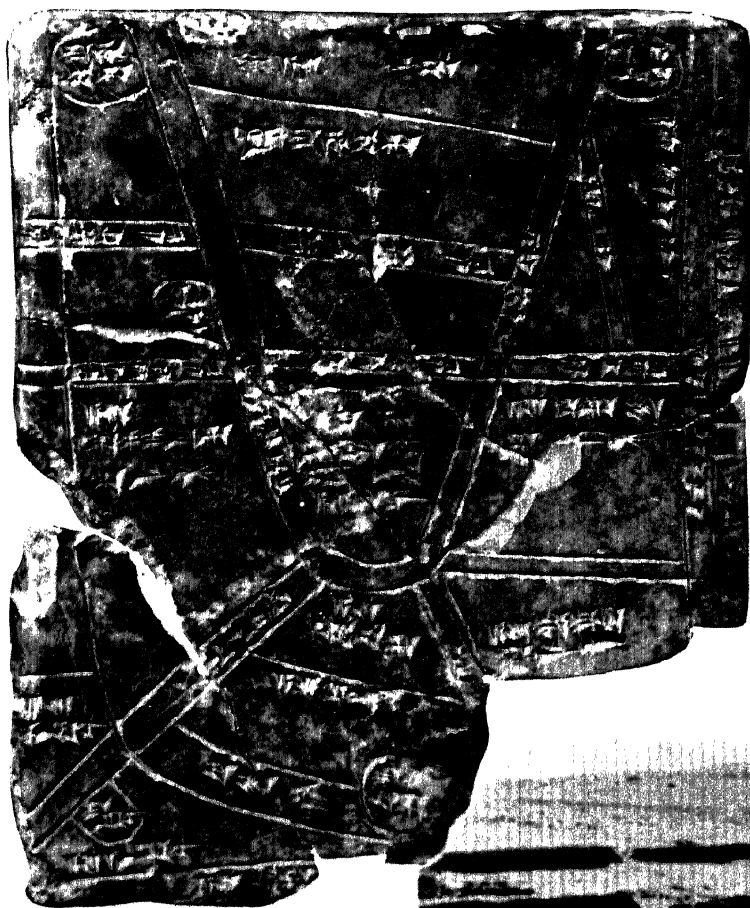
a: An impression made by the seal  
b: The original seal, height 1 inch



c: An Assyro-Babylonian Tablet with record of an adoption intended to provide an annuity, authenticated by a seal, c. 1500-1400 B.C.

## PLATE 6

*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



a: Babylonian Map, showing canals, villages (enclosed in ovals), the fields of king, priests, and peasants, and common pastures and marshes, c. 1500 B.C.

*Courtesy of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*

b: Inscribed Bricks *in situ* in the foundations of a building at Tell Asmar, Iraq, c. 2000 B.C.

*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



## PLATE 7



Khafre with the Protecting Deity Horus, IVth Dynasty

Museum, Cairo

*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*

## PLATE 8

## SARGON OF AKKAD

Sargon of Akkad (c. 2550 B.C.) established the first real union of the Sumerian and Semitic cities in his kingdom of Sumer and Akkad. This was the nucleus for the extensive conquests of his 55 years of reign, which included the lands "from sunrise to sunset," from the Persian Gulf to the mountains of Elam, Assyria, Syria, and the Mediterranean coast. He is reputed to have founded a colony in Cappadocia, a district important for its copper and the metallurgical skill of its inhabitants. This may well be the centre from which the use of bronze alloys soon spread, supplanting copper. Ancient descriptions of Sargon's empire mention the silver mountains of the Taurus, the cedar forests of Lebanon, Kaptara, which probably was Cilicia or Cappadocia, or possibly Crete, and the land of lead. Some of these lands were probably sought for commerce rather than conquest, and all were countries whose tribute would supplement the products of Sumer and Akkad. Sargon's conquests have been described as the first empire in history, but his imperial organization was rudimentary. It consisted chiefly of the exaction of annual tribute, the setting up of statues of the conqueror, and maintenance of commercial agreements, with no attempt at local government or provincial control.

There was widespread rebellion at the end of Sargon's reign, but Naram-Sin, who was probably his grandson, restored the power and reigned for 50 years. He reconquered Elam and conducted campaigns on a par with those of Sargon, though they may not have been so extensive. The most notable relic of Naram-Sin's reign is the relief carved on his stele of victory, which pictures his conquest of a people in the Zagros Mountains (Plate 13). In conception and composition it is far superior to the usual stiff formalism of the art of Sumer and Akkad, and challenges comparison with the finest contemporary Egyptian sculpture.

## THE LATER DYNASTIES

After Naram-Sin, Sumer and Akkad were again subject to the conflicts of the different cities. "Who was king, who was not king?" wrote a perplexed chronicler. The mountaineers of Gutium, northwest of Elam, raided Elam and the plain repeatedly, and dominated them from about 2400 to 2300 B.C. As the Elamites had done since Sargon's time, the Guti absorbed much of the Sumerian culture, and some cities, like Umma, kept their own rulers and enjoyed great prosperity under Gutian overlordship. The eclipse of Semitic Akkad by the Guti paved the way for the last great Sumerian revival. A league under Uruk finally expelled the Guti, and Ur-nammu and his son Shulgi<sup>3</sup> established the third dynasty of Ur at about 2290.

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<sup>3</sup> These names were formerly transliterated as Ur-engur and Dungi.

Shulgi was "king of the four regions of the earth." He defeated the Elamites and Guti, and controlled the land from Sumer through Assyria, and perhaps much of Syria. He codified the civil and criminal law, and did much to advance his people. He was regarded as the founder of a golden age which should restore the glories of the past, and was the first historical Sumerian ruler to be worshipped as a god.

Recent excavations show that Ur at this time was a far larger city than the same district could support under present conditions, and had an area of over four square miles. The great ziggurat built by Ur-nammu is the finest achievement of Sumerian architecture, and the private houses of substantial citizens give equal proof of prosperity, with their spacious rooms and efficient sanitation. Increased interest in personal religion is indicated by family shrines in many of the houses, which were built for the worship of other gods than those of the city cults.

In this age of Sumerian revival the "divine Gudea" was governor of Lagash; he was famous for his justice and piety, and conducted far-reaching commerce. Although he was not a king, he was worshipped as a god by his people. Ibi-Sin, the last ruler of Ur, was taken captive with his god by the concerted action of the Amorites and Elamites. Thus ended the last dynasty of the ancient city of Ur. Larsa and Isin were now the chief powers in Sumer and Akkad, and Isin dominated the plain.

### THE CIVILIZATION OF SUMER AND AKKAD

The religious ideas of the Sumerians and their Semitic neighbors were fused at an early period, and prevailed with minor changes from the time of the city dynasties of Sumer and Akkad through the Babylonian and Assyrian Empires. The cults of different nature gods were associated with individual cities; when a city gained in power, its chief deity became supreme over those of lesser states. Enlil, originally a storm-god brought from the mountain home of the Sumerians, assumed the character of a sun-god, and became the chief figure in the Mesopotamian pantheon. Nippur, the site of his chief temple, was a pilgrimage centre for over 2,000 years. Enlil was addressed in hymns as "Lord of the lands, Lord of the true word, who causes multitudes to dwell together." Ea, god of the waters, was another important divinity, who gave intelligence to men and taught them the arts of civilization.

When Babylon became the ruling city of Mesopotamia, the god Marduk became supreme, and as Baal, "lord of the lands," he was worshipped throughout the Babylonian Empire. The temples and shrines of lesser gods were grouped about those of Marduk and Ea, who was now regarded as Marduk's father. Goddesses were usually vague consorts of the gods, except Ishtar, whose many names reflect her widespread worship as goddess

of fertility and love and as leader of her people in war. Her cult was found wherever Semitic religious ideas were current, and influenced that of kindred goddesses in other lands, including the Greek Aphrodite.

The chief religious festivals marked the changing seasons of the year; the New Year's holiday in Babylon, which lasted eleven days, was a feast of Marduk. In later ages the Assyrians adopted the gods of the Sumerians and Babylonians and kept the old ritual, but made their own god Assur supreme, as the author and sharer of the king's glory and as king and creator of the other gods.

Magic incantations were as popular as in Egypt. Divination by omens and by examining the liver of sacrificial animals, or by astrology, was practiced in connection with the king and affairs of state, but not for mere private purposes. Belief in immortality was poorly developed and offered no such field for artistic expression as in Egypt. Sumerian and Babylonian art was concerned with gods and living men, not with the dead. Careful training for the priesthood was provided by the temple schools, and what now remains of Sumerian literature has been found chiefly in the ruins of the temples. (Reading List 10)

The earlier Sumerian writings are business records and building inscriptions; history and poetry seem to have depended chiefly on oral tradition. Scholars of the period of the Sumerian revival compiled lists of kings and dynasties from the mythical days before the flood to their own time, and wove oral traditions and the brief earlier records into chronicles. Fifteen hundred years later Assurbanipal had these chronicles translated into Assyrian for his library.

Creative imagination was stimulated by mythology, and the great religious epics, which were first transcribed in Sumerian, became the chief literary treasures of the Babylonians and Assyrians and of the Anatolian and Syrian peoples whom they influenced. One of the most beautiful of these epics tells how Ishtar, the mother goddess and queen of heaven, descended to the lower world in search of her dead son and lover Tammuz, a parallel to the Egyptian Osiris and the Greek Adonis. The epic of Gilgamesh reflects the pessimism of the last days of Sumer, when Shulgi's golden age was a lost hope. Even the great demigod who "saw all things, even to the ends of the earth," could not overcome mortality. It is probable that the great epic of creation was also written at this time.

Mathematics and other arts, especially astronomy, which was of interest for its association with astrology, were much studied. The five planets then known were named for the chief divinities; in later times the Romans gave them the names of the corresponding gods in their pantheon, by which we know them today. Further progress was made in the codification of the laws: the gods were the lawgivers of the country through the agency of the kings.

Some of the cultural elements formerly attributed to Sumerian influence are now known to have been developed before the Sumerians came. The arch and dome were used in Tell Arpachiyah, and some important features of urban civilization are pre-Sumerian, as we have seen. The source of others will remain doubtful until we know more about the date at which the Sumerians arrived, and their relations with the earlier population. But the Sumerians established the major features of the government of the city-states, founded their military strength, and shaped their arts and sciences. Sumerian cuneiform script formed the basis of most of the written languages of the Near East outside Egypt. The most notable types of Sumerian sculpture, the heraldic beasts and birds of the city-states, have been transmitted through later ages as the symbols of imperial power.

#### THE AMORITE DYNASTY: HAMMURABI

For generations the Semitic Amorites had been occupying the land of Sumer and Akkad by a process of generally peaceful penetration. During the Isin dynasty these Amorites gained control of Babylon, hitherto an unimportant city. Documents recently discovered show that several small states sought to control the Mesopotamian plain at this period. Rim-Sin, an Elamite who had established his power in Larsa, captured Isin and weakened its power, and thus prepared the way for the conquests of Hammurabi, the sixth Amorite ruler of Babylon. Early in his reign Hammurabi captured Isin and the other warring cities, and in his thirtieth year his defeat of Rim-Sin substituted the Babylonian power for that of the Elamites in the cities of the plain. He incorporated the cities of Sumer and Akkad in the Babylonian state. The concentration of trade at Babylon hastened the decline of the southern cities. The rulers of Assyria were probably Hammurabi's vassals. Hammurabi recorded at Ur his victories over the men of Gutium, Subartu, and Tukrish, "whose mountains are distant, whose languages are complicated." Many dedicatory inscriptions list the temples and canals which he built or repaired, including "Hammurabi river, the joy of men," and record the king's interest in the prosperity of his people. (Reading List 11)

#### THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

The most famous record of Hammurabi's reign is his code of laws, inscribed on a stele which is now in the Louvre. The code of Hammurabi was largely a translation of the recently codified Sumerian laws. Unlike the Semites and the mountain peoples, the Sumerians had not been reenforced by any fresh settlements of their stock since the fourth millennium; the Sumerian element in the population can never have been strong numerically, and now that their political leadership was over, they were rapidly

absorbed and ceased to be mentioned as a separate people. Sumerian became a religious language, and its literature and laws were translated into the tongue of the Amorite rulers, who, like Hammurabi, adopted the customs and past history of the country as their own.

The missing parts of Hammurabi's code can be supplied from other evidence, and the whole, together with information gathered from business records and other documents, gives a remarkably vivid picture of Sumerian and Babylonian life. Notable features are the differentiation between classes in the scale of penalties, the right of a slave to marry a free woman and beget free children, the responsibility of city magistrates for unpunished crimes committed within their jurisdiction, and the detailed regulation of business. The marriage regulations in the code, and the recognition of a widow's right to own property and conduct business in her own name, have often been contrasted with the usual dependent position of oriental women. Probably the principle of physical retaliation, by which even accidental death or mutilation was requited in kind, was a holdover from cruder times, but it may have been meant as a salutary reminder of the extreme penalties which might legally be enforced. There are naturally many parallels between these laws of Sumer and Babylonia and the later Hebrew codes preserved in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, which were influenced by them, but the code of Hammurabi reflects a more highly organized government and an earlier stage in ethical development. (Reading List 12)

#### THE DECLINE OF THE AMORITE DYNASTY

Babylonia continued for many centuries to dominate the culture of the Near East, but its political power was weakened by internal disorders and by continual wars with Elam. An independent dynasty of strong kings ruled in the Sealand southwest of Babylonia. A raid by the Hittites, who had recently formed a strong power in Asia Minor, helped to weaken the state, and continuous attacks by the Kassites from the mountains northeast of Elam ended the Amorite dynasty at about 1750 B.C.

#### THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

As we have seen, the pottery and seals of the Neolithic Age show cultural affinities between the Near East and the Indus Valley. Recent excavations at Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, and elsewhere have disclosed the city-states of the Indus civilization which were contemporaneous with the early Sumerian dynasties. Evidence of intercourse between the two civilizations has been found not only at these Indian sites, but in Mesopotamia (Plate 2c). The Indus culture embraced a larger area than Egypt or Sumer and Akkad. It reached a level comparable to theirs, with individual characteristics such as the use of cotton, and large houses with luxurious baths. The writing of

the Indus region has not been deciphered; the specimens thus far discovered are chiefly short seal inscriptions. Technically, the products of the Indus craftsmen are superb, but they lack artistic merit, except for a few seal designs and figurines. The Indus Valley was associated with the cultures of the Near East until about 2500 B.C., when its internal decline was apparently hastened by hostile attacks. Like the Sumerians, to whom some scholars believe that they were related, the Indus people remain a racial mystery; the skeletal material which has been found has affinities with the Mediterranean group, but is too small in quantity to be decisive. The Dravidians of India may perhaps be descendants of the Indus Valley people of the third millennium B.C. In any case, it is now held that the Indus culture formed the basis of the Aryan civilization of India. (Reading List 13)

### COMMERCE

The commercial activity stimulated by the demand for copper continued through the third millennium. We have seen how it was fostered by the interest of Egyptian and Mesopotamian rulers, especially in Syria, Anatolia, and Cyprus. Gold and silver treasures comparable to those of the royal tombs of Ur have been discovered at Alaça Hüyük in Asia Minor, and have been assigned to a date not later than 2500 B.C.

A remarkable series of clay tablets from Cappadocia preserves the business records of Assyrian commercial colonies at the close of this period. Assyria had no political control over the district; indeed, the governors of Assyrian cities were themselves vassals of Ur. The Assyrian residents in Cappadocia were free from local jurisdiction and were subject only to Assyrian laws. They were protected by commercial agreements between the rulers of the two countries. They used native slaves and often married native women. Their records were kept in Assyrian cuneiform. In addition to these merchant colonies, there were exchange points at which the local dynasts had prior rights of purchase of goods in transit to Assyria. Grain, oil, wine, and wool and manufactured goods were exported from Cappadocia to the east.

Silver and gold, not in the form of coined money, but in standard weights, were the medium of exchange, and unidentified metals of much higher value than these are mentioned. There were regular arrangements for credit, usually at a higher rate than the prevalent 20%. The establishment of the Old Hittite Kingdom in the nineteenth century B.C. ended these Assyrian colonies, but the Hittites soon resumed trade with Mesopotamia and northern Syria, and used the old trade routes.

The occupation of the mound of Hissarlik in the northwest corner of Asia Minor, usually identified since Schliemann's discoveries as the Homeric Troy, dates from about 3000 B.C. Troy seems to have been settled by colonists from Europe; the people of the second settlement, an armed citadel

with massive walls and rich treasures of silver, gold, and copper, traded with the Anatolian and Danubian peoples, the Ægean islands, and perhaps with Egypt. This great city was destroyed early in the second millennium B.C. Its commercial position seems to have depended largely on its strategic position at the junctions of important land and sea routes, and its command of the Dardanelles. Like the rest of the western coast of Asia Minor, Troy was more closely connected with Europe than with the east.

Current excavations, which have greatly increased our knowledge of the culture of Syria at this time, confirm the belief that the civilization of the Syrian cities, like that of the chief Anatolian centers, was as highly developed as those of Egypt and the Mesopotamian states, with which they carried on active commerce.

At about 2200 B.C., Crete, which had an old and settled culture and had played an active part in developing maritime trade, began to build up a sea power which extended her influence very widely. The Cretan power will be discussed in a later chapter, since its full development belongs to the first half of the second millennium. Before they came under the control of Crete, the rocky islands of the Ægean flourished for centuries on the sale of their copper, marble, emery, and obsidian, and on the profits of the transit trade. The Cycladic culture is famous for its painted pottery and its plastic figurines. Melos, the source of the much-desired obsidian, had a more lasting prosperity than the other islands. Greece itself apparently had little share in this commercial activity until about 1600 B.C., but its pottery and copper wares show kinship with the Cycladic and Cretan cultures, and its villages increased in size and prosperity during the third millennium B.C.

#### THE BEGINNING OF THE BRONZE AGE

Not long after copper came into general use, its more serviceable alloy, bronze, was discovered. Even before 3000 B.C., bronze was used in Sumer and elsewhere, but despite its superiority to copper for most purposes, it was soon abandoned, probably because of the scanty local deposits of tin. Toward 2000 B.C., when more abundant supplies of tin were made available, bronze supplanted copper in general use, and became a major factor in Mediterranean and oriental trade. Tin from Bohemia may have reached the south by way of the Danube Valley and Troy, and perhaps the tin mines of central Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and northern Iran were discovered at this time. The Hyksos seem to have introduced the extensive use of bronze into Egypt in the eighteenth century B.C., and it spread through western Europe at about the same time, at first under Ægean influence and later under that of Spain and Italy. Both countries had copper and tin, and Spain had access to the more copious supplies of northwestern Europe. Iron is found occasionally at Bronze Age sites, but, like copper and bronze, was little used for some centuries after its discovery. (Reading List 6)

## IV

### MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

*The human race is constantly migrating: some change takes place daily in so great a world.*  
—Seneca

THROUGHOUT HUMAN HISTORY, migration has been the chief remedy for unfavorable local conditions, whether these were due to natural catastrophes such as floods, earthquakes, or prolonged drought, or to overpopulation in proportion to the ability of the land to support its inhabitants in their accustomed way of living. In modern times the exclusive occupation of the habitable world by clearly delimited national states and their dependencies has almost ended folk migrations except as they are made possible by armed conquest, and even the migration of individuals is sharply restricted. In the early world, boundaries were rarely coterminous; highland and semi-desert regions were open to the intrusion of alien groups which might later seize opportunities to establish themselves in the more desirable plains by peaceful penetration or by force. Much sparsely settled land was capable of supporting a large population if forests were cleared, swamps drained, or marginal land irrigated. The climate and fertility of the Mediterranean lands and the adjacent Iranian plateau, and the prosperity of the civilizations established in them led to a long series of migrations from the north which, together with the continued expansion of Semitic tribes, primarily from Arabia, have been a determining factor in the history of Europe and the Near East.

The fixed frontiers of the Roman Empire in the early centuries of our era imposed an artificial check on these migrations until the internal decline of the Roman power prevented effective resistance to the constant pressure of foreign peoples. A new period of invasion and settlement then began, during which the disintegration of the ancient world took place.

#### THE INDO-EUROPEAN INVASIONS

From the end of the third millennium B.C. to the time of the Slavic settlements in the Balkan peninsula in the sixth century of our era, the majority of the northern invaders of the ancient world spoke languages derived from a common source. Modern languages descended from these still

persist wherever the invaders dominated the earlier population for a considerable time, and their general relationship to each other is clearly traceable in spite of later linguistic changes. Since these languages occur over a wide territory, from India to the Atlantic, they are commonly called Indo-European. In modern times European colonization and influence have established them throughout the world.

Most of the earlier invasions and settlements of the Indo-European speaking peoples took place before written records began in the districts which they occupied, and can be traced only through the languages in use in later times. Aside from some parts of the Near East, therefore, the time and course of their migrations can only be estimated approximately. Attempts to establish the history of the Indo-European settlements on archaeological evidence can only rest on theory, especially since the general practice of cremation among Indo-European speaking peoples has destroyed the most valuable anthropological evidence. One point, however, is clear, and is essential for an understanding of their later history: the peoples who brought the Indo-European speech into the ancient world were very diversified racially. No one physical type can be exclusively associated with them. Centuries of intermingling with other peoples in the lands through which they passed and in which they lived for considerable periods, produced different racial characteristics in the various groups. In most cases the invaders were a minority of the population in the lands where they finally settled, and in the resultant fusion the native physical types predominated. Thus the relationship of Indo-European speaking peoples is based on language and other cultural inheritances of a less tangible nature, and is not primarily a matter of race.

#### INDO-EUROPEAN ORIGINS

The terms common to these languages are called *cognate* or "related" words. These words show that the Indo-Europeans, before their dispersion, lived the normal life of late neolithic or early chalcolithic peoples in districts where town life had not developed. They depended more on their flocks and herds than on agriculture, and this, together with their possession of horses, made migration easier than it would have been for a primarily agricultural people. The family was a well-developed institution of the patriarchal type, in which the father had complete authority over the property, functions, and even the lives of his wife, his sons, their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters.

A characteristic element in Indo-European religion was the worship of a supreme sky-god, whom the Indians were to call *Diaus*, the Greeks *Zeus*, the Romans *Jupiter*, and the Germans *Odin*. He was not merely a local or tribal god, but had a more universal character than the chief divinities of the early peoples of the Near East; this aspect of universality may have

resulted from the dispersion of his worshippers, who recognized his power as extending both to their old and their new homes. Other gods were subordinate to him, and the great goddess worshipped in the Balkan and Anatolian districts was gradually transformed into his consort.

On the basis of the common Indo-European vocabulary in so far as it can be reconstructed, it is clear that the geographical starting-point of the migrations must have been some inland district where extensive grasslands provided pasturage for flocks and herds and facilitated the use of horse-drawn vehicles.<sup>1</sup> Something is known also of the climate from the plant and animal names in the common Indo-European vocabulary. The course of the better-known movements, together with other considerations, shows that the original home can hardly have been west of the Hungarian and Bohemian grasslands; the great steppes of southern Russia are another area which has been prominent in some recent studies of the question. Both these districts must at least have been important as intermediate settlements of the western Indo-European speaking peoples. The third possibility, and the one best supported by analogy with the course of migrations in later historical periods, is that their original home was somewhere in central Asia east of the Caspian Sea.

#### THE CHIEF MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS IN THE NEAR EAST

The Indo-European migrations must have begun by about 2500 B.C.; before 2000 some Indo-European speaking peoples had passed through the Balkan district or over the Caucasus and settled in central Asia Minor, where, as we have seen, a flourishing civilization was already established in close contact with Mesopotamia. With the local stocks whom they dominated, these invaders formed the strong Hittite kingdom: the term Hittite will be used hereafter for both elements in the population of this district. The Hittites spoke a language akin to the western Indo-European dialects, but they adopted Babylonian cuneiform as their written language, and used hieroglyphic symbols resembling those of Egypt for some monumental inscriptions.

At about the same time an eastern group, whose dialects differed from those of the Hittites, settled south of the Caspian Sea. The majority of this eastern branch, who are known as the Indo-Iranians, seem to have lived together for some time in the lands near the Caspian. Some of them, however, moved west comparatively soon. The Kassites in the mountains north-east of Elam were influenced by them before they established their dynasty in Babylonia. During the nineteenth century Iranian chieftains became

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<sup>1</sup> Lack of space prohibits discussion of the many unsettled elements in the Indo-European question. The summary given here is merely a brief synthesis in keeping with recent studies, especially in connection with the history of the Near East.

overlords among the Caucasian Hurri, who were expanding through northern Mesopotamia west of the Assyrians. The Iranian dynasts also seem to have furnished the impulse for the Hyksos conquest of Egypt.

A branch of the Indo-Iranians crossed the Ganges, probably about 1500 B.C., subdued the native Dravidians, and founded the dominant civilization of India on the basis of the old Indus Valley culture. Others during the same period spread over the Iranian plateau, where they eventually formed the strong powers of Media and Persia.<sup>2</sup> Very little is known of the internal history of these peoples until they appear in the Assyrian records of the ninth century and later.

### THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK PEOPLE

Migrations of the western Indo-Europeans into the Balkans began before 2000 B.C. and continued for a thousand years, during which the entrance of additional tribes repeatedly displaced those who had settled earlier, and forced them south into Greece, east into Asia Minor, and west toward the Adriatic. The earlier population of Greece, which was chiefly of Mediterranean stock with some elements from Asia Minor, shared in the distinctive culture of the related *Ægean* area. This culture, which is called *Helladic* to distinguish it from the fully developed *Hellenic* civilization of Greece, is notable especially for its pottery. The transition from the earlier Helladic period to the Mycenaean culture of the Bronze Age, and thence to the Iron Age, was continuous to a certain degree, but at three periods, approximately 2000 B.C., when the invasions were beginning, 1400, and 1100, there were cultural breaks which seem to have resulted from changes in the population.

By 1400 the Indo-European speaking Achæans were probably well established in the Peloponnesus, and were using a dialect that we may call Greek. Several hundred years later, Homer used the name *Achaean* for the Greeks in general. Pressure from Thracian tribes in the north forced these Achæans southward and probably caused others to cross the Hellespont; we find the *Ahhijava*, who are probably to be identified with the Achæans, mentioned in Hittite records in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. as living in southwestern Asia Minor under rulers whose names are similar to those of Greek heroes.

Illyrian tribes moved southwest toward the Adriatic coast and dislodged the Thracians. By about 1200 B.C. the pressure from north and west was seriously felt throughout the Balkan peninsula, and Greeks and *Ægeans* in increasing numbers, together with more recently arrived Indo-European speaking peoples, took to the sea to raid the islands and coasts of the western Mediterranean. This was a new phase of widespread destruction, very

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<sup>2</sup> For the chronology adopted here see D. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (University of Chicago Press, 1936), 140. Some scholars place the invasion of India as late as 1000 B.C.

different from the gradual penetration and settlement of the preceding 800 years. Egyptian scribes recorded in alarm the damage wrought by the "Peoples of the Sea." Their raids caused secondary movements among the earlier population, which resulted in the founding of several new states in Asia Minor and Syria. Many small states under Indo-European dynasts supplanted the Hittite kingdom, which was broken down by the attacks of the invaders. Among the great invasions of this period was that of the Dorians who conquered the "bronze-clad Achæans" of the Peloponnesus during the eleventh century B.C., according to a Greek tradition which agrees well with other evidence. During the Dorian conquest and the next two centuries many men left Greece to colonize the Ægean islands and the coasts of Asia Minor. Thereafter Greece, the Ægean islands, and the Anatolian coast were all occupied by people of closely related Greek stock and background.

The Greeks remembered only the Dorian invasions, and considered the earlier settlers as native-born or *autochthonous*. They ascribed the great walls and palaces of the Bronze Age to the Pelasgians, the traditional native population of Greece. Greek legends appear to draw a true picture when they represent the conquering hero as coming with a few companions to establish his power over the native folk, whose descendants were to worship him as the founder of their state. Such invasions were likely to destroy the wealth and power of individual rulers without lasting damage to the country as a whole. The temporary injury to local prosperity was compensated, at least in part, by the new cultural elements which the invaders introduced.

Wherever they went, the Indo-European speaking peoples were characterized by their love of war and adventure. In Greece, as elsewhere in the East, the migrations from the north meant a notable development in the art of war. Not only did the invaders make more use of bronze weapons and armor than the older peoples had done, but they introduced war chariots drawn by horses, which changed the social organization of warlike states, as well as military strategy and tactics. For the chariot required a charioteer in addition to the warrior, and the provision and maintenance of horses, chariot, and armor were costly items. A military aristocracy thus became the chief reliance of the ruler in foreign wars, and districts such as Thessaly in northern Greece, the Hittite country, and the region about Lake Van south of the Caucasus, where horse-breeding could be successfully carried on, profited greatly. The Sumerians had bred horses, but had not made significant use of them, and their breed seems to have died out. The Hittites, Kassites, Mitanni, Hyksos, and Greeks made the horse so essential to warfare that a Hebrew prophecy of universal peace was summed up in the words: "In that day upon the bells of the horses shall be written, 'Holiness to the Lord'." (Reading List 14)

## ITALY

In the Neolithic Age Italy was inhabited by a short-limbed, long-headed, Mediterranean people, who have remained the dominant physical type in the peninsula. The population of Sicily belonged to the same Mediterranean stock, but in both Italy and Sicily the known dialects are of Indo-European type, though a few words seem to be survivals of the Mediterranean speech of neolithic times. The transition to the Copper Age seems to have been effected in Italy through the northern contacts of the lake-dwellers in the Po Valley at some time before 2000 B.C. During the Copper Age, Sicily was in commercial contact with the Ægean world, while the northern part of the peninsula was associated chiefly with the upper part of the Danube Valley and adjacent lands.

## THE TERRA MARA PEOPLE

Before 1600 B.C. bronze was introduced into Italy by a people from the Alpine districts to the northeast, whom we call by the local Italian term, *terra mara*, for the rich black earth obtained from their town sites. Whether the *terra mara* people were descendants of the lake-dwellers, or, as seems probable, later invaders of Italy, they adapted the form of the pile-dwellings for use on dry land in the rich plains of the Po Valley. They depended for protection on the raised trapezoidal platforms on which they laid out the regular streets of their towns and built their houses. The whole area of a *terra mara* town was surrounded by a broad moat, the earth from which formed an outer rampart. The moat was crossed on the broad side of the town by a bridge. The regular layout of the streets and the conspicuous public square in the middle of the town suggest a well-developed social organization. Like the city-states of Mesopotamia, the *terra mara* villages were rebuilt on the same site, if the existing buildings were destroyed by fire or hostile attack. The individual town thus might have a continuous history for many generations.

The convenient though unsanitary habit of casting refuse into the moat has preserved much evidence of the civilization of the *terra mara* people. What we know of their crops, domesticated animals, and their bronze weapons and trumpets, which reproduce central European types, is consistent with the theory that the occupants of these towns represent the first Indo-European speaking people who settled in Italy. Their custom of cremating the dead distinguishes them from the neolithic peoples of Italy who practiced inhumation. For several centuries, the *terra mara* civilization persisted in the Po Valley; the people served as middlemen in commerce with the north, and spread southward in isolated settlements, but remained a minor element in the total population of the peninsula.

By the close of the Bronze Age various related cremating stocks of central European and Danubian origin spread through Italy and their Indo-European speech came to prevail throughout the land, though they were far outnumbered by the earlier Mediterranean stock. The mingling of northern and Mediterranean influences produced various distinct local cultures which persisted in early historic times.

#### THE CELTS

The fusion of Indo-European speaking immigrants with the earlier peoples of the Danube Valley produced the Celtic culture of the Bronze Age, a brilliant development of tribal and village life. Their bronze swords, daggers, battle-axes, and ornaments of characteristic and beautiful types were in wide demand along the trade routes of central Europe. From the seventh century to the third they spread through France to Spain, Britain, and Ireland. Their invasion of Spain before 600 B.C., and of Italy at the close of the fifth century B.C., brought them into the Mediterranean sphere, and occasioned the first historical records of their movements. The related Germanic peoples did not enter the field of Mediterranean history until a much later period.

The age of the early Indo-European invasions in the west was one of slow and unrecorded cultural development. In the east, on the other hand, the Indo-European speaking peoples who came into close contact with earlier civilizations played a decisive part in complex military and political events and made notable contributions to the arts of government; these are traceable through the recorded history of the period as well as through archæological remains. (Reading List 15)

#### THE NEAR EAST FROM 1900-1580 B.C.: ASIA MINOR

When the Hittite kingdom was formed in Asia Minor, that country had long been in contact with the Mesopotamian states, which greatly influenced its culture. The worship of the great mother goddess was but one feature in this common culture of the Near East. In the third and second millennia as in later times, the population was most varied and yet showed a marked tendency toward cultural, and even toward physical unity. In monuments of the second millennium, we already note the facial type which later dominated in Asia Minor and Syria, with high, receding forehead and prominent hooked nose. Asia Minor was the chief commercial link between the eastern powers and the Ægean and Danubian regions, while its mines made it important to the rulers of Babylonia and Egypt. Hitherto little has been known of this important section of the ancient world, but the excavations made possible by the new Turkish government and the deciphering of the archives of Boghazköy, the Hittite capital, are constantly adding to our knowledge, so that Anatolia is taking its place as

one of the major sections of the ancient east. A special interest attaches to the Hittites, since their kingdom represents the oldest meeting-place of the Orient and Europe which history has preserved.

### THE OLD HITTITE KINGDOM

The destruction of the second city of Troy, the foundation of the Hittite kingdom in central Asia Minor, and the spread of the Hurri, who checked the Assyrian expansion, were all connected with the Indo-European movements of about 2000 B.C. The Hittites retained the local Asiatic culture, but introduced the use of the war chariot and the sport of chariot racing. The Indo-European language of the ruling stock was used officially, but did not supplant the local dialects. As Hittite dynasts gained control of neighboring states, they introduced their own political system with a council of nobles who elected the king from the royal family, and with clearly defined political rights for the free population. The queen had an important place in the affairs of the kingdom, and though the Hittite king had a harem, members of the royal family did not intermarry, as they did in the oriental monarchies. The ruler was a priest-king, but was not set apart from the nobles, and the whole character of the government resembled the early Greek principalities described by Homer far more than the oriental type of monarchy.

The foundation of the united Old Kingdom of the Hittites was delayed by the rivalry of individual states and by the aggression of independent tribes along the coasts of Asia Minor. About 1850 B.C., Labarna established his power at Boghazköy. Though he was not the first Hittite king, he was regarded in later times as the founder of the kingdom, and his name served as a title for his successors much as that of Cæsar has done for European rulers. The kings of the lesser states, which were formerly independent, ruled as vassals of the Hittite monarch.

The rise of the Hittites to world power was marked by aggression in northern Syria. In the reign of Murshil I (c. 1750 B.C.), the Hurri seriously threatened their control of northern Syria. Murshil undertook an aggressive campaign against them and succeeded in plundering Aleppo, an important Hurrian city in Syria, and even raided Babylon. But the kingdom soon fell into anarchy, and after vain attempts to establish orderly succession to the throne and to restore order, Hittite history remains a blank from about 1650 to 1430 B.C., when the new Hittite Empire appeared as a major world-power. (Reading List 16)

### THE KASSITES IN BABYLONIA

This two-hundred-year gap in Hittite history is paralleled in Babylonia, Elam, and Assyria. Egypt emerged from the general obscurity 150 years earlier than the other countries of the Near East. The **chroniclers** of the

ancient world, unfortunately for modern students, felt no compulsion to record the inglorious periods in their countries' histories, and the sources for our knowledge of the Kassite, Hurrian, and Hyksos conquests are consequently very inadequate.

The Kassite mountaineers, who had adopted the use of horses from their Indo-European speaking neighbors, invaded Babylonia about 1900 B.C., but failed to establish their power. For the next 150 years, they took no aggressive action, but followed a policy of peaceful penetration. Kassite farmhands, porters, and mercenary soldiers are mentioned in the Babylonian records of this period. The sack of Babylon by Murshil in 1750 B.C. exposed the inner weakness of the kingdom, and the Kassites established their dynasty under Gandash a year later. This second Babylonian dynasty of the Kassites lasted for almost 600 years, until 1171 B.C. The Kassite kings adopted Babylonian religious and social customs, but also introduced the worship of their own gods. The prosperity and culture of the country, as well as its political importance, were greatly diminished during the Kassite period, and the Kassite kings had only a minor part in the diplomacy of the imperial age.

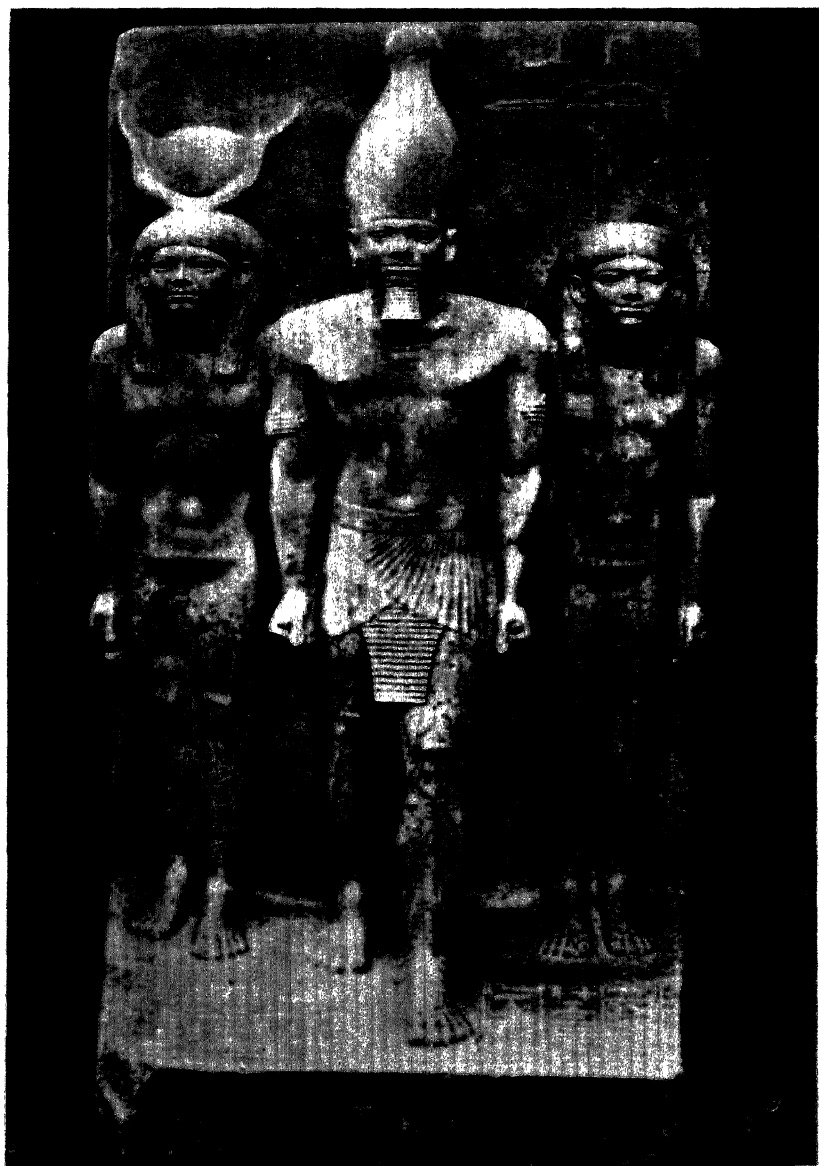
#### THE HURRIAN EXPANSION

The Hurri, a Caucasian people to whom the Kassites were related, spread through the land between the upper Euphrates and the Lake Van district from about 1900 B.C. Iranian chieftains with their warrior-bands gained control of the Hurrian tribes and stimulated them to great activity. The Indo-European connections of these warriors are indicated by their Iranian names, and by the appearance among their deities of the Iranian gods Indra, Varuna, and Mitra. The Hurri became notable horsemen, and the Hittite library at Boghazköy included a treatise on horse-training written by a Hurrian author. The Hurri spread very widely; they restricted the Assyrians for a time to their old home on the upper Tigris, succeeded in expelling the Hittites from Syria, and dominated the fortified towns as far south as Palestine. In northern Syria and eastern Anatolia, the Hurrian and Hittite cultures were so mingled that clear distinction between them is difficult.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout the sixteenth century the Hurrian power was vested in many petty principalities of the characteristic Syrian type, with their capitals in the fortified high-places "whither the tribes go up" for worship and defense. At about 1500 B.C., the aggressions of the new Egyptian Empire made political union essential, and a centralized kingdom was formed in upper Mesopotamia and Syria, which bears the name *Mitanni*

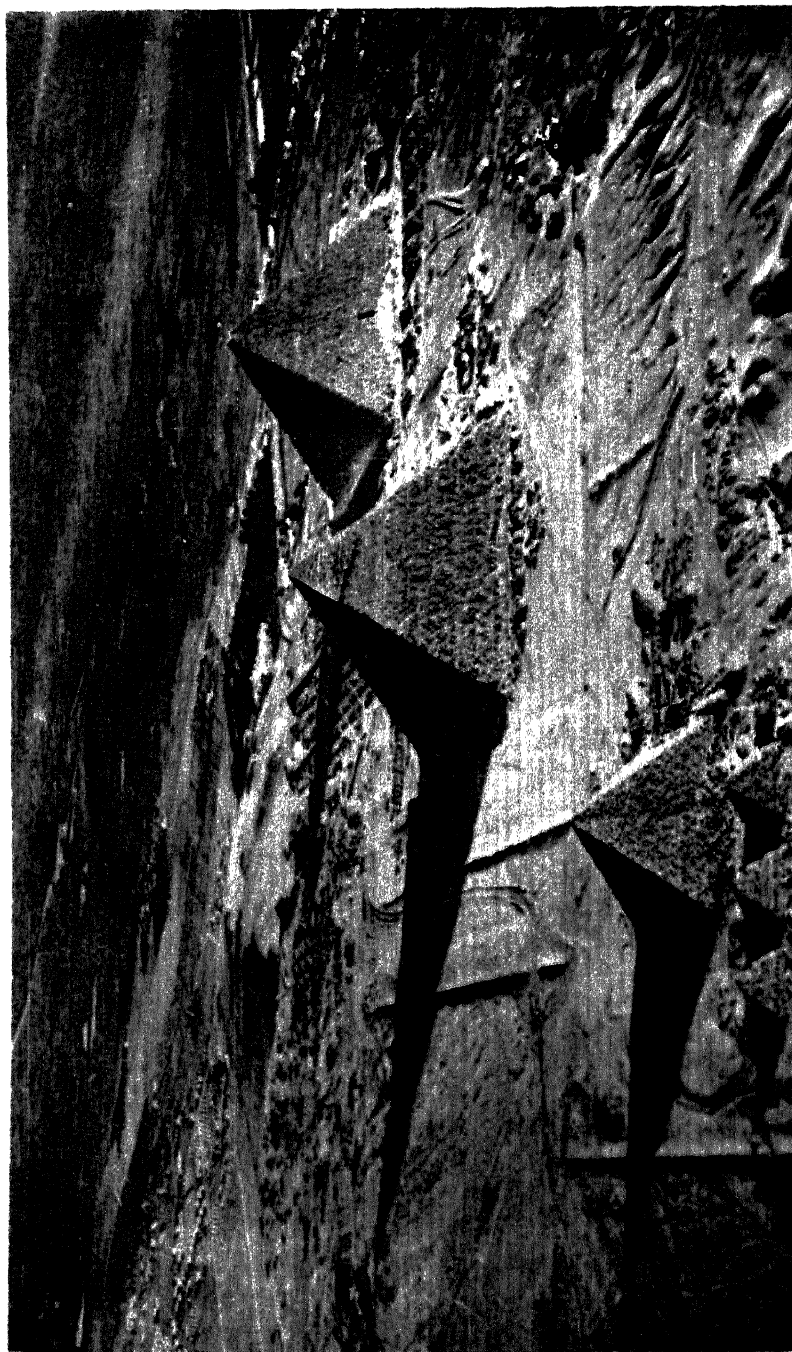
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<sup>3</sup> As a result of this confusion, the older works on the Hittites ascribe to them a number of Hurrian monuments.



Menkaure with Hathor and the Goddess of the Jackal Nome  
 Museum, Cairo  
*From Reisner, Mycerinus; Courtesy of the Harvard University Press*

## PLATE 9

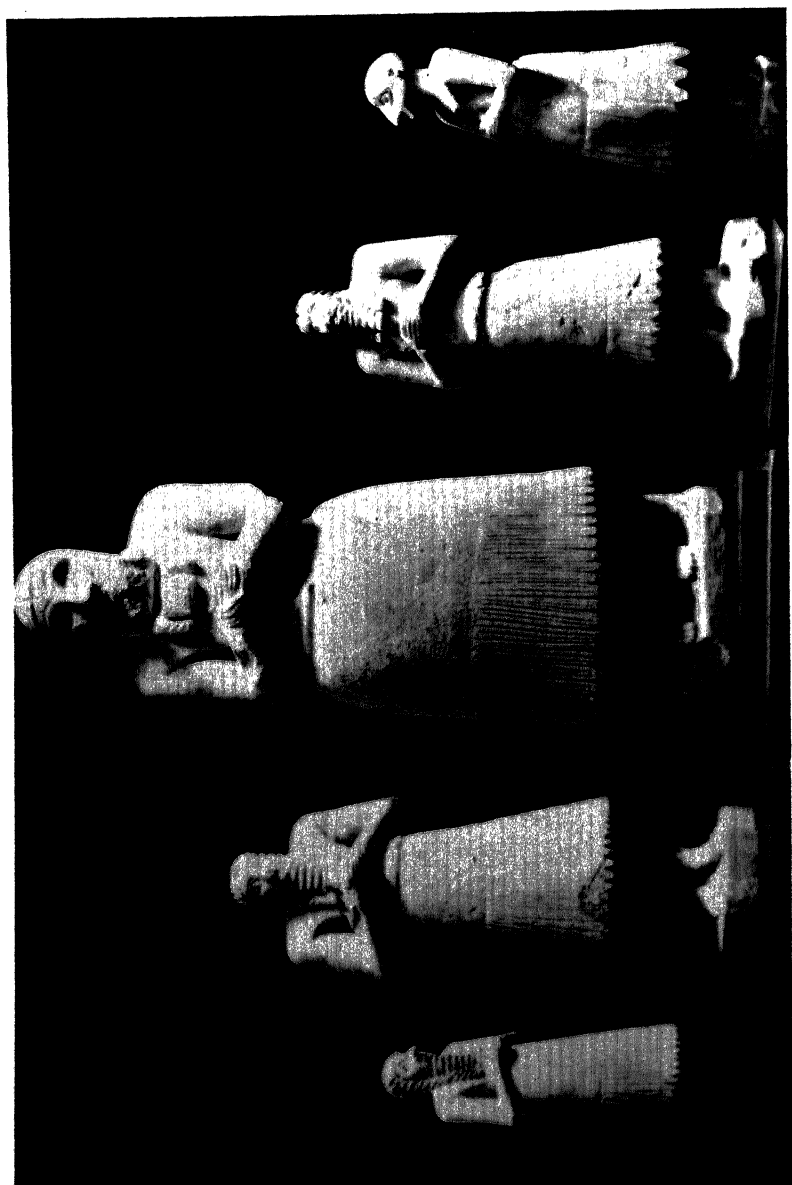


Air View of the Pyramids of Gizeh  
*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



Relief from the tomb of a noble of the VIth Dynasty; sowing and harvesting flax  
*Courtesy of the Museum of Art, Cleveland*

PLATE 11



Sumerian Statuettes from Tell Asmar: cult figures or votive portraits of rulers, c. 3000 B.C.  
*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*

## PLATE 12

PLATE 13

Stele of Naram-Sin of Akkad,  
showing the king victorious  
over his enemies

Louvre

*Photograph by Courtesy of  
the Metropolitan Museum  
of Art*





a: Ivory and Gold Snake Goddess

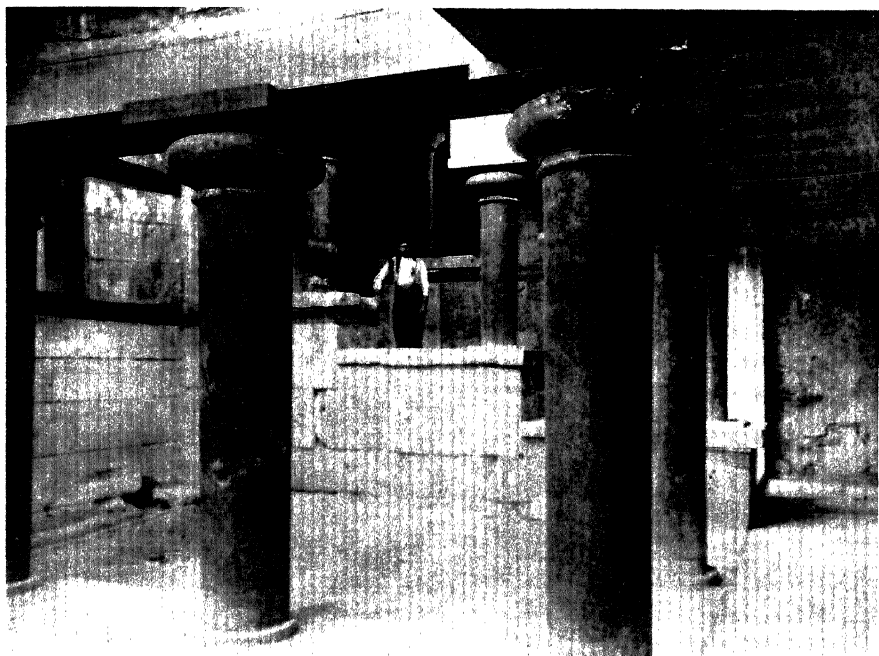
*Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

b: Boy God

*From Evans, Palace of Minos; Courtesy of  
Sir Arthur Evans and the Macmillan Com-  
pany, Publishers*



# PLATE 14. CRETAN SCULPTURE



a: Hall of Columns and Great Staircase, Cnossus



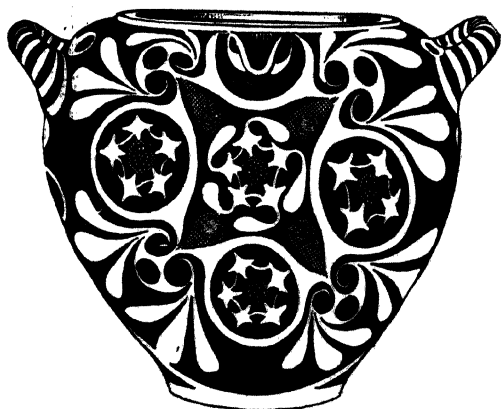
b: 'Blue Roller' Fresco, Cnossus

## PLATE 15

*From Evans, Palace of Minos; Courtesy of Sir Arthur Evans and the  
Macmillan Company, Publishers*



a: Magazine with Storage Jars, Cnossus



b: Polychrome Kamares Vase

## PLATE 16

*From Evans, Palace of Minos; Courtesy of Sir  
Arthur Evans and the Macmillan Company,  
Publishers*



c: Dolphin Vase

in contemporary records, and became the chief of the many Hurrian states. The greater the Hurrian expansion, the more diverse were the racial elements that they absorbed. These included Iranians, Caucasians, Semites long settled in Syria, and Semitic nomads newly arrived from Arabia. (Reading List 17)

#### THE HYKSOS IN EGYPT

A similar mixed group, probably composed chiefly of Hurri and Semites, and known as the Hyksos or "desert chiefs" invaded the Delta of the Nile and ruled Lower Egypt from their capital at Avaris. The weak Theban monarchs continued to rule Upper Egypt and even had some authority in the Delta, but were tributary to the Hyksos, who were a constant source of terror. Sinai and Nubia were lost, and the Libyans from the western oases seized the opportunity for renewed invasions. Some authorities believe that Egypt was merely the southern outpost of a great Hyksos empire which included Palestine, southern Syria, and other lands, but the arguments for this are equally consistent with the view that the Hyksos in Egypt were an offshoot of the Hurri and were reenforced during their two centuries in the Delta by adventurers from Syria and Arabia. The Hyksos revolutionized Egyptian warfare in the Indo-European fashion by introducing the horse and war chariot and the full panoply of bronze.

When, at the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C., the Thebans at last expelled the hated Asiatics, the new dynasty was fired by the desire to follow up this victory by conquering Syria and creating a buffer state in Palestine to protect Egypt from further invasion. The resulting struggles with Mitanni and the Hittites were the first major conflicts between great powers in the world's history. They led to a system of international diplomacy and fixed the general type of oriental empire which Assyria, Chaldaea, and Persia inherited.

#### THE MINOAN KINGDOM OF CRETE

Crete was particularly fortunate among the ancient powers of the east in that it combined a strong strategic position with excellent opportunities for industrial and commercial development. Its rich palaces and thriving cities needed no walls for protection from foreign foes, and whatever the internal administration of the island may have been, its inhabitants do not seem to have been subject to ruinous local warfare. Well-equipped forces were needed to secure Cretan interests in the lands with which they traded, but these did not require as large numbers as in a mainland state with desert or highland neighbors, or with rival city-states close at hand. The excavations conducted by Sir Arthur Evans have recovered the history of Cretan civilization for a period of more than fifteen hundred years, but nothing is

known as yet of its individual rulers or of the details of its political history. The name of a later king, Minos, preserved in Greek legends, has been applied to the Cretan power for want of a better term.

### CRETAN COMMERCE

During the third millennium the Cretans developed an active trade and built prosperous and well-planned settlements. Two great palaces lay in the central part of the islands, Cnossus near the northern coast and Phæstus near the southern. These may have been the centres of separate political units which controlled the rest of the island, but if this is the case, the two powers seem to have established a workable division of authority. From about 2200 B.C. the Cretans dominated Ægean commerce, and may have exercised political sovereignty over the islands. The beautiful thin polychrome pottery, known as Kamares ware, decorated with formalized patterns based on plant and marine forms and with characteristic spiral ornaments, was treasured in Egypt, where it was buried in the tombs of the Pharaohs (Plate 16b). The Cretans admired Egyptian vessels carved from stone, and seem to have imported workmen to teach them the art. In addition to the work of their craftsmen, they exported wine and oil, saffron, which was prized not only for its color and flavor but also for ritual uses, and costly purple dyes. In the second millennium commerce with the Greek mainland became more extensive, and for generations Mycenaean culture followed the lead of Crete in artistic motifs and techniques, in dress, and in religious and social usages.

### THE PALACE AT CNOSSUS

The palace at Cnossus became a vast complex of buildings with ample provision for the accommodation of merchants, the storage and handling of merchandise, and the filing of business records. These were written on clay tablets in a linear script developed from pictographic symbols. While this script has not yet been deciphered, the symbols throw some light on the quantities and values of the horses, cattle, saffron, wine, oil, grain, and other goods which were brought into the treasury in payment of the 20% tax on local products, as well as on the tributes and other imports, and the records illustrate the varied activities of the royal counting-house.

The palace was not only the centre of the administration and of the commercial activities of the Minoan rulers, but of the worship of the Earth Mother, the Cretan phase of the great divinity, to whom male deities were subordinate (Plate 14). This cult, like other elements of the Cretan civilization, suggests early affinities with Anatolia. Instead of temple buildings like those of Egypt or Babylonia, a chapel was provided in the palace itself. The snakes which symbolized the cult of the goddess were commonly

represented in frescoes and plastic art, as they assured domestic peace and plenty to Cretan families. The religious symbol of the double-axe, or *labrys*, gave its name to the palace itself, which the Greeks called the *labyrinthos* or house of the double-axe. The favorite Cretan sport of bull-wrestling had a ritual function aside from the fact that it provided exciting entertainment. The Cretan worship so permeated early Greek religion that a Greek legend represented the sky-god Zeus, whom the Indo-Europeans brought to Greece from the north, as having been born in Crete.

#### RUIN AND RECOVERY

The island did not escape the disturbances of the dark ages. Widespread destruction of palaces and other buildings indicates that there was a serious disaster at about 1700 B.C., which may have been caused by political risings with a violent change of dynasty. In view of the general conditions of the time, a destructive raid by the Hyksos or some similar people is highly probable, but if such an invasion took place it did not last long or establish an alien power in the island, but might be compared to the Hittite raid of Babylon, made for the sake of booty, not of conquest. Minoan prosperity was interrupted for a time, but finally recovered under aggressive leadership. The palaces were rebuilt on a more magnificent scale; the later pottery differs from Kamares ware in its more naturalistic forms (Plate 16c). There are some indications of decline in fabric and technique, but Cretan art was by no means decadent. The change in its character suggests the taste of a new generation after a time of upheaval, under fresh influences, rather than the last phases of an old style or a sharp break in culture.

The great rulers of the new period, contemporary with those of the Egyptian Empire, built up a strong power which probably followed a more imperialistic policy in Greece and the Ægean than before. An inscription at Karnak implies that Cretan troops helped expel the Hyksos from Egypt; certainly Crete profited by the restoration of a strong government in Egypt and the renewal of Egyptian commerce. The Cretans were now counted among the allies of Pharaoh, and Cretans enlisted as mercenaries to fight in the Egyptian wars in Syria. (Reading List 18)

## V

### IMPERIALISM AND DIPLOMACY

*For of the gods we believe, and of men we know, that by a law of their nature wherever they can rule they will.* —Thucydides

DURING THE THIRD millennium the chief states were able to expand without encroaching on one another. But the great invasions helped to create a state system with clearly defined boundaries which the older powers tried to defend against the expansion of new peoples. The world grew narrower as royal ambitions increased, and the establishment and maintenance of spheres of influence became major considerations. Syria and upper Mesopotamia were disputed territories in the wars which ensued. The imperialistic ambitions of Egypt dominated the Near East for generations and inaugurated the first cosmopolitan age that the world had known. Crete, Mitanni, the Hittites, and the Assyrians as major powers reduced lesser states to vassalage. The Kassites had little influence outside Babylonia, but the Babylonian language and script were the chief medium of international communication.

Peace was established between the world powers by formal alliances and gifts, and by intermarriage of the royal houses. Correspondence between rulers was governed by rigid etiquette; not to write a letter of condolence on the death of a monarch might create a serious diplomatic incident. Rulers of small states formed coalitions for defense against powerful aggressors. Thousands of prisoners taken in battle were settled in the lands of their captors as slaves or were made to serve in their armies. Garrisons were established in the subject domains of imperial powers; a foreign princess brought scores of attendants in her train. Commercial colonies from countries closely associated by trade were sometimes welcomed, sometimes accepted perforce. Treaties provided for free movement of subjects of the contracting states in each other's domains. Famine and other disasters led considerable groups to seek homes in a friendly state where a living could be had. Thus the mixture of different peoples at all social levels was an important factor in the new age.

While polytheism was only briefly interrupted in Egypt by the religious reforms of the Amarna Age, its national character was affected by a general tendency to identify the corresponding deities of various countries with one another. This process, which is known as *syncretism*, created new bonds

between the members of different states, and helped to increase their mutual understanding. Not only were the common characteristics of the gods recognized but shrines were often built for alien deities near those of the native cults. The Hurrian weather-god Teshub was widely worshipped in Hither Asia. Even Seth, who was execrated in Egypt as a hostile divinity, gained honor under the empire as the Syrian Baal. Both religious and secular literature from abroad, especially Babylonian epics and treatises on magic, had their place in the royal libraries; dictionaries and grammars were much used.

Great wars characterized the age, but a concert of nations was intermittently sought by diplomatic means. Kings signed their treaties in confidence that they would henceforth be of one heart with each other, and boasted of securing such peace for their land that every man could sit in the shade of a green tree. But since every ruler of a great power called himself "king of the four quarters of the earth" or "lord of the great and wide world" the chances for lasting peace were slight.

#### THE RISE OF THE WORLD-STATES: EGYPT FROM 1600-1370 B.C.

By the opening of the sixteenth century the Theban kings were able to expel the Hyksos from Egypt, in spite of the resistance of local nobles who found a divided authority more profitable than a united government. Since most of these nobles perished in conflicts with King Ahmose or the Hyksos, the way was prepared for a centralized government under which a military career furnished the best outlet for personal ambition. The suppression of Libyan disorders, the recovery of Nubia, and the control of southern Syria were immediate essentials. New tactics were needed to make full use of war chariots and of the modern style of archery in which volleys of arrows were discharged in rapid succession; continuous campaigns developed Egyptian strategy to a high point under the personal leadership of able rulers. The masses of footsoldiers had only secondary importance in spite of their improved bronze weapons.

In addition to grants of land from the confiscated estates of the nobles, the soldiers received rich rewards from the booty and prisoners captured in battle. More than one victory was rendered indecisive by the inability of the officers to make their men pursue the enemy instead of stopping for plunder. The Pharaohs of the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties led their troops in person and inspired military ardor in a normally peace-loving people. Auxiliaries from Nubia and Libya were used chiefly for garrison duty, and bands of mercenaries from Crete and other districts were added to the regular forces. As Egyptian control of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean increased, the navy became important, and Egyptian interests in the Lebanon district were jealously guarded to secure supplies of ship-timber and other naval necessities.

## THE XVIIIITH DYNASTY

The work of reconstruction was so far accomplished by Ahmose (1580-1555 B.C.) that the accession of his son Amenhotep I was recognized as beginning a new era. The eighteenth dynasty marks the establishment of an Egyptian Empire with wider possibilities of world power than had been known hitherto. Nubia was restored to Egyptian control, the nomadic tribes of Libya were made tributary, and the conquests of Ahmose on the coasts of Palestine and Phœnicia were extended. All these lands, however, hopefully revolted when there was a change of rulers.

The administration was now in the hands of officials sent by the king to supervise the local magnates; two viceroys governed the provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt, the former of which included Nubia. The treasurer's office employed many scribes, for the royal income not only included the customary 20% tax on crops, but taxes on cattle, poultry, fruit trees, and the use of irrigation canals, a poll tax, and taxes on personal property and industrial products. Though bars and rings of gold and copper were used in payment of these taxes, as well as in commercial transactions, payments in kind were more common. The booty from foreign campaigns and tribute from conquered lands were important items (Plate 18a), and the need for gold from Nubia, copper from Sinai, wood from Lebanon, olive oil and manufactured goods from Syria gave added impetus to conquest. Nubian gold especially contributed to the position of Egypt in world affairs, as is shown by the urgent requests for gold in the letters of other kings to the Pharaohs.

The problem of effective administration was increased by the geographical character of the empire. From the northern to the southern frontier in the reign of Thutmose III was a distance of nearly two thousand miles, but the cultivable land was rarely more than twelve miles wide except in the Delta region and in Syria.

The power of the gods, especially Amon, was increased by that of the king. The kings recognized their debt to the gods by grants of tax-free land, and especial privileges for the priests, and magnificent temples were built by the forced labor of the people. (Reading List 19)

## SYRIA: THE HURRI AND HABIRU

The conquest of Palestine and Syria presented very different problems from those which had faced earlier aggressors in these districts. At the end of the third millennium, as we have seen, the struggle for control of Mesopotamia and Syria had resulted in a political equilibrium among the Semitic city-states. The intrusion of great numbers of Hurri, who occupied a wide territory in a remarkably short period, upset this equilibrium.

Records with characteristic Hurrian names are found from the borders of the Hittites to Elam and from Armenia to Egypt. The Amorites, who had long been the chief people of the district, were gradually assimilated by the Hurri and became of minor importance. This radical change in the character of the population had a dynamic effect on the Near East, yet the Hurri were scarcely known to history before the discovery of records in their language less than a generation ago.

Another disruptive element in the early imperial age is indicated by the frequent mentions of the Habiru, who included many different stocks, but seem to have been chiefly Semitic. Their only unity consisted in their common character as roving bands of adventurers who were useful to local rulers in time of war, but were a source of apprehension in time of peace. When all else failed, they might enter the service of a king in order to live, but under favorable circumstances they conducted raids and established transitory settlements in various districts. The local Syrian and Palestinian rulers subject to Egyptian authority often appealed to Pharaoh for aid against the ravages of these confederates. The settled Hurri and roving Habiru occupied the same lands and probably helped each other in their undertakings; and the Habiru were gradually influenced by Hurrian culture.

#### MITANNI AND OTHER HURRIAN STATES

The Egyptian aggression in Syria was a direct threat to the interests of the Hurri. In the north, the Assyrians and Hittites had both lost territory to them and were actual or potential enemies. By 1500 this triple threat led the Hurri to form a united state, a notable departure from the usual particularism of Syria. From this time until about 1350 the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni in upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria was an important power. The district was thickly populated except where it was most exposed to the attacks of nomad Arabs, and was active in industry and commerce. Its civilization was largely urban. The political capital of Mitanni was situated inland at a site not yet known, while Carchemish and Aleppo were strategic points in commercial and military life. The new kingdom was successful in its campaigns against the Assyrians and Hittites, and was strong enough to deal with Egypt as a friendly power, with the customary exchange of gifts and envoys. Amenhotep III sent six embassies to request a princess of Mitanni as his wife, and proudly recorded her arrival, though like other foreign brides of the Pharaohs, she yielded first place to an Egyptian queen. Striking as its achievements were, the kingdom of Mitanni could only limit, but could not prevent, the increase of Egyptian power in Hither Asia, and many small states in the district intrigued for Assyrian, Hittite, or Egyptian support to enable them to maintain their

independence against Mitanni. Farther east, another Hurrian kingdom centred about Lake Van, the district from which their expansion had begun; Hurrian dynasts also controlled many small states in southern Syria and Palestine. (Reading List 17)

### THE PHARAOKS OF THE XVIIIITH DYNASTY

Thutmose I (1540-1501 B.C.) campaigned rapidly and successfully in Nubia and Syria; his friendly relations with Crete are indicated by the increasing influence of the two cultures on each other, and he undoubtedly established diplomatic contact also with Cyprus, the Hurri, the Kassites, Assyria, and the Hittites. The extent of his conquests is not known, but at least his armies went far enough east to marvel at the Euphrates, "that inverted water which goes downstream in going upstream."

The inner history of the dynasty after the death of Thutmose I is so much disputed that we cannot as yet determine the circumstances which enabled Queen Hatshepsut to rule as Pharaoh for 20 years, during which Thutmose III was prince consort, but had no real authority. With her powerful minister Senmut, Hatshepsut undertook a brilliant building program to which she devoted the revenues of Egypt, abandoning the idea of conquest. Yet she sought to efface the glorious record of the wars of Thutmose I in his temple at Karnak (Plate 17a), where her own memorial consisted of two obelisks cut from the quarries at Syene, which were brought to Karnak and set up in the temple within a space of seven months.

The decline of Egyptian power in Syria in Hatshepsut's peaceful reign faded into insignificance in comparison with the achievements of a magnificent expedition to secure peaceful resumption of trade with the "godland" of Punt. Since the decline of the Middle Kingdom, the incense, spices, and other rare products of this fabulous land had been brought to Egypt only by private enterprise, "passing from one to another at the cost of many payments." Now five ships sailed from Thebes by a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, and were greeted with wonder at Punt: "Had they come by Heaven's ways or by water and earth?" Presents were given to the ruler, and statues of Hatshepsut and Amon were set up; magnates of Punt returned with the ships to greet Pharaoh. The whole tale of the expedition is recorded on the walls of Hatshepsut's columned temple at Deir el Bahri. The annual gifts from Punt were accounted as tribute, but the relationship between the two powers was actually based on the mutual benefits of trade.

### THUTMOSE III

When Hatshepsut died in 1480 B.C., Thutmose III, long condemned to inactivity, proved himself the most aggressive and successful ruler of imperial Egypt. He had scarcely completed his vengeance on the queen's

officials and begun the task of replacing her name on the monuments by his own, when revolts broke out from Palestine to the "ends of the earth," that is, the Euphrates. Over a hundred petty rulers of Palestine and Syria were allied against Thutmose, who marched swiftly through the narrow passes to the plain of Megiddo, where he defeated them. He rightly counted the capture of Megiddo as "worth a thousand states, for all the rebellious kings that were there," but the siege lasted seven months and many of the kings escaped. Most of the rebels were reinstated as subject-princes, but revolts continued. Frequent campaigns followed, during which the Egyptian sphere of interest was extended through Phœnicia and northern Syria, and a decisive victory was won over Mitanni. The tomb of Pharaoh's viceroy, Rekhmere, pictures the foreign embassies that came from the islands in the great sea, bringing gifts to the king in honor of this battle. The Assyrians, Kassites, and Hittites sent gifts of lapis lazuli, silver, stone, and wood; the kings of Alasia in Cyprus sent copper and lead. But Mitanni soon resumed its former state as a friendly ally, made Assyria tributary, and resisted Hittite aggression.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

After a successful campaign the local ruler was usually reinstated as Pharaoh's vassal, and his son was often sent to Egypt to be trained as a loyal client-prince. The land was surveyed for taxation. Grain, oil, wine, incense, precious woods, timber, young slaves, ingots of metal, wrought ivory, chariots, metal bowls and pitchers, horses and bears were sent annually as tribute from Palestine and Phœnicia where, as in Egypt, all classes worked for the king's treasury. Quarters and rations were furnished for the garrisons, and supplies for the navy. Strongholds under Egyptian officers were intended to control the local rulers with the aid of mercenary soldiers from Nubia, Arabia, and the Peoples of the Sea. The Phœnician towns furnished ships to transport troops and tribute. This system was a military occupation rather than an established provincial government. The value of Egyptian trade, and the claim on Egypt for grain in time of famine, partially compensated the coast cities for the tribute paid, but did not insure continuous loyalty in the inland districts. The political domination of Egypt did not destroy the influence of Babylonian culture which had prevailed for over a thousand years.

The Nile Valley as far as the fourth cataract was now a part of Egypt, though minor campaigns were required to suppress brigands who attacked the caravans which brought the annual tribute from the south (Plate 18a). Many Egyptian colonies, each with its own governor and with temples for the worship of the chief Egyptian divinities, helped in the control of Nubia.

## THE AMARNA AGE: IKHNATON'S MONOTHEISM

The successors of Thutmose III maintained his imperial organization and carried on minor campaigns in Syria. From the time of Amenhotep III (c. 1411-1375 B.C.), however, the subject princes of Syria repeatedly appealed for help which they rarely received. Amenhotep "the Magnificent," confident in his inherited wealth and power, lived in luxury while the states which had been conquered by his predecessors suffered from his neglect of the empire. Many of his subjects were antagonized by his marriage to Tiy, a woman of the people, whose influence on her son Amenhotep IV was very great.

In his old age, Amenhotep III abdicated in favor of the prince, whose reign (1375-1358 B.C.) thus began at a time when a vigorous imperial policy was needed to check the growing disorders in the provinces. His real interest, however, was concentrated on the worship of Aton, which had found favor with Queen Tiy and her circle. Since the opposition of the priests and people to this heretical cult led the king to attempt to abolish the worship of Amon and other orthodox deities, he has gained fame in modern times as the first official sponsor of monotheism. The idea of a single supreme deity was less alien to the ancient world than one might think. The growing importance of an imperialistic state naturally increased the dominance of its chief god over lesser native deities and those of defeated countries.

We know nothing of the thinkers who developed Aton worship. They were in a sense forerunners of the Hebrew prophets, and may have been inspired in part by antipathy to the wealth and power of the priests of Amon and to their emphasis on formal ritual, and by the desire to break down the widespread influence of superstition and magic. The sun-god Amon could not be detached from these associations, but the worship of the earlier solar deity, typified by the disk of Aton with its manifold rays stretching out beneficent hands over all the world, could be revived without such contamination.

Opposition to the cult of Aton bred intolerance in the king, whose authority was sufficient to impose the worship of Aton on the country during his lifetime. He changed his name to Ikhnaton, "in whom Aton is satisfied," and in the sixth year of his reign moved his capital to a new city, Ikhetaton, "the Horizon of Aton," near the modern village of Amarna. When this city was abandoned in the revolution after his death, the archives remained there untouched. In recent years the discovery of these "Amarna letters" has restored much of the foreign correspondence and other records of the age, which are supplemented by the Hittite archives found at Boghazköy and by similar documents from Phœnician and Hurrian cities.

Aton worship was free from idolatry and superstition, and emphasized the unity of all living things as the creation and especial care of the eternal god. But it was introduced by edict, not by general conversion, and was not fully understood. Statues of the gods, the amulets in which the average man trusted to ward off dangers, and the customary religious offerings could no longer be manufactured or sold. The sacrifices, religious dramas, processions, and prayers by which the divine favor was secured were forbidden. Pharaoh himself had turned against the gods who had fostered the greatness of Egypt for countless generations. All magic charms, exorcisms, and consultation of omens were forbidden, yet these gave men their chief hope of security in an uncertain world. The only substitute was a religion shorn of the externals to which men were accustomed, and demanding an inner piety which had hitherto been inarticulate.

After Ikhnaton's death, a complete reversal of policy reestablished the power of Amon, and the old ways were restored at the cost of a brief period of anarchy. But the marks of Ikhnaton's experiment could not be obliterated from Egyptian life, as they were from the official monuments. Hymns to Amon now resembled those to Aton; the personal piety which had been stressed in the revolt against priestly domination appears increasingly in the hymns and prayers of the people. The delightful informality and naturalism of the art of this period is alien to the earlier formalism, and perhaps shows the influence of Cretan and Syrian ideas in the land of the Pharaohs. While the work of the Amarna artists did not equal the artistic achievements of the Old Kingdom, it has a more universal human appeal. These gains partially compensated for the period of intolerance and repression, but did not restore the lost Syrian provinces.

Harmhab, regent and kingmaker during the reign of Ikhnaton's short-lived successors, among whom Tutenkhamon has gained a vicarious fame by the amazing richness and beauty of his funeral gear, at last established his own dynasty eight years after Ikhnaton's death. He ruled in his own name from 1350 to 1315 B.C., during which time he restored order in Egypt and Nubia and paved the way for the recovery of authority in Syria. (Reading List 19)

### THE SECOND HITTITE KINGDOM

The long gap in the Hittite records comes to an end about 1480 B.C. with the accession of Tudhalia II. The Hittite government gradually changed from the liberal forms of the earlier kingdom toward the oriental despotism of the great powers with whom the Hittites were associated in war and diplomacy. Many of the Anatolian dependencies of the Hittites kept their old form of government; among them we even find cities governed by aristocratic councils instead of kings. The changing aspect of

the Hittite rule thus increased the distinction between the imperial state and its neighbors. Among the problems of Hittite administration were the revolts of the Arzawa in southern Asia Minor, the Kashki in the north, and the Ahhijava of the western coast, who became formidable enemies during the great Achæan expansion of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.

Thanks to Hittite interest in history, and to their detailed records of public business and administration, the archives of Boghazköy and lesser centres are contributing much to our knowledge of their society and of their place in international relations from the fifteenth to the twelfth century B.C. Tudhaliya II raided the Hurrian city of Aleppo; his successor, Hattushil, made a formal peace with Mitanni, which was soon broken. Revolts in Asia Minor retarded the Hittite expansion in Syria almost as much as did the resistance of Mitanni.

Under Shuppiluliuma (1380-1345 B.C.), the Hittite power reached its height. He completed the organization of the central kingdom, bound his vassals closely by marrying them to Hittite princesses, and defined their obligations to the crown. He pacified Asia Minor for the time being, and detached Assyria and other Asiatic powers from their alliances with Mitanni. He controlled the petty rulers who had long profited by diplomatic shifts from Egyptian to Hurrian allegiance and vice versa. At last, when Ikhnaton was absorbed in his religious reforms in Egypt, the Hittite ruler inflicted a crushing defeat on Tushratta, the king of Mitanni. Tushratta survived, the shadow of a mighty name, but the world power of Mitanni was over. His successors were pawns of the Hittites in their conflicts with the Assyrians and Egyptians, and the great Hurrian cities of Carchemish and Aleppo, which controlled the Taurus passes, were assigned to Hittite princes. The archives of Boghazköy contain several treaties between Hittite and Hurrian rulers which indicate the successive settlements between these states.

#### THE STATE AND SOCIETY OF THE HITTITES

The founders of the Hittite Empire did not claim to be exclusive lords of the world, but recognized allies as powers on a par with their own, whose relations with them must be definitely regulated and maintained. Such allies at different times included Mitanni, Egypt, and Babylonia. Lesser states were either vassals, whose rulers were bound by contract to do homage and pay military service and tribute, or else had an intermediate position as protectorates. The territories most closely associated with the central kingdom in Cappadocia were ruled by members of the royal family. Every effort was made to increase the number of vassals and to secure their loyalty. "God's cities," the temple-states which existed throughout the ancient east, were governed by priests and inhabited chiefly

by their slaves and dependents. The general organization was feudal, under a strong central monarchy.

It seems doubtful whether complete personal freedom extended below the ranks of nobles, priests, and soldiers. The latter were supported by fiefs to which they eventually secured rights of sale and inheritance. Farm workers and craftsmen seem to have been bound to their respective place and occupation on the large estates.

Serfdom, however, was mitigated by an enlightened system of civil and criminal law; in the latter the penalties were far less severe than in the Babylonian code. The principle of retaliation is absent, and the general intention is to secure compensation for injuries to property. If a murderer was not apprehended, the owner of the property on which the crime was committed was liable to the penalty. The jurisdiction of the state had completely replaced that of the family, and individual vengeance was permitted only in case of sexual crimes. Slaves could marry free women, beget free children by them, and transmit property by will; they were reckoned as of higher standing than free herdsmen and water-carriers.

#### AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Notwithstanding the vast mineral wealth of the country, the metallurgical skill of its craftsmen, and widespread commerce, the economy of the state was primarily agricultural. Many craftsmen and soldiers lived on the great estates. Interest on loans was computed from vintage to vintage, and the workers assigned to the royal armories were released from the making of arms to gather grapes. The cultivation of grapes and apples spread from Asia Minor over the Mediterranean world and the eastern lands. Beer, however, was the staple drink, and with bread was considered essential to life. In addition to the cows, goats, sheep, pigs, and donkeys needed for meat, milk, wool, and farm labor, horses were raised for military use.

In spite of the manifold commercial activities of the period, there was still no coined money to facilitate business transactions, but, as in the other countries of the east, most prices were reckoned in terms of standard weights of precious metal. The Hittites, like their neighbors in Syria and Babylonia, used the silver shekel as their standard in most transactions, but they regularly priced cattle and meat in terms of their worth in sheep.

During the wars in Syria, the Hittites began to work their iron mines, and iron weapons were the most valuable gift that a Hittite ruler could send an ally. But the general use of iron in the Near East, like that of bronze at an earlier period, was delayed for centuries after the metal became known, and the Iron Age was not fully established until after the crisis of the twelfth century B.C.

## RELIGION AND ART

The number and variety of the Hittite gods reflect the traditions both of the Indo-European invaders and of the diverse peoples among whom they settled. Hurrian influence is particularly notable. Many deities were scarcely more than names, and "a thousand gods" are often cited as witnesses in Hittite documents, but the sun-goddess of Arinna, the "queen of Hatti-land," a weather-god who has been identified with the Hurrian Teshub, and a vegetation deity whose legend recalls the Greek myth of Demeter were most important. The gods were like men in appearance, desires, and activity, but of greater stature; they controlled men's fates as masters do their slaves. Their will was made known through omens and oracles. Magic was as much practiced here as elsewhere in the east.

Hittite civilization was most independent in its political system and in the development of historical narrative as a literary form. Their architecture, as seen in temples, palaces, and city walls (Plate 20a), had some non-oriental features, such as the form of the gateways and the deepset windows, but was much influenced by related Anatolian and Hurrian styles. Portrait sculpture, processional reliefs, and figures of lions and sphinxes have a descriptive quality and individuality which suggest potentialities never fully realized. The monumental size of Hittite and Hurrian sculpture is in marked contrast with the smaller statues of the Sumerians. Many monuments of the imperial period in northern Syria formerly ascribed to the Hittites are now known to represent the mingling of Hittite and Hurrian elements in the later period, or to be purely Hurrian. (Reading List 16)

## SYRIA IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY: THE ARAMAIC EXPANSION

The period of the Egyptian and Hittite Empires was marked also by great unrest in Arabia, and by the renewal of the Semitic invasions of Syria on a larger scale than any since the coming of the Amorites a thousand years earlier. During the fourteenth century the nomad Aramaic tribes, who had for some time raided the country and served as professional soldiers in the service of local dynasts, reached the stage of definite local conquest and settlement. By the eleventh century B.C., these Aramæans completed the work of the Hittite conquest by eliminating the Hurri from their important position in the affairs of the Near East, and southern Syria became once more Semitic in character. The settlement of Palestine was one phase of this Aramaic expansion; the Israelites, however, unlike the other tribes, gave up their Aramaic speech and formed the Hebrew language from that of the alien Canaanites among whom they lived.

Further changes were occasioned by Assyria, whose aggressive rulers not only tried to conquer the old enemies of Sumer and Akkad in the Zagros Mountains, but also attempted westward expansion which brought them

into conflict with the Hurri and later with the Hittites. Both Assyrians and Hittites sought the aid of the Kassite king, who proved a weak and untrustworthy ally. Aramæan interference with the western trade of Assyria was another source of conflict. Since the Hittites were also endangered by increasing pressure from western Asia Minor, and suffered from prolonged dynastic conflicts, they were in a difficult position when Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.) and Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.) renewed active Egyptian aggression in Syria.

### THE CLASH OF INTERESTS IN SYRIA

Seti I succeeded in restoring Egyptian control in Palestine and Lebanon, and ended the raids of the Habiru after two generations of local disorder. Ramses was thus free in the early part of his long reign to undertake the conquest of northern Syria and the Orontes Valley, which belonged to the Hittite sphere of interest and could be secured only by a decisive defeat of the Hittites. Ramses had a unified and well-trained force which consisted entirely of Egyptians, except for his bodyguard of mercenaries from the Ægean districts. The Hittite army was composed of contingents from dependent states, with a nucleus of Hittites. But small accessions of neighboring territory could readily be incorporated into the Hittite system of vassal and subject-states, whereas Egyptian success required the conquest of a whole provincial district. The drawn battle of Kadesh in 1288 was recorded as a great victory both in the Egyptian temple-inscriptions and in the Hittite histories, though the strategic advantage seems to have rested with the Hittites, whose claim to northern Syria was thereby established.

### THE TREATY BETWEEN HATTUSHIL AND RAMSES

The Hittite king Hattushil III (1280-1260 B.C.) was, however, a wise diplomat. His Assyrian contemporary, Shalmaneser I, was a menace that the Kassite king could not be counted on to hold in check, and his advance would outweigh any gains which might be made by continuing the war with Egypt. When Shalmaneser had conquered the last remnant of Mitanni in spite of the help which Aramæans and Hittites gave against him, he took the title of "Great King." Shalmaneser's victories cut off the Hittites from their Babylonian allies, and created a power which could only be checked by the full strength of the army.

Since the cost to Egypt of the Syrian war was out of all proportion to the gains which might be expected, and the continued absence of Ramses in Syria was an increasing threat to peace and order at home, both sides were ready to agree on terms of peace. The two kings signed a treaty, probably in 1272 B.C., of which by a fortunate chance both the Egyptian and Hittite versions are preserved. Like other treaties of the period, it estab-

lished "brotherhood and good peace forever" between the rulers, by the will of Re and Teshub, and was witnessed by thousands of other gods, the mountains, rivers, and seas. It provided for the extradition of fugitives, for mutual aid against hostile aggression, and for the protection of merchants.

Thus the Near East was divided into two spheres of influence under friendly powers. Ramses thereafter corresponded with the Hittite kings, and the queens shared in this friendly intercourse. The Hittite princess whom Ramses married was ranked, like an Egyptian-born queen, as "great royal spouse and mistress of the two lands." The royal correspondence records gifts of Hittite iron, for which Ramses begged as earnestly as lesser kings had sought Nubian gold from his predecessors.

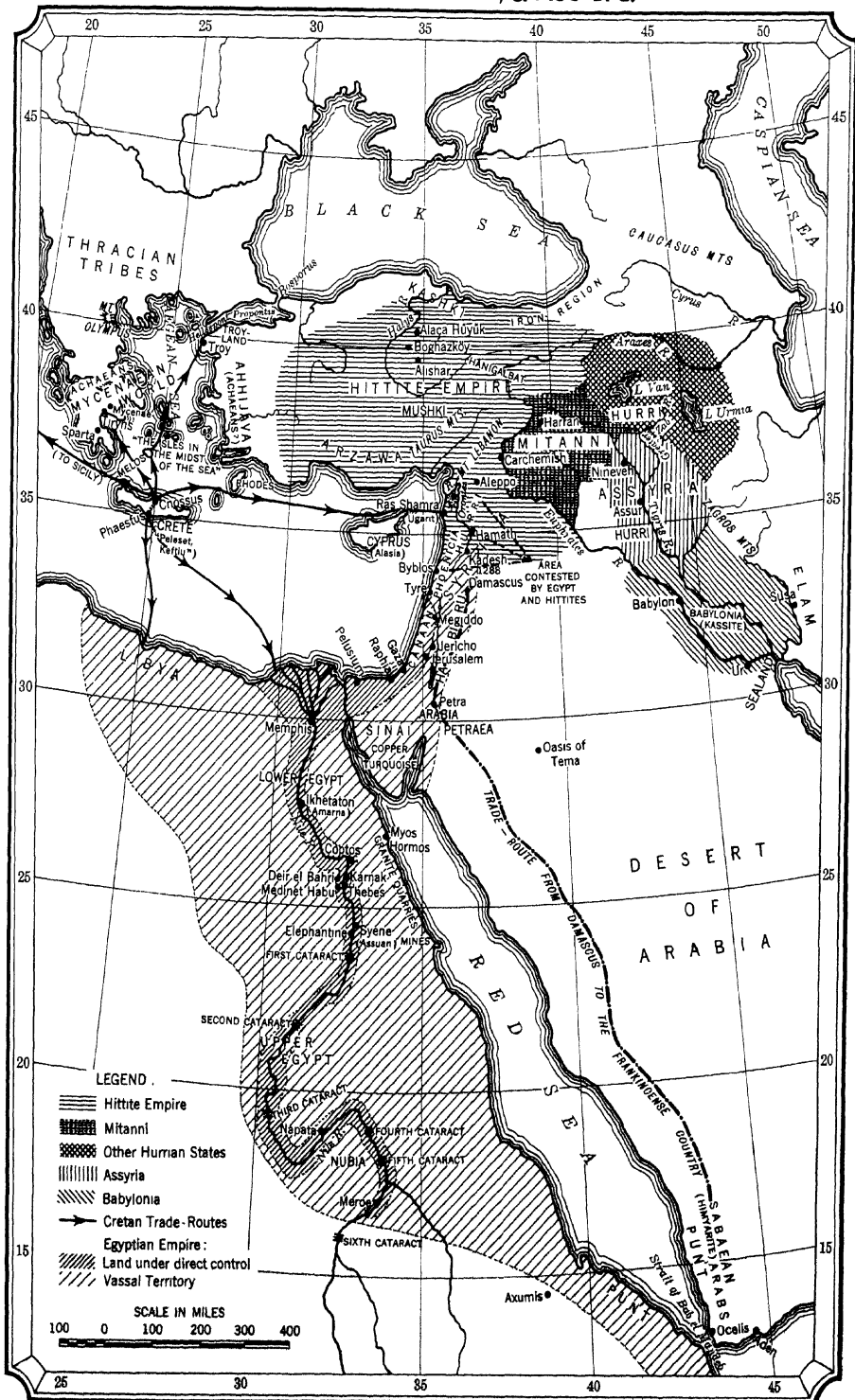
### EGYPT IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The next fifty years constitute a domestic phase of Egyptian history, in which only minor campaigns were undertaken to protect Palestine and the other provinces from Arab raids. Canaanites, Phoenicians, Arabs, Libyans, and Nubians settled in the Nile Valley as merchants and craftsmen. They were assimilated by the Egyptians and their sojourn occasioned only superficial changes in the religion, art, and vocabulary of Egypt. In this cosmopolitan age court life was increasingly luxurious, with all the delicate devices of native and foreign invention at the command of nobles and merchants. Houses and pleasure-grounds were lavishly furnished and adorned. Technique in sculpture was unchanged; the portrait statues of kings and nobles were still impressive, but were inferior to those of the Old Kingdom.

The new period shows the influence of the Amarna Age and of Syrian contacts, especially in the naturalism of design and subject in painting, and to some extent in the continued growth of personal elements in religion. A most significant change is seen in the steady progress of vernacular dialects which replaced the archaic classical language that had hitherto alone been recognized as a literary medium. As in the European Middle Ages and in present-day China, this led to the recognition of popular narratives, love lyrics, and proverbial tales as part of the national literary tradition, and freed literature from artificial limitations.

The most permanent and impressive monuments of the age, however, were the colossal temples built to provide a suitable setting for religious festivals (Plate 17). Magnificent processions passed through a succession of pillared halls and courts which were decorated with painted reliefs of Ramessid victories, to the inner sanctuary of the god. Earlier Egyptian temples were dwarfed by the pyramids, but now the courts of Amon towered over the land. (Reading Lists 19, 9)

### III. THE EASTERN POWERS, c. 1450 B. C.





## THE ÆGEAN WORLD: THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF CRETE

The Minoan rulers of Crete, as we have seen, enjoyed friendly relations and profitable commerce with the Pharaohs of the Empire, as with their predecessors. Cretan interests in the lands subject to Egypt, especially Libya and Phœnicia, did not involve imperial ambitions, and could be maintained to mutual advantage. We do not know whether the Cretan domination of the Ægean islands and the Greek mainland depended entirely on commercial control or whether these districts became tributary provinces. It seems probable that the small kingdoms of Greece at least enjoyed local autonomy, without actual subjection to the island power, but Cretan civilization was paramount throughout the Ægean world. Styles in dress, in sports, and in all the luxuries of life were based on those of Cnossus, and the Cretan mother-goddess with her attendant divinities was widely worshipped.

The prosperity of Cnossus in the sixteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries B.C. was unparalleled. The palace was repeatedly enlarged and redecorated with the most charmingly varied frescoes, representing the life of the court, naturalistic scenes (Plate 15b), religious processions, and occasionally formal patterns of intricate design. Religious shrines were included within the palace. A fine series of roadways provided a short route from the northern to the southern port, linking Egypt and Cnossus more closely, and joined the eastern and western portions of the island.

Nothing is known of the internal course of the decline of Crete, and even the external forces which determined its destruction are uncertain. At about 1450 B.C., the palace of Minos was destroyed, almost certainly by foreign enemies who may have come from the Greek mainland. The attacking force apparently came for plunder and destruction rather than for settlement, since there is no evidence of foreign domination or the intrusion of alien stock during the next two centuries. The Minoan civilization gradually declined, and the great power and influence of the state were ended. Only parts of the palace were rebuilt, and the Cretans formed a minor group among the allies of the Achæans against Troy. After Dorians from the Peloponnesus invaded Crete at about 1200 B.C., the island became completely Dorian in character. The Cretans apparently joined the conglomerate forces of the Peoples of the Sea, and in later periods of disorder, the islanders who had once policed the Ægean in the interests of their commerce were pirates who preyed on merchants throughout the eastern seas. The Phœnicians took over Minoan commercial interests. Later Greeks marvelled at the ruins of the palace at Cnossus, which inspired the legends of the "Sea-Kings of Crete," the Minotaur, and the labyrinth. (Reading List 18)

## THE MYCENÆAN AGE

During the sixteenth century a number of small kingdoms flourished in central Greece and the Peloponnesus, especially in Argolis, which had strong sites for fortified palaces, fertile fields and pastures, and good harbors. Here were situated the two best-known sites of the period, Tiryns with its massive walls and lofty citadel (Plate 19a), and Mycenæ, chief of the mainland kingdoms, whose splendid ruins justify its prominence in the epic tradition and the use of its name for the civilization in which it took a leading part.

By this time the Indo-European speaking invaders from the north had settled in Greece in considerable numbers, and the formation of the historic Greek peoples was well under way. The Homeric name "Achæan" may be properly applied to the Greeks of the Mycenæan Age. The process of northern infiltration was a gradual one and was not marked by widespread violence or by sharp breaks in culture. As we have seen, Crete exerted a continuous cultural influence over the mainland kingdoms. The Mycenæan princes, with other adventurers of the age of settlement, were the heroes of later Greek tradition, and were honored by festivals and sacred shrines in the classical period.

The stronghold which served as the nucleus of a Mycenæan kingdom was built on a northern plan, unlike that of the Cretan palaces. The rooms were compactly enclosed within fortifications of massive stone, and were grouped about a state chamber entered by a porch from the court and containing a central hearth. Mycenæan builders took into consideration the need of defense against neighboring states and against pirates. The fortifications and the monumental sculpture of the lion-gate at Mycenæ are more similar to Hittite and Hurrian remains than to those of Crete.

The strength of the Mycenæan kingdoms increased during the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. The great beehive tombs testify to the dignity and wealth of the kings, and their hoards of bronze weapons, delicate pottery, and vessels and ornaments of richly wrought gold and silver rested undisturbed in the shaft-graves of Mycenæ until Schliemann unearthed them two generations ago.

It is possible that the destruction of Cnossus in 1450 B.C. was wrought by a group of Achæan chieftains who were anxious to break down the Cretan control of the Ægean in their own interest, but who were not strong enough to undertake the conquest of the island. In any case, their development thereafter followed more independent lines, and in the next two centuries Mycenæan pottery was as widely distributed through the Near East as that of Crete had been earlier.

During the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries the Mycenæan culture reached the height of its development, but suffered from the increasing

pressure of invaders from the north. During this period, the Illyrians pushed down into the northwestern Balkans, thrusting the Thracian tribes eastward and later causing the Dorians to move south into Greece. The eastward movement, reenforced by further immigration from the north, spread across the Hellespont; the most important invaders of Asia Minor at this time were the Phrygians. The remains of Troy which are attributed to this period indicate the importance of that city in connection both with the Anatolian caravan routes and the rapidly growing commerce with the Black Sea region.

The disturbance created in Greece by the northern invasions may have aided some of the Mycenæan rulers to extend their power over smaller kingdoms which needed their protection. Some dynasts were expelled by invading chiefs and sought new kingdoms. In other cases, younger sons probably left home to carve out new principalities for themselves abroad. So Achæan settlements were founded in Rhodes, Cyprus, and other islands, at Miletus and at various sites on the southern coast of Asia Minor. (Reading List 20)

#### THE SUCCESSION OF CULTURES AT RAS SHAMRA

A Mycenæan beehive tomb and much pottery found at Ras Shamra near the Phœnician coast seem to indicate that the city which flourished there from neolithic times to about 1100 B.C. became a Mycenæan colony in this period of Achæan expansion. The ancient name of the city was Ugarit. Excavations begun in 1928 have recovered its history from the fourth millennium to about 1100 B.C. It was closely connected with Egypt during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and illustrates the mingling of Semitic, Ægean, Hurrian, and Egyptian elements in Syria in the second millennium. Ugarit, with its seaport, was the chief market through which goods from Cyprus passed to the east.

Since the conquests of Sargon of Akkad, Sumerian culture had been dominant among the Canaanite peoples of the district, and Sumerian was studied in the temple school of Ugarit long after it became extinct as a spoken language in secular life. The temple library contains school exercises and religious texts written in cuneiform on clay tablets in the native Canaanite dialect, together with others in Babylonian, Hurrian, and the archaic Sumerian. These include liturgical drama and mythological poems. The temple was a celebrated one, and the deities and religious practices recorded in its texts offer many interesting parallels with the Hebrew and Canaanite materials. El, Anath, Alin-Baal, and other Canaanitish divinities are prominent in the Ras Shamra texts.

When the Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty established their control of the district, an Egyptian governor was stationed at Ugarit. The country

was well wooded, and fertile enough to permit the export of grain to Egypt in time of need. While the relations between the two states were not invariably friendly, the Pharaohs honored the gods of Ugarit by dedicating offerings in the great temple. During the twelfth dynasty, the Hurri overran the district. The basic population was Canaanite, and an occasional Semitic king reigned, but the leading families had Hurrian names, and Ugarit is listed in Egyptian records among the Hurrian states. As Hittite influence increased, the rulers of the city were able to gain independence by capitalizing the rivalry of the two neighboring powers, and to claim Egyptian aid against the Hittites.

In the fourteenth century Ugarit was occupied for a time by the Hittites and later was subject to Tyre. In 1288 B.C., soldiers from the city joined the anti-Egyptian coalition at Kadesh. During the thirteenth century Cypriot and Ægean influence greatly increased, especially in the port. A fragmentary text of this period tells of a nationalist rising to expel from the city all aliens, Ionians, Hurrians, Hittites, and Cypriots, from the king to the women of the port. The revolt cannot have lasted long, for Ugarit kept the typical appearance of a Mycenæan settlement and its art showed strong Mycenæan influence (Plate 19b). The city was taken by the Peoples of the Sea early in the twelfth century but was not ruined. However, when the disorders of the time ended the trade of the Ægeans in Cyprus with the Syrian coast, the town was abandoned, and its history ends at about 1100 B.C. (Reading List 5)

#### THE RAIDS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE SEA

Until the end of the thirteenth century the Hittite power in Asia Minor, and the Hittite and Egyptian control of the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, checked the movements of the Ægeans and others who had learned to covet the wealth of the great cities. But the Sea Raiders, in alliance with the Libyans, attacked Egypt early in the reign of Ramses II; disturbances in the northern islands are regularly mentioned thereafter in Egyptian records, and Ramses employed some of these *Shardana* in his army. The next great raid came in 1223 B.C., in the reign of Merneptah. Throughout the early twelfth century the Peoples of the Isles troubled the coasts, plundered the cities, and seized the lands in which they hoped to settle. The captives pictured in the reliefs of the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu represent a motley group of people with different facial types and various styles of weapons and headdress. These portraits and the names listed in the accompanying inscription show that the raiders came from many lands, including the Ægean islands, Crete, Greece, and western Asia Minor, especially Caria and Lycia. Probably many recent arrivals from the north were among them.

Ramses III succeeded at last in ending their raids on Egypt (Plate 21a), but could not save Palestine and Syria. The Hittite records end abruptly early in the twelfth century, when the Phrygians overran central Anatolia. Only small Hittite states survived, of which the most important had its capital at Carchemish.

The decline of Egypt and the Hittites was paralleled by many catastrophes elsewhere. The strength of Assyria, which checked the eastward movement of the Phrygians and other invaders of Asia Minor, was soon weakened by the last great revival of Elam. The Mycenaean city-kingdoms were burned and looted during the raids, and their population was much reduced. The northwestern Greek tribes, headed by the Dorians, were thus able to establish themselves as the dominant people in the Peloponnesus. The rich city of Troy, traditionally ruined by the Achæans in the Trojan War, which as an historical event may have been an episode of the Sea Raids, was supplanted by a small and poverty-stricken settlement. Egypt was subject to internal disorders and to attacks from Libya; her impotent kings at last came under the sway of the priests of Amon. (Reading List 19)

As the Near East gradually emerged from this time of troubles, the great powers no longer controlled its destinies, and the next centuries are notable for the independent development of many small states. The Philistines settled on the southern coast of Syria, giving their name to Palestine, and another small group of the Sea Peoples settled at Dor, a hundred miles farther north. Secondary offshoots from the great eastern movements brought Italy and adjacent islands into closer contact with the east, and changed the course of their development.

## VI

### THE SMALL STATES OF THE EARLY IRON AGE

*For now truly is a race of iron, and men never rest from labor and sorrow by day and from perishing by night; and the gods shall lay sore trouble upon them. But even these shall have some good mingled with their evils.*  
—Hesiod

THE CENTURIES USHERED in by the attacks of the Peoples of the Sea were dark ages throughout the eastern Mediterranean world. The imperial state system was completely shattered. At the end of the twelfth century Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria, the only "world ruler" of his age, created a great empire, but his successors were unable to maintain it, and Assyria shared in the general weakness for over two hundred years thereafter. Consequently the Assyrian chronicles throw no light on the history of the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C. The contemporary histories of the growth of the Hebrew kingdom have survived chiefly in later versions, revised to suit the political and religious motives of their successive redactors who were careless of the historical confusion that resulted. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* preserve the tale of the Trojan War and the return of the heroes, but leave untouched the inglorious period of reconstruction during which the historical Greek states took shape. Archæological evidence, though increased by current explorations, is scanty by contrast with the monumental remains of the imperial age. Such materials as survive serve to illustrate the extent to which local isolation replaced the close contacts of the earlier period.

From about 1000 B.C. a revival set in, and wider interests again developed. The extensive use of iron led to the general adoption of new types of weapons and the renewal of commerce. The early Iron Age in the west was nearly contemporary with that of the east, and during the tenth century the highly developed Hallstatt culture began to spread from the upper Danube region to central and western Europe. The Villanovans in Italy, Tartessus in Spain, and the kingdom of Urartu about Lake Van were important centres of the iron industry. Phœnicia, which was now free of Egyptian control, took the place of Minoan Crete in Mediterranean trade and founded trading posts in the western islands, Spain, and north Africa, while the Aramæans developed the caravan trade with the east. Both these peoples took part in the development and spread of the alphabet, which was to be a notable instrument in the diffusion of culture.

The formation and the political independence of the Hebrew states and the establishment of the cult of Yahweh also fall within this period. At this time the settlements of the Greeks in the Balkan peninsula, the islands, and the western coasts of Asia Minor were completed. Their characteristic political and social institutions developed in distinct communities which bred a spirit of local separatism that pervaded later Greek history. Renewed expansion of the Indo-Iranians established the Medes and kindred tribes as eastern neighbors of Mesopotamia. The breakdown of the Hittite Empire, and the resulting barbarization of central Anatolia, created a barrier between the Greek and Semitic lands which isolated the Greek from oriental civilization until the eighth century B.C.

### THE AFTERMATH OF THE SEA RAIDS

The internal disintegration of Egypt under the later Ramessids was too serious to permit the recovery of the Asiatic provinces which had been overrun by the Sea Raiders. Early in the eleventh century the priests of Amon established a theocratic state in Thebes. Amon was now the universal god; all worship centred in him, and his oracles at Thebes afforded direct divine guidance to men. The Theban power was not recognized in the Delta; as in earlier periods of disruption, the north and south tended to separate, and an independent dynasty ruled in Lower Egypt. Libyans overran Egypt; the army was composed chiefly of Libyan mercenaries, whose captain Sheshonk established the twenty-second dynasty in 945 B.C. Thereafter Egyptians ceased to serve in the army and the Libyan mercenaries formed a closed military caste parallel to the hereditary class of priests.

Nubia was now an independent kingdom, and in 745 B.C. a Nubian prince established his own dynasty at Thebes. Thus Egypt had not merely lost her empire, but was ruled in turn by her former subjects.

### ASIA MINOR

The Hittite Empire was completely destroyed by the attacks of the Peoples of the Sea and by the invasions of Balkan tribes. The ruins of Boghazköy and Alishar, and the abrupt ending of the Hittite records, show how complete the catastrophe was.

A century later the chronicle of the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser I mentions the aggressions of old enemies of the Hittites on the northern coast of Asia Minor, and of the Mysians and Phrygians, who were now established in the old Hittite territory. Thereafter the Phrygians gradually consolidated their power in Cappadocia, and when we next hear of them, under King Midas in the eighth century B.C., their aggression was directed toward the Aegean lands. The Lydians, who were later to be the chief power

in Asia Minor, were still a small state. Other tribes, including the Bithynians, settled in northern Asia Minor. These new states of Asia Minor were not so closely allied with the Mesopotamian culture as their predecessors had been.

Parts of eastern Anatolia and northern Syria continued the old traditions under Hittite or Hurrian dynasts. Elsewhere in Syria the Hurri were completely absorbed by the Aramaic tribes, but in the north they maintained their power in small states in their old homeland about Lake Van. Here they developed great skill in the working of iron and bronze, and about 1000 B.C. they formed the kingdom of Urartu, which became a great rival of Assyria.

### HOMER AND THE TROJAN WAR

During their expansion in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries the Achæans had founded colonies on the Ægean islands, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria. Thus the eastern sphere of Cretan commerce was brought under the influence of the Mycenæans. The most famous Greek traditions are those which centre about the ten years' war of the Achæan confederacy under Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, against Priam of Troy and his Phrygian allies for the sake of the fair-haired Helen. The destructive criticism of the last century denied that Mycenæ and Troy ever existed as cities "rich in gold" and able to command the resources needed for such an enterprise, and held that the Homeric epics of the war and the returns of the heroes were composite poems of late date which had no historical basis. Schliemann demonstrated that the actual wealth and power of the two cities were consistent with Homer's account, and his discoveries are no less convincing because the treasures which he found belonged to an earlier period than the twelfth century B.C., to which Greek historians assigned the capture of Troy. The increase in our knowledge of the Mycenæan civilization, and of international relations in the age to which it belonged, would make the coalition of Achæans against Phrygians in a war from which rich plunder and commercial advantages might be expected seem a normal episode in Ægean history, if the tale of Troy were now made known for the first time.

In the meantime, reaction against destructive methods of criticism has led to careful reexamination of the internal evidence of the poems. While much remains unsettled in connection with the Homeric Question, it is no longer unscholarly to believe that a Greek poet, Homer, living in Asiatic Greece not later than the ninth century B.C., composed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Until Greek prose was developed as a literary medium in the latter part of the sixth century B.C., the deeds of heroes, the genealogies of cities and families, and the traditions of local shrines were all that the Greeks cared to preserve of their early history. ·

During the difficult period of reconstruction the glories of the Mycenæan Age and of its last great enterprise were fondly remembered; the deeds and characters of individual heroes were fixed in their general outlines, and the retelling of different portions of the story was a challenge to the skill of epic poets, and later of the great tragedians. The consummate artistry of Homer's work proves that the art of poetry was already highly developed before him, but his genius so far surpassed that of his predecessors that, whereas their epics have survived only in scanty mentions by later writers, his became the great inheritance of the Greek people, and one of their chief legacies to later civilizations.

#### THE GREEK WORLD DURING THE DARK AGES

It may well be that the Trojan War was one of the many dramatic episodes of the early twelfth century in which the last Mycenæan rulers sought to turn the general disorder to their own advantage. But the victory over Troy was of no use to the victors; the epic accounts of the disorders in Greece when the heroes returned fell far short of the sudden ruin that overwhelmed the mainland palaces which the Sea Raiders robbed of their treasures and burned. The devastation was widespread, and was almost as complete as that in the Hittite territory. The population was greatly diminished, and such sites as were rebuilt failed to regain their former importance. Many Greeks migrated to the islands and coasts of Asia Minor, where the opportunities for recovery seemed better.

In later times, there were three main divisions of the Greek people, which differed in speech and to some extent in customs. The Æolians occupied Thessaly, Bœotia, the northern islands, and the northern part of the Anatolian coast; the Ionians lived in Attica, the Cyclades, and the coast south of the Æolians. The Dorians occupied most of the Peloponnesus except Achæa and Arcadia, and subjected those of the earlier Greeks in these districts who did not migrate during their conquest. Later they also settled in Crete, the southern Cyclades, and the southwestern corner of Asia Minor. In general, the Anatolian Greek cities progressed more rapidly in the early Iron Age than those of the mainland.

The creative ability of the Mycenæans had come to an end; the Hellenes of the dark ages lived in isolated villages and depended chiefly on local products, which were often insufficient to support a substantial population. The geometric pottery, which was their chief artistic product, maintained the excellent Mycenæan technique, but its decorative schemes were decidedly crude at first. Homer's poems give detailed descriptions of Mycenæan palaces, armor, and works of art, in which tradition was doubtless supported by some heirlooms, but the many similes based on his own experience depict a far more primitive culture.

## THE HOMERIC AGE

The reconstruction of Greek society and government in the early Iron Age on the basis of epic narratives intended to commemorate the great deeds of the heroes is difficult, but by the aid of archæological evidence and by inference from later institutions, some general agreement has been reached. The power of an Achæan king, which was far more limited than that of an oriental monarch, depended on the need of military leadership, and his vassals formed a council whose decisions he could not safely overlook. When great military enterprises ceased, the vassals tended to become independent kings. In the small kingdoms of the post-Mycenæan period, warfare was usually limited to local conflicts over pastures, water rights, and cattle raids; Homer pictures men of one settlement lying in ambush for the herds of another at the common watering-place.

The interests of all landholders were directly involved in such conflicts, and the king, while he still held the chief place of honor in the state, was increasingly bound by the opinions of his council. The aristocratic element in the government thus tended to increase at the expense of the monarchy. In the disturbed conditions of the age, the settlements were exposed to raids of brigands and pirates as well as to attacks of hostile neighbors, hence those who were able to provide themselves with a full panoply of bronze, with the new leaf-shaped iron swords and iron-pointed spears, were important to the state. An assembly of warriors met to hear and decide matters of common interest. The state was still a tribal monarchy in which the family retained the right to decide the penalty for death or injury of one of its members, but fines began to replace blood-feuds, and disputed cases were argued before the assembly, with judges chosen for their knowledge of the unwritten laws. The herald who made public proclamations, summoned the assembly, conducted negotiations with neighboring states, and acted as the king's scribe, was the only specialized government official.

Land was the essential source of wealth, and the raising of cattle and sheep, of grain and fruits, especially grapes for wine-making, was the chief occupation. Cultivated land was held as private property, and pastures were used in common. The king and nobles not only supervised the manifold tasks of their dependents, but took an active part in them, as their wives did in spinning, weaving, and the general care of the household. Women entered freely into the social life of the community. Slaves were usually captives taken in war, though they were sometimes purchased from Phœnician merchants. They were not numerous, and worked with the free laborers. Even in this comparatively simple society there was a marked difference between the standards of living of peasants and those of land-owners.

Since industries aside from the specialized craft of the potter were carried on in connection with the general work of farm and household, there was little opportunity for landless men to make a living. They led a precarious existence as vagrants and gradually settled in the villages to become an increasing problem as poverty-stricken *thetes*, whose lack of property and of military equipment made them a useless burden to the state and disqualified them for civic functions. (Reading List 21)

### EARLY GREEK RELIGION

The poems of Homer give much evidence as to the religious beliefs of his time. Zeus, father of gods and of men, imperious Hera, his jealous consort, Poseidon, god of the sea and of horses, Apollo, who inspired poets and prophets and taught men the art of healing, Pallas Athena, patroness of arts and crafts, together with other deities, appeared in the guise which they were to keep throughout Hellenic history. More than the gods of other ancient peoples, they were conceived in man's likeness; they surpassed him in power and passion as they did in beauty and stature, and stimulated his poetic imagination more than his conscience. Like the other gods, the Olympians must be propitiated and their wrath appeased by ritual and sacrifices. Religious festivals provided opportunity for the feasts, athletic contests, and music that the gods, like their worshippers, most enjoyed. Homer's broad vision led him beyond the local cults which still prevailed in the individual Greek states. The great heroes were translated at death to the Elysian fields, and might receive lasting worship in local cults as founders of their states, but to most men the land of Hades was a shadowy half-world which offered only an unsubstantial existence to which even the humblest earthly life was preferable. The cult of the dead was duly observed, but was relegated to a minor sphere. (Reading List 22)

### EAST AND WEST IN THE EARLY IRON AGE: PHœNICIAN COMMERCE

Homeric economy was based chiefly on local products and domestic industry; when imported goods are mentioned, they are chiefly articles of eastern workmanship bought of Phœnician merchants. The Achæan expansion, aside from the settlements of the Ægean islands and the western coast of Asia Minor, came to an end with the period of the Sea Raids. The Greeks of the Syrian coast were absorbed by the Phœnicians, who became the heirs of the Minoans in Mediterranean commerce.

The narrow and generally infertile strip of coast between the mountains of Lebanon and the sea could have supported only a small population by its own resources. But its harbors were convenient ports of entry for overseas trade with Hither Asia, and the forests of Lebanon were the most accessible source of timber for Mesopotamia as well as for Egypt. The over-

land routes from Sumer to the coast were regularly used from the days of Sargon of Akkad, and the Pharaohs from the twelfth to the nineteenth dynasty considered the control of Byblos and the adjacent coast essential. The eastern trade of Crete seems to have passed chiefly through Phœnician ports, as did that of Cyprus. We have already seen, in the history of Ras Shamra, how the civilizations and peoples of the ancient world mingled on the Phœnician coast. Like other cities on the coast, Tyre was sacked by the Sea Raiders, but soon recovered, and was rebuilt with the aid of refugees from Sidon and elsewhere, to inaugurate a new phase of Phœnician history by her independent trade throughout the Mediterranean world.

According to ancient tradition, Tyrian voyages to the far west led to the foundation of Gades in Spain shortly after the Trojan War. No Phœnician remains have been found there of an earlier date than the eighth century B.C., but since the Tyrian posts in the west were founded for the exploitation of local resources rather than as colonial settlements, this is not surprising. When the Phœnicians reached Spain, they found there a well-established state, Tartessus, with its capital on the delta of the Guadalquivir River. The ending of the name Tartessus suggests that its original founders came from Asia Minor, and a recent theory holds that they were Etruscans. Tartessus controlled the copper, silver, lead, and gold mines of Spain, and had access to European sources of tin. Its merchants traded with the western coast of Africa also, and if Tartessus was the Biblical Tarshish, the "ivory, apes, and peacocks" brought to the east by its ships would come from the African trade, but the identification is disputed. Tartessus dominated the commerce of the far western lands, and probably had considerable influence on early western European culture. Except for the period from 800 to 700 B.C., when it was under Tyrian control, Tartessus remained independent until late in the sixth century B.C., when the aggression of Carthage ended its power.

The route from Tyre to Gades led by way of Malta or Sicily, where trading posts were later established, to Africa, and thence by a seven days' sail to Gibraltar. The return route followed the African coast. Ceuta, Tangier, Hippo, Utica, and Leptis, great cities under the successive empires of Carthage and Rome, were founded as trading stations along this route. The greatest of them all, and the leader in western trade after the Assyrian conquest broke down the independent maritime enterprise of the mother-city, was Carthage, traditionally founded late in the ninth century.

Through the profitable exchange of manufactures for raw materials in the west, and the sale in the east of these materials and of the carved ivory, goldsmiths' and silversmiths' work (Plate 21b), glasswares, textiles, the famous Tyrian dyes extracted from the purple-bearing mollusk, and of masts and beams from the cedars of Lebanon needed for seagoing ships and for all great buildings, Tyre supported a large population on a barren

but almost impregnable site. From the time of its famous king, Ahiram I (969-936 B.C.), the friend and ally of Solomon, Tyre controlled most of the Phœnician cities until the whole country yielded to Assyrian aggression at the end of the eighth century B.C. Like their Aramæan neighbors, the Phœnicians were the middlemen of the ancient world, and exerted their influence through the transmission of borrowed cultures rather than through original contributions. (Reading List 23)

#### ITALY IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

The Etruscans seem to have been one of the Anatolian peoples who succeeded to the metallurgical skill of the Hittites. The copper and tin deposits of northwestern Italy probably attracted them, at first for trade and later for settlement, while the neighboring island of Elba offered an abundant supply of iron also. If the Etruscans are rightly identified with the *Tursha* of the Egyptian records, their western voyages may have begun soon after the Sea Raids, but most of their settlements in Italy were made in the ninth century B.C. and later. When they reached Italy, they found the country south of the Po occupied by men highly skilled in the working of bronze. These men had already introduced into Italy the culture of the Iron Age, which was beginning to transform the techniques and commerce of central Europe.

During the earlier stages of Etruscan trade and settlement, these people, now known as *Villanovans* from the modern name of the site at which their civilization was first recognized, dominated northern Italy. Other stocks related to the Villanovan occur throughout central and southern Italy; these peoples introduced the Iron Age culture of central Europe among the earlier inhabitants of the peninsula. Although their origin is disputed, it seems probable that they entered Italy in several waves of invasion at the close of the Bronze Age. Before the historical period in Italy began, the Latins, Samnites, and other groups of tribes developed their individual characteristics through the fusion of the northern and Mediterranean stocks under differing local conditions. All these peoples spoke Indo-European dialects. The Picenes in Umbria, who were least affected by the northern invasions, still had a vigorous national spirit and an independent culture in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., but thereafter were subordinate to the Samnites and Latins. Neither the original Etruscans nor the Greeks in southern Italy had as large a part in shaping Italian civilization and character in its formative period as the old Mediterranean stock and the settlers from central Europe, whose fusion laid the foundations for the later national unity under Roman leadership. The trade of the Italic tribes with central Europe and that of the Etruscans with the east gave Italy a more significant place than before in ancient commerce and stimulated

local craftsmanship. Both Phœnicians and Etruscans found compensation in their new ventures in the west for disorders at home, and established Mediterranean trade on a more lasting basis than their Minoan predecessors had achieved. (Reading List 15)

#### THE INVENTION AND DIFFUSION OF THE ALPHABET

The Egyptians had alphabetic characters which they sometimes used in connection with hieroglyphics, but whose possibilities they apparently did not realize. Before the middle of the nineteenth century B.C., however, an alphabetic script derived from Egyptian hieroglyphics began to be used for the Semitic Canaanite dialect. Thus far our only early evidence for this first alphabetic script consists of some brief inscriptions crudely cut on stone in the mining district at Sinai, where many Semitic workmen were employed by their Egyptian overlords. To form this alphabet, a number of hieroglyphic signs were arbitrarily chosen to represent the Semitic consonants, without regard for their phonetic values in Egyptian. Unfortunately for later students of the Semitic languages, the Egyptian disregard for vowel sounds in the written language was retained. Semitic was excellently adapted to an alphabetic script, though the lack of vowel signs was a serious fault in the new form of writing. The new invention seems to have aroused much interest among the members of the mining colony, who used it for short inscriptions in honor of their chief divinity and for comments on their work in the mines.

The alphabetic script proved to be especially suited for writing with a pen on papyrus, and was not used on the more durable clay tablets. Consequently we have only a few examples by which to trace its development during the next thousand years. Recent finds at Gezer and elsewhere in Palestine include brief inscriptions scratched on such durable materials as a knife blade, a ewer, a bowl, and a loom weight, which can be dated by the strata in which they were found, and which show the forms of a few letters as they were written between 1600 B.C. or earlier, and the twelfth century B.C., and there are other early examples on potsherds. From the thirteenth century B.C. to the tenth, longer inscriptions in a more advanced script occur at Phœnician sites. Even as early as the fourteenth century B.C. the Semitic alphabet was so well known that a scribe at Ras Shamra adapted it to cuneiform writing and used it to copy Phœnician literary texts on clay tablets. His device was apparently not imitated elsewhere, although the Persians in the sixth century B.C. and later used a cuneiform alphabet based on the syllabary of their neighbors. In general, however, the descendants of the early Semitic alphabet have been the vehicle of most of the written languages of the world.

Aramæan traders and craftsmen spread the use of the alphabet widely through the east. The rule of the Chaldeans, a tribe related to the

Aramæans, in the New Babylonian Empire at the end of the seventh century B.C., increased Aramaic influence, and the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians did not check their commercial expansion. The Persians were traditionally averse to commerce, and so were content to reap the profits of the mercantile enterprise of their subjects. Aramaic thus took the place of Babylonian as the *lingua franca* of the east, and the Aramaic alphabet was adopted in countries as far from Mount Sinai as Turkestan and India.

In view of the history of the Semitic alphabet in the Near East and of the contacts of the Greeks with Semitic traders at the end of the second millennium, it seems reasonable to suppose that the alphabet was introduced into Greece not later than the eleventh or twelfth century B.C., though the earliest actual examples of Greek writing are several centuries later. When colonial expansion was renewed in the eighth century B.C., writing was probably a familiar art to the Greek colonists, who spread its use throughout their western and northern colonies. The Etruscans adopted the western Greek alphabet, and it came into universal use among the Italian peoples.

According to a Hellenic myth, the Phœnician Cadmus introduced the alphabet to the Greeks. The activity of Phœnician traders in Greece, at a time when the Phœnicians themselves were actively using the alphabet for their business transactions, seems to confirm the tradition, since the Greek alphabet is obviously based on the Semitic. We are indebted to the Greeks, however, for a most useful improvement, since they added vowel signs to the consonants of the Semitic alphabet. The function of the alphabet as an instrument in the transmission of culture makes it the most notable single contribution to civilization in the second millennium. (Reading List 24).

#### THE ARAMÆANS

As the Phœnicians dominated the maritime commerce of the Mediterranean in the early Iron Age, the Aramæans were later to control the overland trade of the Near East. The Aramaic population in Syria and Mesopotamia was greatly increased by renewed migrations on a larger scale than before in the twelfth century B.C., when there was little possibility of effective resistance. Their rapid increase made real assimilation impossible, and by the tenth century B.C. they had settled on the upper Euphrates, controlled the chief cities of northern Syria, and occupied most of the Syrian and Mesopotamian countryside, in spite of Assyrian attempts to check their expansion. Punitive expeditions against Aramaic tribes are frequently mentioned in the Assyrian records of the period. Since the Hebrews, who had already mingled with the Hurri before they entered the land of Canaan, had adopted the language and religion and many social institutions of the Canaanites, their Aramaic kinsmen who now became

their neighbors at Damascus, Hamath, and elsewhere, seemed barbarous aliens. Continued occupation of different cities, however, broke down the Aramaic tribes into small units and helped them to assimilate the local cultures.

The Aramæan talent for commerce rapidly developed after they gained the key points on the Euphrates trade routes, and the strong fortifications which they built to protect their richly stocked market towns against roving brigands provided a lasting defense against the attacks of the Assyrians. With the revival of Assyrian imperialism in the ninth century B.C., a coalition headed by Aramæan cities defended Syria for many years. Damascus resisted Assyrian attacks for a century longer, until its fall in 732 B.C. opened the way to Israel and the south. The fall of Damascus ended the political sovereignty of the Syrian cities, but the influence of Aramæan merchants outlived that of their dynasts, and Damascus continued to be the centre of Syrian commerce throughout the ancient and mediæval periods. (Reading Lists 17, 25)

#### THE PHILISTINES

The Egyptian provinces in southern Syria received the name of Palestine as a result of the settlements of the Philistines, who had taken part in the Sea Raids on the Egyptian and Syrian coasts. The origin of the Philistines is disputed; they were apparently associated with the southwestern coast of Asia Minor and with Minoan Crete, and the theory that they were a northern people who had acquired Minoan characteristics before they reached the Syrian coast is now gaining weight. Hebrew descriptions emphasize their size and the Ægean character of their body-armor; Goliath of Gath might well have fought among the Achæans before Troy. The pillared porch which Samson tore down, the athletic contests of the Philistines, and the fortifications and houses that have been discovered on Philistine sites all show Ægean characteristics, and their pottery imitated Mycenaean forms.

The Philistines dominated the southern coast of Syria for several generations; they oppressed their Hebrew neighbors, whom they even forbade to practice the blacksmith's trade, for fear that if they had iron weapons they could not be kept in subjection. Their oppressive edicts proved futile, however, and indeed only served to stimulate the development of Hebrew nationalism. The Philistine cities, which were under separate aristocratic governments similar to those of the contemporary Greeks, at last formed a coalition against their former subjects, and sought the power of the Egyptian name as an ally against David at a time when no real aid could be expected from the Pharaohs. But the king of Judah annexed the entire Philistine coast, and the Philistines were finally absorbed by the Hebrews.

## THE HEBREWS

According to Hebrew tradition, the patriarch Abraham came from Sumerian Ur by way of Hurrian Harran, with its mixed Caucasian and Indo-Iranian population, to Canaanite Palestine, where the Akkadian and Amorite culture of Babylonia was dominant. Some of his descendants sojourned for generations among the Hamites of Egypt and returned at last by way of Sinai, the haunt of Arab nomads, to a land that was overrun by the mixed stocks of the Habiru. There they were to absorb the Philistines, marry Hittites, Phœnicians, Edomites, and Moabites, and thus create a racial mixture in which all Solomon's foreign wives should have felt at home.

In spite of conflicting traditions, many details in these accounts are supported by recent discoveries; their interpretation is often determined by historical evidence which was unknown to the authors of the Old Testament. The stories of the patriarchs present a generally sound picture of conditions in Canaan during the period of gradual settlement from the time of Abraham (c. 1800 B.C.) until the fifteenth century, when the increased intensity of the Aramæan invasions brought in the tribes who formed the loose confederacy of Israel (c. 1425 B.C.). The Israelites settled in scattered villages where they maintained their tribal government and gained a scanty livelihood by a pastoral life, since the cities and the best agricultural land belonged to earlier settlers. They adopted the language and many of the customs of their neighbors, who had lived for a thousand years under Sumerian and Babylonian influence.

The successive stages of Hebrew legislation show that under Hurrian and Canaanite influence they abandoned their old tribal customs for a more settled and complex society. The provisions of the Code of Hammurabi were modified in Canaanite, and again in Hebrew usage, by centuries of experience and by different tribal backgrounds. Like other Semitics, the Israelites worshipped tribal gods who were associated with individual cult objects and were honored by burnt offerings, by the orgiastic ritual of music and dance, and by sacred prostitution.

The tribe of Levi moved south during a period of famine and gained permission from an Egyptian governor to settle in the land of Goshen east of the Nile. Such a settlement of refugees from the Egyptian provinces in Asia was not unprecedented. A fragmentary inscription from the tomb of Harmhab records how, as general, he assigned land to those who petitioned him for help: "A few of the Asiatics, who knew not how they should live, have come begging a home in the domain of Pharaoh, after the manner of your fathers' fathers."<sup>1</sup> After the oppression under Ramses II, Moses

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<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III, 6-7.

took advantage of the disorders in Egypt to lead his people back to Canaan. On the way, they united with the tribe of Judah, whose storm-god, Yahweh, Moses chose as the god of the Exodus. By about 1175 B.C. the southern Hebrews formed the confederacy of Judah for common defense against the Philistines and other foes, though wars between the tribes were also frequent.

### THE HEBREW KINGDOM

Until the end of the eleventh century the Philistines permitted the Hebrews only the tribal government of the Judges, but in 1015 B.C. Saul aroused such active rebellion against Philistine rule that the tribes of Israel elected him king. He persuaded Jesse, leader of the tribe of Judah, to aid him; after Saul's sons died, David, son of Jesse, became king of Israel and Judah. The creation of the united kingdom required the final conquest of the Philistine coast, and made possible further annexations, notably that of the hill-city of Jerusalem and the great plain of Galilee which it dominated. The strong position of Jerusalem and the fact that it had never belonged to either Israel or Judah made it an ideal capital for the new kingdom. The ark of the covenant was transferred to the city, and Yahweh, god of Judah, became the divine ruler essential for every oriental state; his presence at the capital strengthened the royal power of the mortal king and insured victories for his faithful people.

The Hebrews now for the first time had access to the sea, and fertile lands whose surplus products could be exchanged for Tyrian goods. Thus their alliance with Phœnicia was based on mutual advantage.

Assisted by a Babylonian secretary, David organized the united tribes under individual governors and put local affairs under the elders who sat in judgment at the city gates. The newly acquired land was allotted to individual freemen, who owed in exchange military service and labor on the public works. The fields, herds, olive orchards, and vineyards of the royal domain enabled the Hebrew king to live in the state of an oriental monarch. Official chronicles were kept, and the descriptive skill that animates the historical books appears also in the traditional tales with which these are interwoven, and in the inspired poetry of the psalms and prophets. The poetic imagery of the psalms of David and the ethical principles of the proverbial wisdom of Solomon were prophetic not only of the greatness of the later literature that was to be associated with their names, but of the eventual worship of Yahweh as a universal divine power freed from the associations of the tribal Baalim.

Solomon (973-935 B.C.) inherited a kingdom which was territorially complete, and transformed it into an oriental despotism. He controlled not only the "bridge of fertility" from Sinai to the Arabian desert, but the

great trade route from Egypt to Asia, which he fortified to insure his monopoly. He increased the wealth and importance of the state by commercial enterprises. Egypt was now famous for the breeding and training of horses, which were in great demand in all the states of the Near East, and for the making of chariots, for which wood had to be imported from the north. The dissolution of the Hittite power had interrupted the supply of horses from the famous Cappadocian pastures. Solomon was thus able to build up a profitable trade in Egyptian horses and chariots. The great stables recently discovered at Megiddo confirm the Biblical account of this trade. In addition, Solomon controlled the copper mines close to his Red Sea port of Ezion Geber, which not only supplied bronze for the decoration of his palace and temple at Jerusalem, but furnished a valuable commodity for trade. He cooperated with Ahiiram of Tyre in his commercial voyages, and together they created a Red Sea fleet. A new merchant class grew up to develop this trade under royal control.

The best lands were confiscated for the royal domain and the king's chief supporters. Free landholders paid tithes of grain, wine, and flocks; the first cutting of the grass was the "king's mowing." The labor exacted from the king's subjects included military service, cultivation of the crown lands, manufacture of weapons and chariots, and the work of women in weaving, cooking, baking, perfume-making, and the varied services required by the royal harem. An Egyptian princess was chief among the wives of the Hebrew king. Taxes and taskwork helped to build the great palace at Jerusalem and the smaller but more famous temple that formed a part of the royal buildings. For the Tyrian architecture and craftsmen, the cedar wood, and the purple hangings, which Ahiiram furnished, Solomon paid huge quantities of grain, wine, and olive oil, and pledged twenty towns of Galilee. Meanwhile 30,000 Hebrews worked in relays, spending one month out of every three at Tyre, at the quarries, or in the construction of the buildings themselves.

Solomon's son Rehoboam inherited more of his father's despotism than of his magnificence, and a rebellious subject, Jeroboam, established Israel as a separate kingdom in 933 B.C. with Egyptian help. Israel now had more profitable connections and greater resources than Judah, and early in the ninth century Omri (885-874 B.C.) made it chief among the Syrian powers, in alliance with Tyre and Damascus. He built his capital at Samaria, where his palace, decorated with the carved ivory for which Damascus was famous, was a fitting rival to the glories of Jerusalem.

Omri's successor Ahab took a prominent part in the anti-Assyrian coalition, but was so unpopular with the prophets who were then stirring up the people of Yahweh against their king, that they made no record of the great stand by which this coalition checked the Assyrian Shalmaneser at Qarqara in 853 B.C. Ahab's death was the signal for the dissolution of the

confederacy, the loss of control over Judah, and widespread revolts in Israel. While the prophets were still calling for war against the Aramæans, Shalmaneser returned and forced Israel to pay tribute to Assyria. The long-delayed fall of Damascus in 732 B.C. was followed nine years later by the capture of Samaria; the people of Israel were deported by the Assyrians, and men brought in from other lands became the despised neighbors of Judah.

The separation of Israel and Judah after the death of Solomon was the occasion for a remarkable development in Hebrew religion. For both kingdoms continued to worship Yahweh, who now became the national deity of two independent and rival powers. This was a significant advance toward the idea of a universal and international god whose power transcended territorial boundaries and was not confined to a single political unit. The prophets' support of the people against the king, and the poor against the rich, with their demands for new standards of righteousness in the cult of Yahweh to strengthen Israel against her enemies who worshipped Baal, contributed toward the growth of Hebrew monotheism in the period of subjection and captivity. (Reading List 25)

## VII

### THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

*In the might and power of the great gods, my lords, who sent forth  
my weapons, I cut down all my foes.* —Sargon II

ASSYRIA HAD A LONGER continuous political development and a more truly national character than any other early oriental power. The small Assyrian state on the upper Tigris came under the successive control of the Sumerian, Akkadian, and Amorite dynasties of the third millennium B.C., but only as a tributary vassal, and even this loose sovereignty was interrupted by periods of independence. From the time when the early civilization of the Painted Pottery Folk of Nineveh and the surrounding country was supplanted by cultures from the south, the Sumerians and Akkadians had a continuous influence on Assyria. But its compact mountain territory, its location on the trade route from Babylonia along the Tigris to the northern mines and Anatolia, and its proximity to the upper Mesopotamian plain prevented it from becoming a mere dependency of the southern dynasties and kept it in close touch with the Caucasian mountain tribes and the peoples of northern Syria and Anatolia.

The mingling of races was a constant factor in Assyrian history, but Semitic stocks dominated. Though the country was not rich in natural resources, its arable land and pastures sufficed for the ordinary needs of the people. They had convenient access to the mines of Armenia and Anatolia, and in periods of military expansion, booty, indemnities, and tribute supplied metals, luxuries, and curiosities. Assur, the local god of a small town, grew in importance with the victories won by Assyrian kings, who never shared their divine prerogatives with a powerful priesthood. The temples were closely associated with the royal palaces. As the empire grew, the cult of Assur dominated those of conquered gods, until it became a sort of imperial monotheism. Yet the subject peoples continued their personal worship of local divinities.

Assyria was always an agricultural state; its kings were as proud of increasing the arable land, extending the water supply and irrigation system by improved methods which they learned from their northern neighbors, and introducing new animals and plants, as they were of their conquests. Commerce was a secondary but vital necessity; the trading posts in Asia Minor at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. attest its early im-

portance. Control of trade routes was a factor in the western wars, and extensive privileges were granted to the free cities in the interest of their merchant population. The native Assyrians, however, were less commercially minded than their neighbors, and the Aramæans gradually took over the conduct of their business enterprises. The great strength of Assyria and the source of her imperial power lay in the military capacity of the people, in the skill and loyalty of officials who combined civil and military functions, and especially in the genius of a long line of rulers whose plans of conquest were always conditioned by the need of defense.

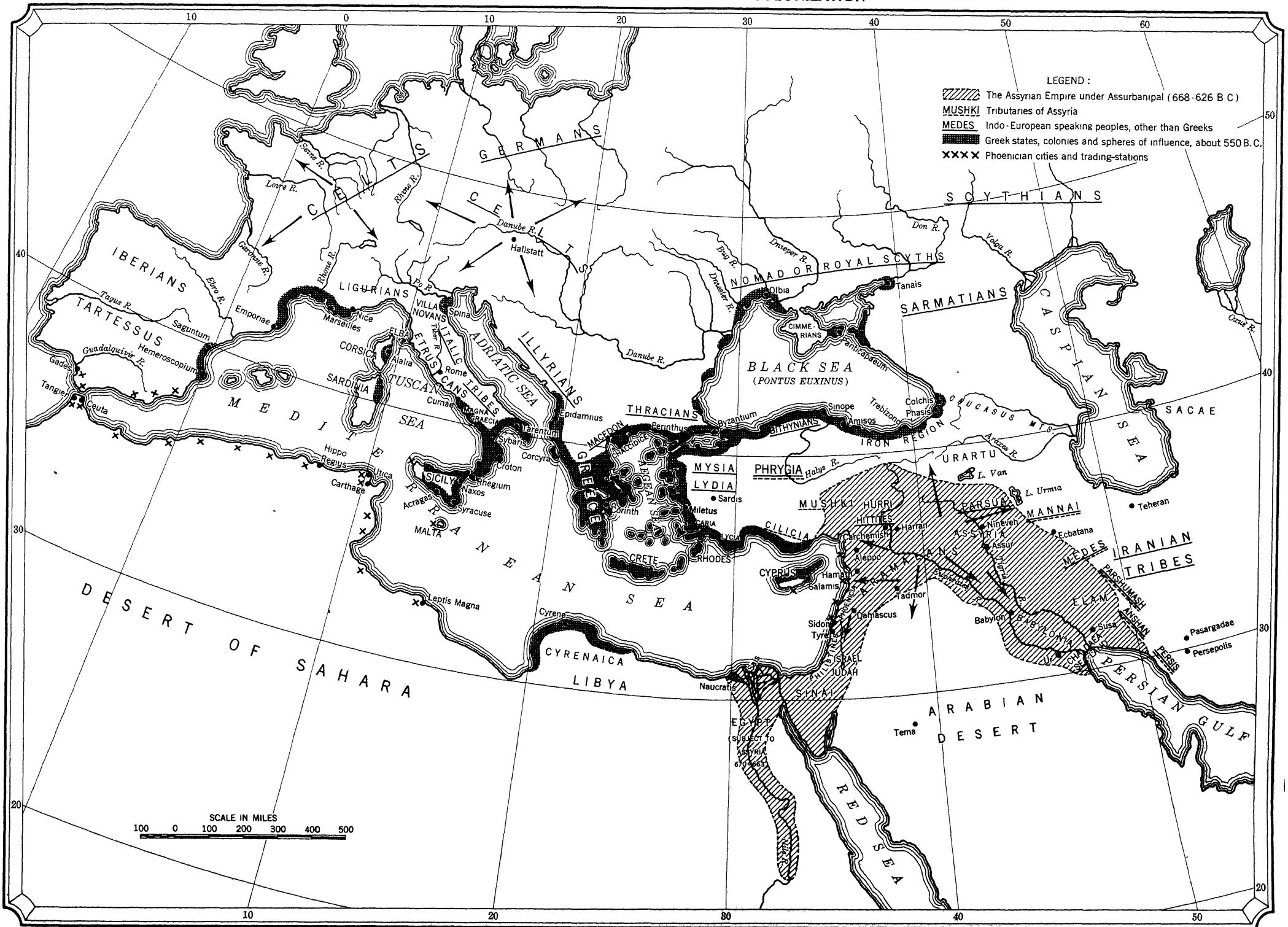
#### ASSYRIAN HISTORY IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

Early in the second millennium Shamsi-Adad I conquered the ruling dynasty at Babylon and created a Mesopotamian power in which Assur, newly fortified, had an important part. The creation of this state caused rapid economic changes, and the chief surviving document from Shamsi-Adad's reign is the edict by which he set fixed prices for the city of Assur to protect his people from profiteering. Grain and oil cost more than in contemporary price-fixing edicts in the south, but wool was much cheaper, for the highlands of Assyria were excellent pastures. Shamsi-Adad took the old royal title of "King of the Universe, who devotes his energies to the land between the Tigris and Euphrates." He was not primarily an Assyrian king, but his interest in Assur laid the foundations of its later greatness and established its freedom from Babylonian control. The site of the city combined command of the narrow passage between the Tigris and the desert with exposure to attack on all sides, and like the site of Rome offered rich rewards at the price of constant vigilance against the encroachments of its neighbors.

A complete list of Assyrian kings from the twenty-fourth century to the eighth century B.C., recently discovered in the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad, affords a sound basis for Assyrian chronology, but the Assyrian annals did not begin until the fourteenth century B.C., and scanty building inscriptions tell us little of the period after the reign of Shamsi-Adad. The Hurrian expansion encroached on Assyria, many Hurri were absorbed by the local population, and the formation of Mitanni and other Hurrian states was an obstacle to later advances. In 1461 the boundaries between Kassite Babylonia and Assyria were formally delimited, and during the imperial period the Assyrian kings were active in the diplomacy of the great powers. In the fourteenth century the first Assyrian Empire became a serious menace to Hurri and Hittites. The coalition of these states after the Hittite peace with Egypt in 1272 B.C. failed to check the new power in the east, which profited by their lessons in the arts of war and of city building. Tukulti-Urta I (c. 1260-1232 B.C.) was "King of the Universe,



#### IV. THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AND HELLENIC COLONIZATION



Basic Outline by J. P. Goode, Courtesy of The University of Chicago Press



King of Assyria, Mighty King, King of the Four World Regions," but his attempt to rule Babylonia as a vassal state provoked rebellion, and the Assyrian world power ended in anarchy just at the time when the breakdown of the great powers afforded the best opportunity for western expansion. For a short time the Kassites claimed overlordship of Assyria, but Elamite aggression ended the Kassite rule in 1171 B.C.

Nebuchadrezzar I (c. 1146-1123 B.C.) launched Babylonia once more on a brief imperialistic course, and campaigned successively against the Elamites and other mountain peoples, but was defeated by Assyria, and thereafter internal conflicts and foreign aggression prevented the unification of the country. The brief glory of the Babylonian Nebuchadrezzar was followed by that of the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1115-1102 B.C.), the first ruler whose recorded achievements are comparable to those of later kings. He subdued revolts, checked the eastward expansion of the Phrygian Mushki, and asserted his sovereignty over the Syrian coast and the remnants of the Hittite power, thus gaining control of the great caravan routes. Not only his successful campaigns, but his prowess as a mighty hunter, builder, and engineer, and his paternal care for his people make him the prototype of the Assyrian monarch. But his rapid conquests lacked stability, and his successors were weak. The process of empire building was again interrupted; during the dark ages from the end of the twelfth century to the end of the tenth history was not made by the armies of Assyria but by the formation of new states on its borders.

### THE NEIGHBORS OF ASSYRIA

During the twelfth and eleventh centuries Aramæans poured in from the desert in such numbers that assimilation was impossible, and serious difficulties resulted. By the tenth century direct invasions ceased and the newly arrived tribes were settled in independent units and controlled the trade routes of Syria and upper Mesopotamia. This caused serious loss to the Hebrew states, to Carchemish and other Hittite and Hurrian cities, and to the Assyrian commercial centres. The recovery of western trade through reconquest of Syria, thereafter an essential aim of Assyrian imperialism, was complicated by the strength of the Aramaic "fenced cities," especially Hamath and Damascus, by the shifting policies of the Hebrews, Philistines, and Phœnicians, and by the lack of any tenable frontier between the Euphrates and the Nile.

In the tenth and ninth centuries Aramæans and Chaldæans from Arabia overran Babylonia. Their chiefs established themselves in rivalry with each other, with Elam, and with the old cities which frequently supported Assyria out of hostility to the newcomers. The chiefs of the Chaldæan clans succeeded in imposing their rule on the unwarlike people of

the Babylonian cities, but did not form a united state. Commercial interests and the danger that the Elamites, who still maintained their military efficiency, would reestablish their power over the plain, necessitated frequent Assyrian campaigns. But the lack of any lasting central power among the Chaldean chiefs made individual victories easier to win and prevented any real settlement of the Babylonian question.

### THE ARAMAIC ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

The Aramaean merchants were everywhere, and their language became essential to commerce and diplomacy. Since the Aramaic alphabet was adapted to writing with pen and ink, their records were kept on papyrus, imported from Egypt, on cedar tablets, or on parchment which was developed as a substitute for the expensive imported materials; all these were highly perishable as compared with the clay tablets used for cuneiform writing, so that the history of the diffusion of Aramaic writing is lost except for a few stray instances. From the time of Sargon II Assyrian kings were regularly attended by an Aramaic scribe with pen, ink, and papyrus or parchment, as well as an Assyrian with his clay tablets and stylus (Plate 23a). Business records were kept on cuneiform tablets, but had Aramaic notations for convenience in filing, and the bronze lions which served as the standard weights had Aramaic numbers scratched on them in addition to the cuneiform inscription stamped by the original mold. The progress of Aramaic as an international spoken language is illustrated by an incident in Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem. The Assyrian envoys stood beneath the walls and shouted their message in Hebrew, whereupon the city fathers begged them to talk in Aramaic instead, so that the people on the wall would not understand. But the envoys preferred to have them hear their arguments for surrender to Assyria.<sup>1</sup> When the Jews returned from the Babylonian captivity a century and a half later, they used Aramaic more freely than Hebrew.

### THE IRANIAN SETTLEMENTS

Little is known about the early movements of the Indo-Iranian peoples, but their settlement of the Indus Valley seems to have been completed before 1000 B.C., by which time they had also occupied most of the Iranian plateau. The Medes, Persians, and related tribes were well established in the land east of Assyria in the ninth century B.C., and began to occupy the strong towns of the mountains. They gradually assimilated the earlier population and their raids on dependencies of Assyria required constant watchfulness. There was as yet little unity among the Iranian tribes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II Kings 18, 17-37; cf. Isaiah 36.

<sup>2</sup> The earlier stock was probably chiefly Caucasian, and many Aramaeans had now settled in the district also. See Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, ch. 8.

## THE KINGDOM OF URARTU

Around Lake Van, whence the Hurri had spread over the Near East a thousand years earlier, a new state was being formed which apparently represents the last stage of Hurrian political activity, and which for 150 years was to be the chief rival of Assyria. From the eleventh century to the middle of the ninth the Haldian tribes in this district gradually formed a united state which appears in the Assyrian chronicles as Urartu, "the highlands." The Hebrew name, Ararat, is a reminder that according to the old tradition of the flood, the earth was repopled from this northern district where the ark came to rest.

The first local records of Urartu are those of Sarduris I, a contemporary of Shalmaneser III in the middle of the ninth century B.C., who founded his capital at Tuspas or Van, and recorded his deeds in Assyrian. His successors used their native dialect, but retained both cuneiform writing and the style of the Assyrian royal inscriptions. The Hurrian cults of the great god Khaldis and his family, of Teshub and other nature gods, and of Ishtar continued. Architecture and sculpture followed Assyrian models the more readily because of the influence of Hurrian culture on Assyrian art in its formative period. With abundant supplies of copper and iron at hand, the people of Urartu far surpassed their southern neighbors in metallurgy. More horses were pastured on their plains than they could train for military purposes, and their land produced the northern woods needed for strong chariots. The Assyrian rulers, whose titles and building activities they copied, studied their engineering feats, and prized the iron and bronze objects taken from them in war. After the Cimmerian raids and the Median conquests in the seventh century B.C. ended the kingdom of Van, their Caucasian language and religion yielded to the Indo-European culture of the Phrygian clans who occupied the land and of their Iranian overlords, but the racial type that we know as Armenoid or Caucasian reasserted itself and persists in Armenia today.

The kings of Van could extend their territory north beyond the Araxes and east to the Euphrates without infringing on Assyrian interests, but their southern campaigns provoked direct conflict between the two powers. Their armies were equal in efficiency and equipment, and in spite of successful raids, neither could claim conquest of the other's capital, nor annex its territory.

## THE GROWTH OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

During the period of reconstruction and growth from the end of the tenth century B.C. to the accession of Tiglath-Pileser III in 745 B.C., the foundations of the great age of Assyria were laid. The conquests of Assurnasirpal (c. 884-859 B.C.) are illustrated by a great series of bas-reliefs

from his palace which depict the rugged mountain-passes over which the Assyrians "flew like birds," and show the equipment of the armies, the fortified cities of the enemy and the siege engines arrayed against them, and the chiefs bringing bronze vessels and wine as propitiatory offerings. The Aramæan cities were less prudent, and opposed the king's advance, but their poorly disciplined forces fled before the Assyrian bowmen, as the city walls yielded to their battering rams. This triumphant march to the sea established the Assyrian reputation for "frightfulness." The booty of the captured cities and armies, including thousands of soldiers who were incorporated in the army, and the gifts and tribute brought by Phrygian, Hittite, and Phœnician rulers who wished to avert war and gain commercial concessions enriched Assurnasirpal's treasury, and left his successors the costly legacy of Syrian wars.

Before Shalmaneser III (c. 859-824 B.C.) reached Syria, the kingdoms of Damascus, Hamath, and Israel formed a strong coalition in which Egypt and several lesser states joined, for the increasing strength of Urartu made consecutive campaigns in Syria impossible, and offered good hope to the rebels (Plate 22). Shalmaneser's chronicle reports a great victory at Qarqara in 853 B.C., but subsequent events show that it was at best a drawn battle. Campaigns in Babylonia postponed the Syrian issue, and a few years later the capture of Hamath ended the coalition. Later campaigns gained control of the caravan routes to Cilicia, and thus restored direct trade with Anatolia and reestablished the Assyrian interests in the west, though a hundred years passed before the fall of Damascus opened the road to the south.

Shalmaneser's reign ended in a civil war which enabled Urartu and the Chaldæans to profit by Assyrian troubles; much ground was lost under the weak rulers who succeeded him. The most notable figure in this period belongs more to romance than to history, for Sammuramat, who ruled successfully as regent for her son near the close of the ninth century B.C., lives in the pages of Herodotus as Semiramis, to whom the father of history attributed all the achievements of the Assyrian kings.

#### THE ASSYRIAN POWER AT ITS HEIGHT

The inner strength of Assyria survived the period of decline, and the military dictatorship of Tiglath-Pileser III (c. 745-727 B.C.) completely restored the imperial power. He was a consummate military genius in an age when long familiarity with iron and bronze had developed efficient weapons and body-armor, when Assyrian siege engines were seldom withstood even by the strongest walls, and military skill reached heights undreamed of in earlier empires. The coordination of the divisions of the army, the war chariots, mounted cavalry, heavy infantry operating in pairs with a shieldbearer to protect each Bowman, light-armed skirmishers, and

engineers, required technical skill on the part of the officers, and long training. Consequently the infantry was composed chiefly of men enlisted for a long term, and the levy of troops from conquered provinces was necessary in view of constant campaigns on different fronts and the need for garrisons at doubtful points. It was not a source of danger until other factors weakened the military strength of the empire.

The control of Babylonia was a cardinal point in Assyrian policy, and victories there brought more glory than any others. Tiglath-Pileser attempted to end the anarchy in northern Babylonia by making it into a province guarded by a new city composed of natives with full Assyrian rights, and by deporting many men to other lands. The old cities supported him, and toward the end of his reign he "took the hands of Bel" as king of Sumer and Akkad. He was the first Assyrian since the thirteenth century B.C. to claim this title. The real unification of Babylonia, however, was the work of Merodach-baladan, who began at this time to gain the support of the Chaldæan clans, though he was outwardly submissive to Assyrian rule.

Difficulties in the northeast led to the formation of the provinces of Mannai and Parsuas, and to a campaign to check the depredations of the Median tribes, which were still too loosely organized to permit any decisive action. The Median chiefs listed in the records of this campaign bore Caucasian and Aramæan as well as Iranian names, showing that the Iranian element was not yet dominant. The kingdom of Van had now reached its greatest extent under Sarduris I, "king of kings." He was instrumental in forming a Syrian coalition similar to that which opposed Shalmaneser III, but more dangerous because the strong powers of Van and Phrygia were now ready to profit by Assyrian losses. The Assyrians succeeded in recovering complete control of northern Syria and of southeastern Anatolia. Here also a new province was formed; many men were deported to the north and east, and their places were taken by eastern captives. The later attack on Van was merely a demonstration of military strength, and an excuse for plunder.

#### THE FALL OF DAMASCUS AND SAMARIA

The fall of Damascus in 732 B.C. was the most decisive step in the western expansion of Assyria; it destroyed the centre of Aramaic opposition and led to the submission of Ahaz of Judah and the Philistine and Phœnician dynasts who had economically withheld tribute until the issue was decided. The political rôle of the Aramæans in Syria was now ended, and their chief interest thereafter was in commerce. Assyria was paramount in Palestine and Yahweh was subordinate to Assur in the worship at Jerusalem. In spite of this extension of the land under direct Assyrian control, and of the imperial sphere of interest, Tiglath-Pileser's campaigns were chiefly defensive in character.

The capture of Samaria by Sargon II (c. 722-704 B.C.) completed the work of the earlier Syrian campaigns, but precipitated the question of relations with Egypt. Piankhi, the ambitious Ethiopian who was now Pharaoh, intrigued with Judah and other states in the hope of restoring Egyptian control of Palestine. The campaigns of Sennacherib in Palestine and the annexation of Egypt by Esarhaddon in 670 B.C. were thus necessary to safeguard Assyrian control of Syria. In Sargon's time, however, this action was necessarily postponed by the more serious danger in the north, where Urartu and Phrygia had formed an alliance against Assyria. Sargon broke up this coalition and conducted a punitive raid into Urartu, but the two states remained formidable enemies of the empire. Meanwhile the Chaldæan union had progressed so far that Merodach-baladan took the title of king of Sumer and Akkad. When Sargon recovered Babylonia, he left Merodach-baladan in possession of his lands to reestablish peace and loyalty. The Chaldæan continued his intrigues, however, and even sent envoys to Hezekiah of Judah to urge concerted action against Assyria. In 694 he was killed by a coalition of Elamites and Aramæans. A few years later, after a revolt in which the province of Parsuas also took part, Sennacherib took the royal title in Babylonia, destroyed the city of Babylon, and removed the cult statue of Marduk to Assur in token of the victory of Assyria.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

In spite of almost continuous campaigns and many obstacles to peace, the Assyrians made substantial progress toward the fusion of many small states into a coherent empire. The efficiency and loyalty of their officials is notable in contrast with the incapacity of Egyptian governors in Syria a few centuries earlier. Aside from the antagonism aroused by brutal treatment of defeated enemies and rebellious subjects, and by mass deportation, the provinces seem to have been well administered. The zest with which the brutal punishments meted out to the leaders of the enemy are recounted in the official chronicles and depicted in the reliefs carved in the kings' palaces leaves no doubt that the Assyrians took a savage delight in flaying, impaling, quartering, and other forms of torture (Plate 22b). Such atrocities were common in the Near East, and have not been unknown in other parts of the world, but have rarely been so inevitable a part of conquest, or so frankly emphasized in official records. But the ruler of a conquered state was usually spared and sent back to rule as a client-prince. The indemnities exacted at the time of conquest were high, but the annual tribute imposed thereafter was well within the power of the state to pay. The contrast between the price of resistance and the cost of peaceful submission was an object lesson which probably shortened many campaigns. The reclamation of waste lands, the construction of an efficient road system, and the building

of the kings' great cities was accomplished by captives who served as public slaves. Assyrians could no longer be spared for such work during the militaristic days of the empire. The many soldiers who were enlisted in the Assyrian army after their own state was conquered fared much better.

The system of deportation was instituted to break up national groups and thus prevent rebellion. This forced migration of men, women, and children must have caused great hardship; the recent history of the Near East illustrates the economic difficulties that would persist until the process of resettlement was completed, as well as the religious and social antagonisms that would arise in formerly unified districts. The contempt of the Hebrews in later times for the hybrid population which was settled in Samaria to take the place of the deported Israelites is one example; on the other hand, many of the deported Jews chose to remain in their new homes when the Persian Cyrus offered to repatriate them.

The brighter side of the picture is seen in the gradual formation of provinces from conquered territory, in which internal peace and government expenditures for public works, with the commercial opportunities of a large empire, fostered technical efficiency and prosperity. From the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, the old provinces were subdivided in the interest of more efficient administration. Sargon II abandoned the system of tributary states and extended the provinces to include the lands of former tributary princes.

The free men of the provinces are described as having the full rights of Assyrians, and when a new city was annexed, the king sometimes recorded the status of its citizens in these words: "Taxes and taskwork I imposed on them as upon the Assyrians." We have no contemporary evidence to show how far these provisions helped to secure loyalty to the empire. Foreign rulers were always ready to stir up rebellion against Assyria, and in most states the people as a whole had no part in matters of foreign policy. The stronger the Assyrian Empire became, the greater interest other powers had in checking its growth and diminishing its territory, and their offers were hard for petty monarchs to resist. But the debt of Persia to Assyria is increasingly apparent, and the foundations of the imperial system of Cyrus and his successors were laid before the fall of Nineveh.

### ASSYRIAN CIVILIZATION

The influence of Sumerian, Babylonian, Hittite, Hurrian, and Egyptian contacts on the Assyrian culture is well known; the first of these was the earliest and most continuous, but the Assyrians repaid their debt by preserving and extending the legacy of Sumer and Akkad during the centuries when Babylonia itself was as impotent in culture as in government. Assurbanipal collected a great library, through which the Sumerian and

Babylonian epics now extant have been preserved to us. The Assyrian additions to Semitic literature were chiefly in the field of history, in which they surpassed their Hittite models, and in astrology and astronomy.

Each of the later kings built his own royal city on a site which was not associated with any of his recent predecessors. Here the palace and administrative offices, the temple of Assur, royal parks and spacious pleasure-grounds, testified at once to his divine majesty and his care for the instruction and pleasure of his people. Rare woods, carved ivory, richly wrought metal, elaborate textiles, and curiosities of all sorts, such as cotton plants, wild animals, and creatures of the sea, were brought from subjected countries to adorn the court. The dwellers in the king's city did not suffer from provincial isolation.

Sennacherib selected the ancient town of Nineveh for his capital and built there "the palace that hath no rival." Nineveh had hitherto been famous chiefly for its shrine of Ishtar, but the strategic value of the site now became apparent. Nineveh symbolized the greatness and the oppression of Assyria both to the ancient world and to later readers of the Old Testament. The most notable achievements of Assyrian art adorned the palaces; these were the colossal human-headed bulls of stone and bronze which guarded the doorways, and the great series of reliefs (Plates 23-26), once vividly painted, which provided pictorial chronicles of the wars, the hunts, and the festivals in which both kings and people delighted. Here the individuality of the Assyrian, his keen observation of human and animal nature and of strange scenes on land and sea, his delight in hunting (Plate 25) and war, and his more peaceful pleasures and labors are set forth. The long beards and heavy garments of the Assyrians make the human figures seem less lifelike to modern eyes than the marvellous representations of horses and hunted lions.

Booty, indemnities, and yearly tributes met the needs of the budget, so that the burden of taxation was probably less than in other states. The fragments of legal decisions which are preserved show that the government assumed some responsibility for the maintenance of the poor. The penalties for crimes were brutal, and fines were not accepted as a substitute, as they were in some other states. Though three social ranks were recognized, the nobles, the middle class of craftsmen, professional men, and merchants, and the lower class, the Assyrians were equal in the eyes of the law, for the customary grading of penalties according to the rank of the offender and his victim is not found. Women's rights in marriage and property were more restricted than in the laws of Hammurabi. Privately owned slaves often differed little from free men except for their annual debt to their owners.

Land was held in free tenure, and taxes and military levies were based on a regular census; the unit of taxation was the amount of land needed to

support a bowman and his shieldbearer. The large estates were worked by serfs bound to the land, but free farmers were numerous both as small owners and as tenants. The law made an unusual provision for their benefit, for the farmer who had to borrow grain or money to tide him over until his crops were sold was exempt from interest if he paid his debt at the next harvest. The demand for men for the standing army must have been a constant drain on the population, but it obviously did not undermine the prosperity of the country for any considerable period. The burden of forced labor was much lightened by the use of prisoners of war for agriculture and public works.

Town life, aside from that of the royal capital, was concentrated in the commercial centres, which were often given charters of exemption from taxes and taskwork of all kinds, with immunity from official supervision, and had special facilities for trade throughout the empire. The merchants and craft guilds thus enjoyed privileges like those of the free cities of the later Middle Ages, but were less hampered by state boundaries. The agricultural land which was attached to the cities was also included in these exemptions.

The cities were walled but spacious, with streets laid out on a regular checkerboard plan, and were oriented to provide the most favorable exposure for the houses. The houses were built around central courts in the style still used in the towns of the Near East.

It is possible that coined money was an Assyrian invention, for an inscription of Sargon II mentions the casting of half-shekels stamped with the head of the goddess Ishtar. The coins of the Lydians, to whom the Greeks attributed the invention of coinage, and those of the Persians may have been inspired by these Assyrian half-shekels, but the evidence is not conclusive. The shekel, mina, and talent (60 shekels making a mina, and 60 minas a talent), which originated in Babylonia and were the standard measures of weight and value throughout the east, were regulated by local rulers, and the "king's measures" are commonly mentioned as heavier than others. Babylonia, Syria, and Phoenicia used varying standards, the last of which finally dominated. The Assyrians also continued the ancient practice of using a measure of barley as a convenient standard in estimating values. The Aramæan merchants did much to standardize commercial practice, and insured its continuity throughout the later Babylonian and Persian periods. Many of the Assyrian lion-shaped bronze weights which are preserved have their values scratched on the surface in Aramaic for the convenience of the Aramæan clerks, in addition to the cuneiform inscription stamped in the mold. (Reading List 28)

Thus the imperial structure of the state was buttressed by agriculture and industry, and militarization was counterbalanced by a substantial economic organization. (Reading List 26)

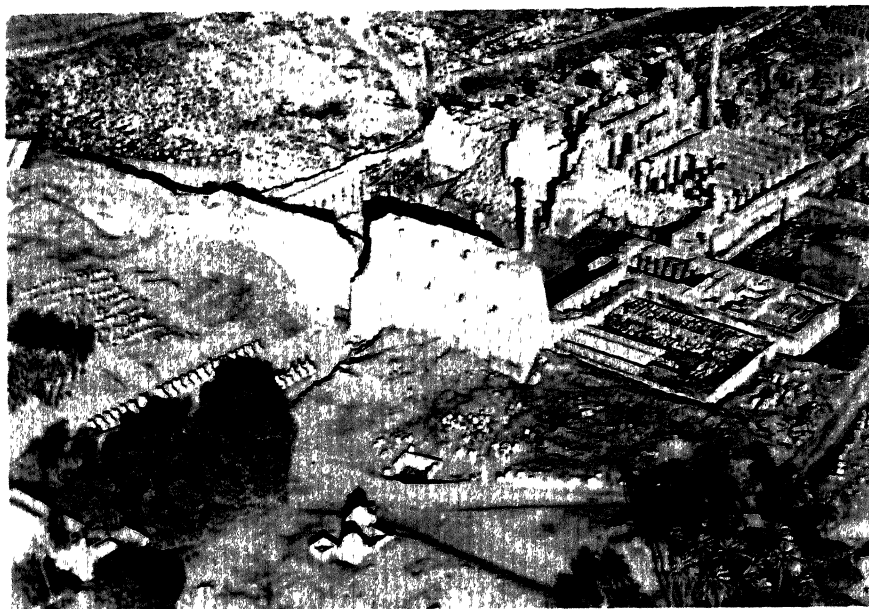
## THE CIMMERIAN INVASIONS

Shortly before the close of the eighth century B.C., in the reign of Sargon II, hordes of Cimmerians, a northern people perhaps of Thracian stock, suddenly invaded the Near East. The expansion of nomad Scythians in southern Russia may have given the impetus for these disastrous waves of invasion, and groups of Scythians came in the wake of their Cimmerian enemies. Herodotus lays much stress on the Scythian invasions, but his view of their extent is not borne out either by archaeological evidence or by ancient tradition. Most of the Cimmerians crossed the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, where they sacked Ephesus and other Ionian cities and attacked the kingdom of Lydia. In the meantime, other bands crossed the central pass of the Caucasus and overran Armenia. The king of Urartu succeeded in defending his country from the first invasion, and diverted the attack to the neighboring Assyrian provinces. Sargon defeated them in 705 B.C. and saved Syria and western Asia for the time being. Thirty years later, a larger group of Cimmerian invaders united with the Mannai and Medes against Assyria; Esarhaddon finally succeeded in repelling them with Scythian aid, and in turning their course toward Asia Minor. For years the Cimmerians roved through the interior of the country to the ruin of Phrygia. In 652 B.C. Gyges, the king of Lydia, was killed in battle with the Cimmerians, and shortly after this the Assyrian army defeated them decisively in Cilicia. They finally disappeared from view, perhaps because of assimilation by the local population. Contemporary Greek poets and later historians show what a strong impression was left by their barbarous attacks.

The Cimmerian invasions and the disorders which followed destroyed the old kingdom of Phrygia, weakened the new Lydian power and the Ionian cities, and contributed to the breakdown of Urartu in the latter part of the seventh century B.C. Alone among the great invaders of the ancient world, they had no lasting effect on the population of the countries which they occupied. They disappeared completely from the lands south of the Black Sea, and their only legacy to the lands that they had overrun was one of desolation and ruin.

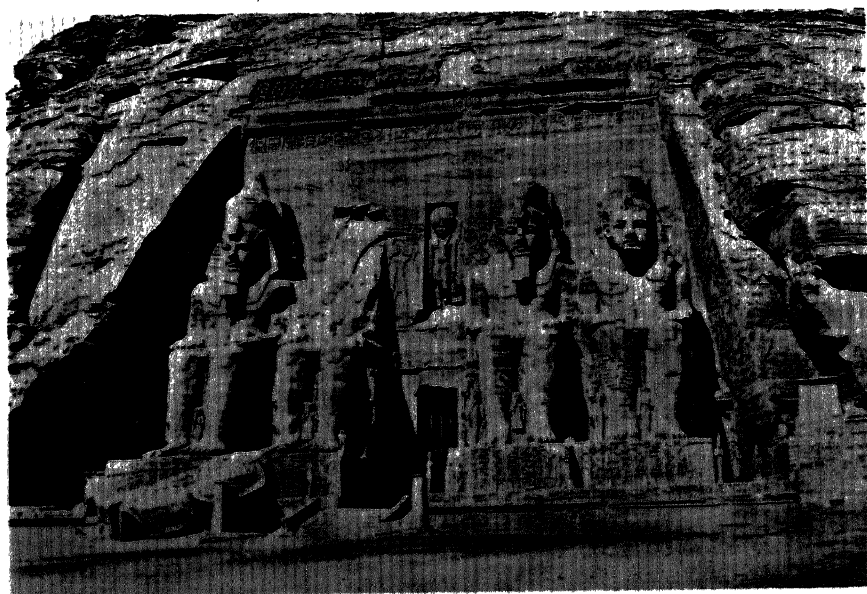
## THE REVIVAL OF EGYPT: PSAMMETICHUS

When Urartu and Phrygia disappeared from the international scene, the chief danger to Assyria, aside from the unpredictable movements of the northern invaders, came from the rising strength of Egypt, the Chaldeans, and the Medes. In 700 B.C. Egypt formed a coalition with Tyre, Sidon, and Judea against Assyria. After Sennacherib pacified Palestine, Egyptian intrigues and the growth of a strong nationalist party in Judea, which sought



a: The Temple of Karnak, begun c. 2000 B.C. and completed about 2000 years later:  
air view from the west

*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



b: Rock-cut Temple of Ramses II at Abu-Simbel

*Photograph, Lehnert and Landrock, Cairo.*

## PLATE 17



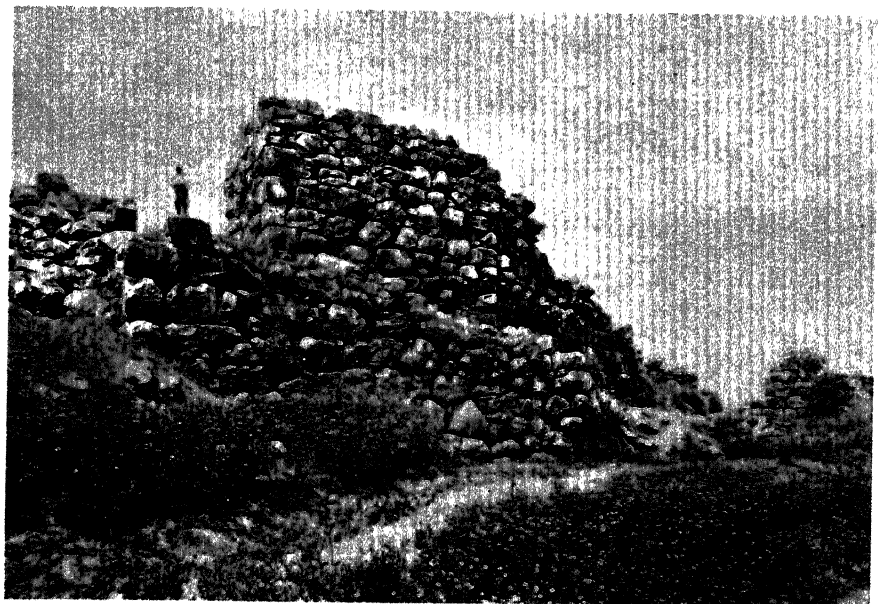
a: Painting in the Tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes: scribe of Thutmose III registering the tribute from Nubia

*From Davis and Gardner, Ancient Egyptian Paintings; Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



b: Drawing water with the shaduf in the garden of a nobleman's villa: Tomb of Apy, Thebes, Period of Ramses II

*From Davis, Two Ramessid Tombs at Thebes; Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*



a: The City-walls of Tiryns

*From K. Müller, Tiryns; Courtesy Benno Filser Verlag, Augsburg*

b: The Goddess of Wild Beasts,  
Mycenæan Ivory Plaque from  
Ras Shamra

*From Syria, X; Courtesy of C. F. A.  
Schaeffer*



PLATE 19



a: Walls of the Hittite Capital at Boghazköy, with the Priest-king Relief, now in Istanbul

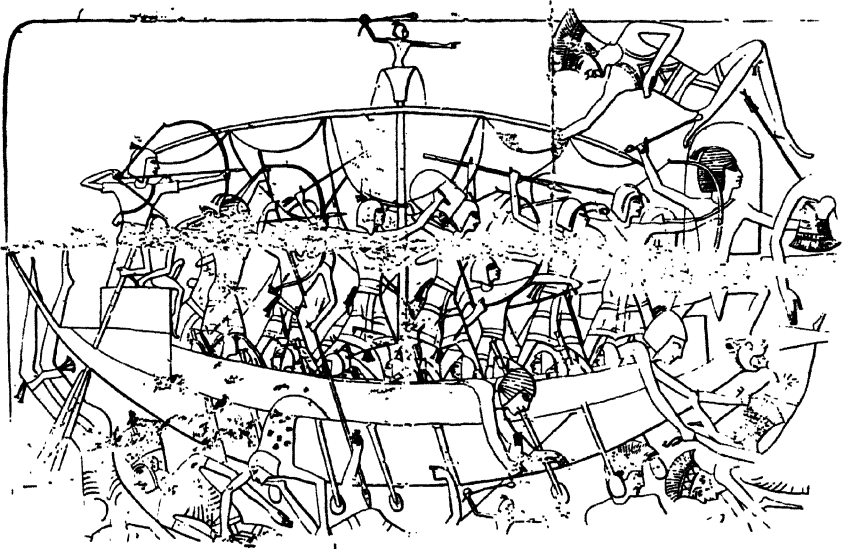
*From O. Puchstein, Boghazköi; Courtesy J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, Leipzig*



b: Seal of Tarqumuwa, 12th century B.C.,  
with Hittite Inscription

*Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore*

## PLATE 20



a: Naval Battle between the Egyptians and Philistines; drawing from a relief in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

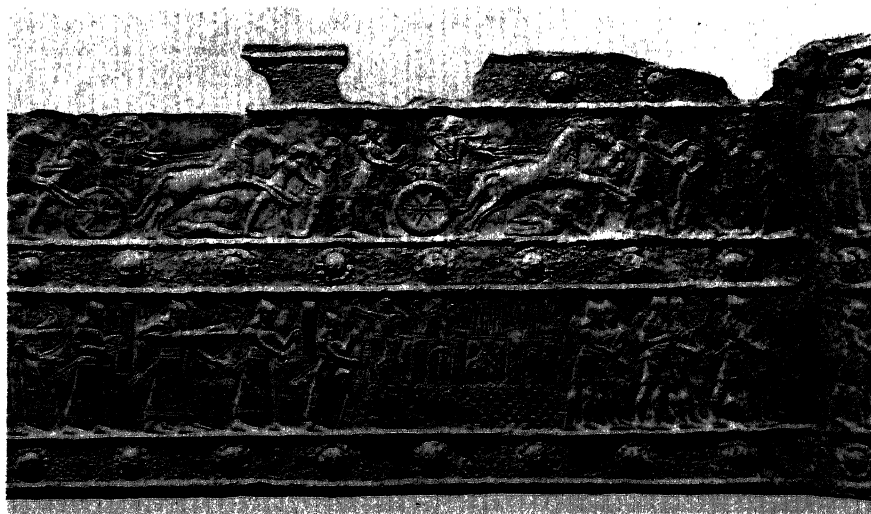
*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



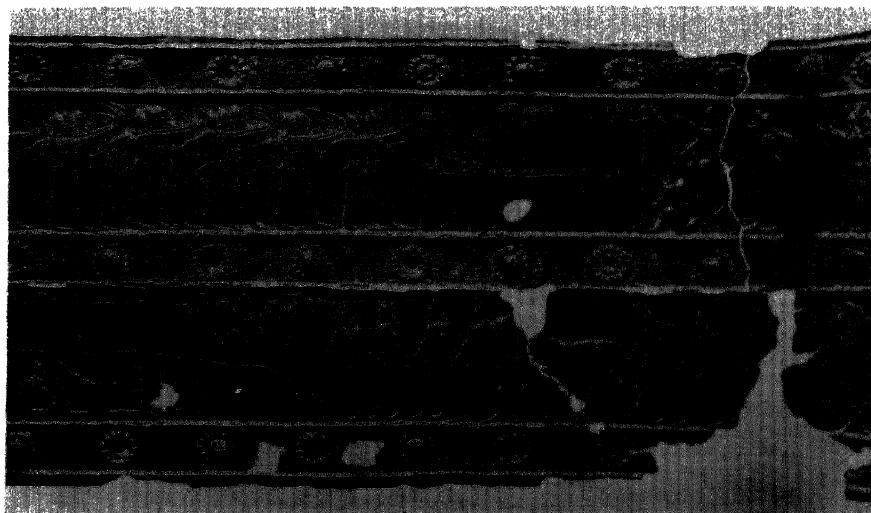
PLATE 21

b: Silver Bowl of Phoenician Workmanship, 7th century B.C., found in Italy

*Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore*



a: Siege of a City in Urartu, 860 B.C.



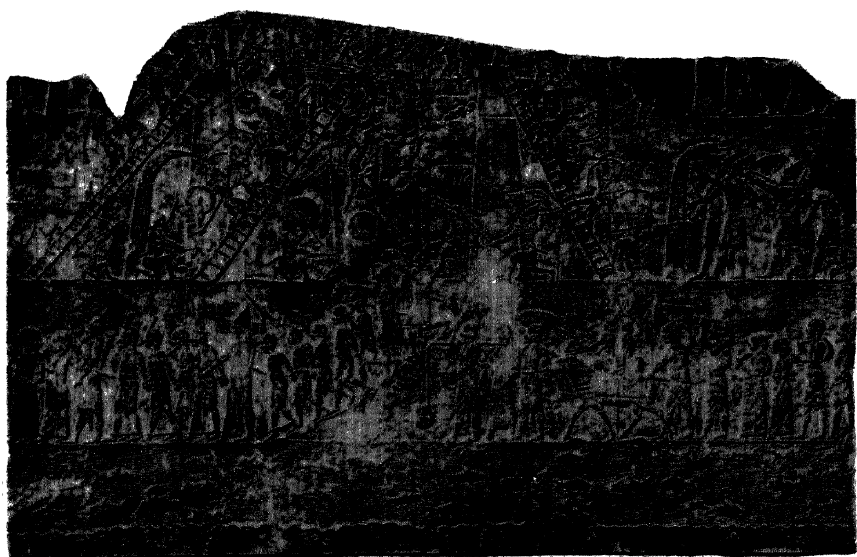
b: Siege of a Syrian City, showing impaled captives

**PLATE 22 BRONZE RELIEFS FROM THE GATES OF SHALMANESER**

*From King, Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser; Courtesy of the British Museum*



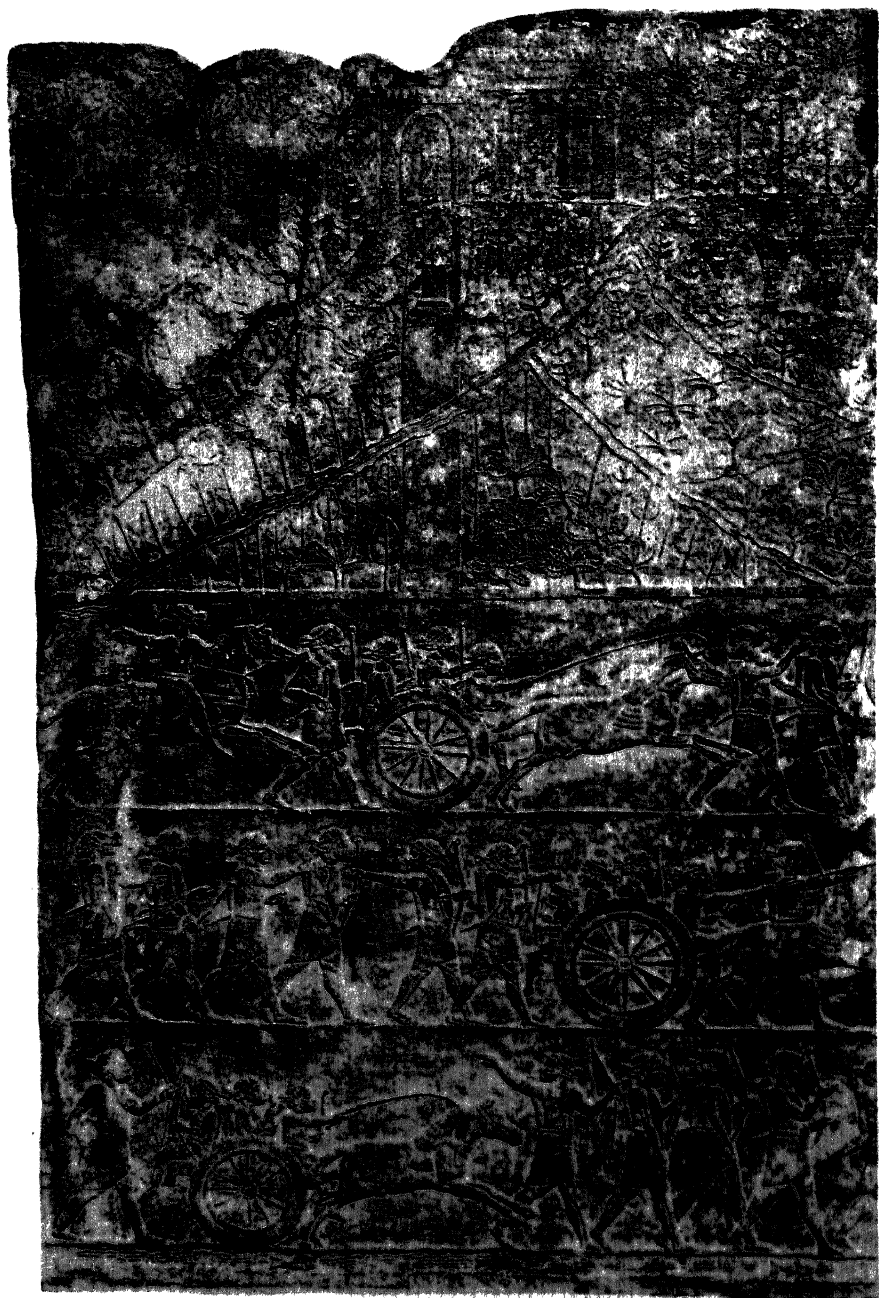
a: Relief of Tiglath-Pileser III, showing an Assyrian and an Aramaic scribe registering the booty from a Syrian city



b: Relief from the Palace of Sennacherib: capture of an Egyptian city, 667 B.C.

### PLATE 23

*From Hall, Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum; Courtesy  
Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, Paris*



Elamites fleeing into the mountains before an Assyrian attack  
*From Hall, Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum; Courtesy  
Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, Paris*

PLATE 24

Egyptian support against Assyria, necessitated Esarhaddon's invasion of the Delta. His death in 669 B.C. left the conquest of Egypt to Assurbanipal (669-626 B.C.). Assurbanipal did not seek acceptance as son of Amon, but ruled Egypt as a province under the last Ethiopian Pharaoh, and the Assyrians were associated in Egyptian tradition with the hated Asiatic conquerors of the Hyksos period.

In 663 B.C., the Ethiopian dynasty was ended by the accession of Psammetichus, whose family controlled Sais in the western Delta. He accepted Assyrian sovereignty at first but by 651 B.C. had established his complete independence. Psammetichus' strength was based chiefly on his success in utilizing the commercial opportunities afforded by the expansion of Ionian commerce, the profits of which enabled him to hire Greek mercenaries from Ionia, whom he called his "brazen soldiers." Under the Saitic dynasty Egypt enjoyed over a century of prosperous independence.

### THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN PALESTINE

The growth of the nationalistic movement in Palestine and the increased need for relief of the poor, whose condition was much worse than when the prophets of the eighth century B.C. began to preach social reform, led to the adoption in 621 B.C. of the laws preserved in the book of Deuteronomy. These were presented to the people as their ancient code, miraculously revealed. On the principle that the land belonged to Yahweh alone, mortgage rights were to be restricted and debts to be periodically cancelled every seven years, when men enslaved for debt would regain their freedom. Further provision was made for the regular relief of the poor. Economic considerations prevented the enforcement of this code, but its communal principles persisted in the minds of the poorer classes. Among the lasting results of the revolution were the concentration of worship at Jerusalem as a measure to end the local cults of Bāal, and the increased significance of external righteousness and of the priesthood in the worship of Yahweh. Jerusalem was now more than ever the national centre of Jewish life.

### THE END OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

Assurbanipal is chiefly remembered for his great library and the artistic splendor of his palace at Nineveh. But Assyria was now on the defensive, and the control of Babylonia and Elam caused recurrent difficulty. Esarhaddon had repatriated the Babylonians deported by Sennacherib, and restored the old charter of privileges. Assurbanipal's attempt to govern through the kingship of his brother at Babylon and through the Chaldean Bel-ibni in the Sealand led to rebellions in which Elam took part (Plate 24). The sack of Babylon and the capture of Susa, the Elamite capital, which had never before been entered by an Assyrian ruler, were but

temporary gains. Assurbanipal's anxious consultation of oracles throws more light on these matters than the royal chronicles. In 625 Nabopolassar, king of the Sealand and probably the son of Bel-ibni, became king of Babylonia and began aggressive action against Assyria. After the deportation of many Elamites to Samaria, Persian clans from the Iranian plateau overran Elam and established their power at Susa.

Assurbanipal's successors were weak rulers, faced by the most serious crisis in Assyrian history. The Median tribes, who were now well organized under Cyaxares with an efficient modern army, seized Assur in 614 B.C. and then, secure of their claim to power, formed an alliance with Nabopolassar for the partition of the Assyrian Empire. After the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., a small successor-state was established about Harran. Necho II, Psammetichus' successor, who feared that a strong new power would interfere with his reconquest of southern Syria, vainly supported the new Assyrian kingdom against the Babylonian army. The land of Urartu, depopulated by the recent invasions, was resettled by tribes from Asia Minor, the Armenians of later history.

At the close of the seventh century the New Babylonian Empire under the Chaldean dynasty, the Iranian Medes, and the Saitic dynasty of Egypt ruled the Near East, while the kingdom of Lydia, now recovered from the Cimmerian invasions, was establishing its power in western Asia Minor, and the Greek cities were reaping the rewards of a century and a half of colonial and commercial expansion along the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas. The Assyrian nation almost disappeared. Their constructive work was merged in the achievements of the Persian Empire during the latter half of the sixth century B.C., and they were remembered chiefly for the cruelty of their conquests. They did not invent human savagery, though they undoubtedly extended its application. But they made substantial progress toward the development of a workable union of smaller states, and toward a more international interpretation of imperialism than previous empires had known. Assyrian hymns pictured a god who ruled as shepherd not only of the Assyrians, but over all peoples and all living things, at a time when Yahweh was still only the god of his own single nation.

Part II

HELLAS, PERSIA, AND THE WEST



## VIII

### THE EXPANSION OF HELLAS

*Also I believe that the earth is very vast, and that we who dwell in the region extending from the river Phasis to the Pillars of Heracles along the borders of the sea, are just like ants or frogs about a marsh, and inhabit a small portion only, and that many others dwell in many like places.*

—Plato, *Phædo*, tr. Jowett

FROM THE MIDDLE of the eighth century to the end of the sixth the Greeks outgrew their primitive economy and local isolation, and for the first time since the Mycenæan Age entered world history as a vital and constructive force. The cities of the Anatolian coast led in this expansion of Hellenism. Contacts with Lydia and Egypt quickened their development and stimulated interest in the recording of past and present experience. The Cimmerian raids, the deeds of Lydian tyrants, and colonial history were recorded in verse and later in prose. The transfer of power from hereditary kings to aristocratic families and then to less consecutive types of authority increased the significance of the state itself as a political and religious entity, in which the law and the maintenance of cults concerned the whole citizen body. Though there are still many gaps in our knowledge, these centuries form the first really historical period of Greek development. They are marked by the colonization of the Mediterranean and Euxine shores, by industrial and commercial advances which, together with new types of government, created the Greek city-state in its classical form, and by intellectual and artistic achievements which show how the Hellenic genius could transform cultural influences received from diverse sources.

#### IONIA AND THE EAST

The eastern Greeks mingled with their Carian, Lydian, and Phrygian neighbors to form a population in which Hellenic characteristics dominated. The Ionian cities are known through the histories of Herodotus, who wrote in the latter part of the fifth century B.C., through earlier fragmentary works, and through archæological evidence. They were located on rivers which provided easy communication with Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and with the overland routes to the east. Their land was best suited to grape and olive culture, while the neighboring country was rich in pastures and ploughland.

The Ionians soon learned the local crafts of fine weaving and embroidery, purple-dyeing and metallurgy, so that they could exchange their industrial products for the foodstuffs and raw materials of the interior on a mutually profitable basis. The development of a regular coinage of electrum, a natural compound of gold and silver, aided their commerce. We do not know whether this invention was due to Ionian or to Lydian enterprise, nor what influence Assyria may have had on it, but it seems clear that the Ionians spread the use of coined money, together with that of the alphabet which they had modified to suit their own language, throughout the Greek world in the seventh and sixth centuries. (Reading List 28)

They took over the native cults and associated them with their own chief divinities, especially Apollo and Artemis. Artemis was identified with the Anatolian mother-goddess, whose shrine at Ephesus became the site of the most famous Ionian temple. Twelve Ionian cities, of which Miletus was most important, formed a religious league and celebrated an annual festival on the island of Delos, which was sacred as the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. The oracle of Apollo at Didyma near Miletus was consulted not only by Greeks but by neighboring peoples also.

#### POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Kingship gave way to aristocracy earlier than in Greece itself, and the noble families who now controlled both the government and most of the land also profited by the development of industry and trade at the expense of the craftsmen, small merchants, and sailors; social and financial distinctions became very marked. From the accession of Gyges in 685 the influence of Lydia over the Greek cities increased, and still more after the Cimmerians put an end to the Phrygian power. Lydia felt the counter-influence of the Ionian culture, and Sardis, its capital and single strong city, took on an Ionian aspect.

When Thrasybulus (c. 630 B.C.) took advantage of increasing political and social unrest to overthrow the aristocratic government of Miletus and establish himself as sole ruler with the support of the dissatisfied factions in the city, he was given the Lydian title of *tyrannos*. This became the regular Greek term for an unconstitutional ruler, and Gyges was the traditional model for Greek tyrants. The threat of Lydian sovereignty was averted until the time of Cræsus (560 B.C.) by the Cimmerian raids and by conflicts between Lydia and the Medes. Meanwhile the wealth, commerce, and political unrest of the Ionian cities increased.

#### EARLY COLONIZATION

Though the Cimmerians sacked Ephesus and Magnesia and probably other Ionian cities also, the devastation wrought in Ionia itself was less serious than the loss of the inland markets through anarchy in Asia Minor.

Trade and settlements in the north offered a profitable substitute, as the Carians, and probably the Ionians as well, had long made commercial voyages to the shores of the Propontis and the Black Sea. Throughout the seventh century Miletus and other Ionian cities founded northern colonies, some of which had been settled earlier by Carians or Æolian Greeks.

### ARCHILOCHUS

Archilochus of Paros, who was probably born late in the eighth century B.C., sought his fortune in a Greek colony on the island of Thasos near the Thracian coast. He engaged in conflicts with the Thracian tribes of the mainland who were anxious to safeguard their gold mines. He wrote many poems, of which only fragments are preserved, on his adventures, his love affairs, and his enmities, in an intensely personal vein which illustrates the prominent place of current life and the individuals who took part in it in the lost literature of the period. The stately style of the epic poets would not do for this new personal poetry; Archilochus used instead metres closer to ordinary speech and suited to brief and pointed compositions. His bitter invectives and sharp personal satire reflect the passions of a time of frequent social and political upheaval. (Reading List 27)

### THE MAINLAND OF GREECE

The Greek mainland is divided by nature into many small units. The sea and mountains are its significant features, as the great rivers are of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The coast is long and irregular with deep inlets which give access to valleys separated by mountains. The mountains are generally of moderate height and were crossed in ancient times by many roads, but transportation by sea was usually more convenient than by land. Most of the rivers dwindle to mere rivulets after the spring floods. The geographical character of the country led to the formation of many ethnic groups which differed from one another in dialect and in local character, and most of which comprised several politically independent units. Attica differed from the rest in that its villages were combined at an early period to form the single large city-state of Athens.

Hippocrates and other ancient authorities considered the temperate climate of Greece ideal for the development of civilization without loss of manly vigor. They praised the clearness of the air, the favorable winds, and the abundant dews which compensated for the low annual rainfall and dry summers. Copper and iron were produced in Eubœa and at Mount Taygetus in the Peloponnesus; silver on the islands of Siphnos and Thasos and at Mount Laurium in Attica; gold was also found on Thasos, but the Thracian mines were more important. The many limestone and marble quarries of Greece and the islands furthered architectural progress. Coarse

clay for brickmaking and the finer qualities needed for good pottery were abundant.

Thessaly, Messenia, and Laconia had broad and well-watered plains; elsewhere the arable land was usually scattered in small areas. The woods were cleared as the population increased, until in the seventh century B.C. little land remained which could still be brought under cultivation. Barley could be more widely grown than wheat, and there was much land suited to vineyards and olive orchards, but the rocky hills of Megara and Ægina were fit only for raising sheep and goats.

#### NORTHERN AND WESTERN GREECE

In northern Greece, Epirus, a heavily wooded and backward country, was not considered fully Greek, although the oracle of Zeus, established at Dodona during the early migrations, was an ancient centre of Greek worship. East of Epirus, Thessaly, a steppe land with fine pasturage for horses, was ruled by a feudal nobility who held the peasants as serfs. Thessaly took little part in Hellenic affairs, except when an ambitious Thessalian lord sought to extend his power across the mountain passes into central Greece.

The western part of central Greece was a wild and barbarous country; Strabo questioned whether the Ætolians and Acarnanians could be considered Greeks. In the western Peloponnesus, Achæa and Elis were farming communities with no important cities; Achæa, on the Corinthian Gulf, sent many colonists to Italy, but took little part thereafter in Greek politics until the Hellenistic Age. The fertile lands of Messenia were conquered by Sparta during the eighth century B.C. The mountainous country of Arcadia permitted only rural economy and small villages, except for the cities of Tegea and Mantinea.

#### THE EASTERN GREEK STATES

The characteristic political and economic institutions of the Greeks, their chief contributions to civilization, and their major influence on Mediterranean history came from the eastern states. Athens, the cities of Eubœa and of Bœotia in central Greece, and Corinth, Argos, and Sparta in the Peloponnesus, determined the course of Greek history. During the eighth and seventh centuries Attica and Bœotia took little part in affairs outside their own borders; Argos and Sparta were absorbed in extending their own power over their neighbors. Eubœan Chalcis and Eretria, with their ample stores of metal wares for export, Corinth, which stood at the crossing of land communications and had harbors on both sides of the isthmus, Megara, and Ægina led the way in colonial expansion, as Miletus did in that of the Anatolian Greek cities. (Reading List 30)

## HESIOD AND THE GREEK FARMER

The contrast between the Ionian cities and the farms of the homeland was almost as great as that between the poems of Archilochus and the didactic epics of the Boeotian Hesiod (before 700 B.C.) which illustrate work and thought in central Greece early in the new age. Hesiod also wrote as an individual, but he sought to impart to others the practical and moral lessons which he had learned in bitter struggles with barren land and human injustice. In the *Theogony* he combined various myths of the creation of the universe and of the gods into a systematic account. Later men said that Homer and Hesiod had established the generations of the gods.

Hesiod's *Works and Days* are introduced by a summary of the successive stages of creation from the Golden Age with which the world began to the cruel warriors of the Age of Bronze, the glorious heroes who succeeded them, and, in bitter contrast, the unjust and avaricious men of his own Iron Age. Thus the hardworking Boeotian farmer stands out against the background of human history. Hesiod pictured the peasant's life as one of unremitting toil, lightened by a few rustic comforts, much proverbial wisdom, and delicate observation of the natural signs which compose the farmer's calendar. His personal experience on his hillside farm seems to have been worse than that of his neighbors, for he assumes that an industrious man with a ploughing ox, a farmhand, and a good wife could acquire a sufficient surplus for a trading venture in the short sailing seasons before and after the heavy work of the farm. Boeotia had more fertile land than Corinth or Megara, and did not take much part in the new colonial ventures. But many farmers, like Hesiod, regretted that they had been born to the labors and sorrows of the Iron Age, whose full resources they had not yet learned to use.

## THE LAND QUESTION

By the middle of the eighth century the need of land was a crucial problem in many Greek states. In some sections, the law of primogeniture kept the family land as a unit, but estates were usually subdivided among the owner's sons in allotments which were too small to support a family. The farmer who could not provide for his family from one harvest to another had to mortgage his farm at ruinously high rates of interest paid in kind, or, later, in money. Since the whole income of his land had been inadequate, the loss of a substantial share of his produce led almost inevitably to foreclosure, and perhaps to enslavement for debt.

The Greek peasant depended on grain for his daily food, and could not use much land for more profitable crops such as grapes and olives, unless he could count on a ready sale for his surplus wine and olive oil, and on a

supply of moderately priced grain in the market. Some depressed districts could support the existing population if mortgages were cancelled and farm lands redistributed; in others the only hope lay in emigration to better agricultural districts, or in the development of new sources of income which would make it possible to import food from abroad for non-agricultural workers. The former solution would be opposed by the landholders, and in itself would be but a temporary remedy. The latter was eventually accomplished, but the peasants gained little real relief until social and political changes brought about a general adjustment to the new economic conditions. (Reading List 29)

#### GREEK COLONIZATION

Though the need for arable land was the leading incentive for many Greek colonies, the sailor and trader necessarily prepared the way for the colonist. After the trading activities of Minoan and Mycenæan days were over, voyages on a smaller scale kept up the seafaring tradition. The epic tales of the voyages of the heroes after the fall of Troy originated in the period of the sea raids when many refugees took ship for distant shores. Some of the Arcadians and other Peloponnesians, who emigrated during the Dorian invasion, seem to have gone farther afield than the islands and coasts of the Ægean. Early in the eighth century Greek merchants from the Eubœan cities of Chalcis and Eretria, and from Corinth and other mainland states traded with the Thracians, Cimmerians, and Scythians in the north, and with the Sicilians, the Italian tribes, and the Etruscans in the west. At numerous western sites Greek pottery has been found in graves which antedate the first colonial settlements.

Temporary trading stations were sometimes transformed into permanent colonies which not only helped to secure a favorable site against local aggression and the encroachments of alien merchants, but also served as convenient outlets for surplus population. The gradual suppression of piracy, for which Thucydides gives Corinth the chief credit, made it safe to establish colonies at desirable coastal sites which had long been unoccupied.

Settlements intended primarily for the relief of poverty and overpopulation in the home cities required first of all a sufficient supply of fertile land and a climate which would not occasion a sharp change in ways of living. Before the end of the sixth century practically all the areas of this type which were not already held by a strong native population or by the Phœnicians or the Etruscans were occupied by Greek colonies. These rapidly became self-sustaining agricultural communities and usually developed local industries for domestic consumption and for export.

Chalcis, Eretria, and Corinth led in the colonization of Sicily and Italy and of the Chalcidic peninsula in the north Ægean. Achæa and Megara sent colonies to the west, and Megara also founded Byzantium, which was

to dominate the east in later centuries, on a site which first became important as a result of the Greek colonization along the Black Sea. Among the Ionian cities, Samos was credited with the first Greek voyage to Tartessus, but her chief activity, like that of Miletus, centred in the Black Sea region. Phocæa took over the profitable trade with Tartessus, and founded Marseilles on the best harbor in southern France. Many cities helped to found the Greek trading colony at Naucratis in Egypt.

### THE FOUNDATION OF GREEK COLONIES

The earlier settlements were probably private ventures, planned and carried through by individual initiative, though the activity of Miletus seems to indicate a definite public policy in the seventh century, as does that of Corinth. By the sixth century a colony was usually planned and sponsored by a single state which thus became the *metropolis*, or "mother-city" of the new foundation, and which, if its colonial enterprises were successful, had a good chance of becoming a metropolis in the modern sense also.

The general procedure in founding a colony sponsored by the state is clear. When a site had been selected and initial plans made, messengers were sent to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Since not only Greeks, but other peoples, including the kings of Egypt and Lydia, consulted this oracle, the priests of Apollo acquired much knowledge of world affairs, which aided them to interpret the disjointed utterances of the inspired maiden through whom the god spoke. If Apollo was favorable, plans for the colony might be announced at neighboring festivals, and perhaps at the national games at Delphi, the Isthmus, Olympia, or Nemea, where men from many cities would hear the proclamation, for even an overpopulated city-state was too small to recruit a substantial colony from its own numbers alone. Thus many towns whose names do not appear in Greek colonial history benefited by the new outlet.

A founder was appointed who had charge of the colonists until they were settled in their new homes; he supervised the surveying of the land, its allotment to the colonists, and the establishment of a permanent government, which was often more liberal than that of the mother-city, especially since all the colonists possessed the land qualification for citizenship at the outset. Not least important, he founded the worship of the leading cults of the mother-city. His official function was now over, but he was honored throughout his life, and after his death might be worshipped as a hero.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREEK COLONIES

The colony was an independent political unit, bound to the mother-city only so far as the interests and sentiment of its members determined. For Greek colonization was different from that of modern times; it was not

intended to provide foreign areas of administration for industrial and political ends. If land-hunger occasioned its foundation, the land was sought for the immediate use of the colonists and ordinarily only enough land was taken to provide for their current needs. This would have been a short-sighted policy if overpopulation had meant absolute overcrowding of the Greek land. The surplus, however, was only relative to the resources of the country under existing economic and political restrictions. Emigration relieved the worst pressure, and facilitated agricultural, industrial, and political developments which enabled most cities by the end of the sixth century B.C. to support a far larger population than they could have done a few generations earlier.

The colonists usually kept up close intercourse with their mother-city, and those which were founded chiefly as trading centres were naturally expected to give special facilities to merchants from the home state, but this was usually to their own interest as well. Their mutual relations often materially affected the future prosperity of both cities. But the Greek cities of the sixth century B.C. and earlier were by no means imperialistic in their colonial policy, with the exception of Corinth.

Consequently the colonists seldom attempted any political control beyond the site of their own city and the farming lands which belonged to it. The colony was an enclave among alien peoples, and its major communications apart from local trade were with other Greek cities. Prosperous colonies, however, often sent out secondary settlements, so that in Sicily, southern Italy, and southern France, the original foundations and their offshoots soon occupied all the advantageous sites along the coast. Colonies founded primarily for trade depended on peaceful relations with the neighboring tribes from the outset, and this friendship was often maintained to their mutual advantage, as in the case of Olbia and other cities on the Scythian coast. If the acquisition of fertile land or mineral resources was the controlling motive, ownership might be established by subjugating or expelling the native population, as happened in parts of Sicily. There was no opposition to the Greek settlements on the part of highly organized rival states, except in Cilicia while it was under Assyrian control, and in the west, where conflicts with the Etruscans and Phœnicians began late in the sixth century B.C.

#### COLONIAL TRADE

Pottery is the chief material clue to the date and sources of Greek trade in different districts. The color and texture of the clay indicate the provenance even of broken sherds, for this could not be imitated by itinerant potters or by local artisans, as shapes and decorations might be. Greek pottery in early graves shows that commerce generally preceded settlement in the west, and pieces of later date show how Corinth succeeded in

monopolizing the western trade in the interest of her own industries. The earlier vases came from different parts of Greece, but soon after the first western colonies were founded, the other fabrics were far outnumbered by Corinthian wares with their oriental patterns of beasts, birds, and conventional ornaments.

Not only pottery, but Ionian weapons, bridle-trappings, and goldsmiths' work show the extension of Greek trade from the Pontic colonies at the mouths of the great rivers to the interior of Russia. But the coarse woollen goods of Megara, the finer textiles of Miletus, the beautifully wrought bronzes of Chalcis and Eretria, the perfumes and ointments of Corinth, and olive oil, wine, and currants which the northern colonists prized most among their imports from the homeland have left no trace except in literature.

#### THE NORTHERN COLONIES: THE PROPONTIS, THE PONTIC COLONIES, AND CHALCIDICE

The Pontus Euxinus, the "deep hospitable sea" whose name, like that of the Pacific, belied its stormy character, was entered by the Propontis, which was virtually an extension of the Ægean. The Propontis was early occupied by Æolian sailors whom the Milesians overcame when they established their colonies at Cyzicus and Sestos (c. 700-675 B.C.). This district afforded fertile land and trade with the Thracians and Bithynians, but was most important for its strategic position at the entrance to the Black Sea, as the later history of the Megarian colony of Byzantium shows. Probably the first, and certainly one of the chief products of the two seas to be marketed in the Greek cities, was the tunny fish, which was as important as the herring fisheries of the North Sea were to be in later times. The Greeks became great lovers of fish, and the huge tunny provided an unfailing supply for their markets.

The iron mines on the southern shore of the Black Sea had been exploited from about 1000 B.C., and the early expeditions of the Achæans and Carians in search of gold and iron are probably reflected in the myth of Jason's voyage in the *Argo* in search of the golden fleece. There were native trading stations at Sinope and Trebizond which the Ionians transformed into Hellenic colonies. This shore was stormy and inhospitable, infested by native pirates, and was better suited to exploitation than to permanent settlement.

During the seventh century and the early part of the sixth, Miletus founded many colonies on the Pontic coasts. Among those on the northern shore, Panticapæum, the old Cimmerian capital in the Crimea, and Olbia near the mouth of the Dnieper, became the most prosperous. The consolidation of the Scythian Empire facilitated peaceful commerce with traders

from northern and eastern districts, and the Scythians welcomed the Greek colonies as useful outlets for trade and sources of tribute. They treasured and imitated Ionian pottery, jewelry, and metal work, without prejudice to the essentially Iranian character of their general culture. Furs and probably amber from the north, and gold from the Ural and Siberia, reached the Ionian colonies by way of Scythia; grain from the rich Pontic fields became a determining factor in Greek history. Since the climate was unsuited for the Greek way of life except in parts of the Crimea, the colonies remained essentially commercial centres, scattered along the coast, and separated by the estuaries of the great rivers and by the forbidding shores between. The colonists in the north, who could not adapt themselves to the use of Scythian mead and butter, created a steady demand for Greek wine and olive oil.

The shores of Thrace were exploited for their gold mines and fish, and for timber, since the supply of wood in central Greece, which had seemed so plentiful in earlier times, was seriously diminished by the enforced clearing of the land. Temples began to be built of stone instead of wood before the end of the sixth century and sundried brick was used for most buildings, but ship-timber was a prime necessity, and was procured chiefly from Thrace and Anatolia. As the increase of mining and other heavy work created a market for sturdy slaves, the sale of captives from inland tribes became an important factor in Thracian trade. Since the Thracians were less united and civilized and far less friendly than the Scythians, the Greek colonies on the Thracian coast were generally on the defensive. The Chalcidic peninsula, however, became an essentially Greek territory, occupied by colonists from Chalcis, Corinth, and Eretria, and by friendly tribes of northern stock related to the Greeks.

#### EASTERN AND SOUTHERN COLONIES: NAUCRATIS AND CYRÈNE

The attempts of Samos and Rhodes to found colonies in Cilicia were checked by Sennacherib, but were significant since they brought the Greeks into direct contact with Assyria. In Cyprus the Greeks shared the field with the Phœnicians, and like them acknowledged the nominal sovereignty of the Assyrians from Sargon II to Assurbanipal, and later that of Egypt.

The philhellenic policy of Psammetichus I (663-609 B.C.) attracted many Greek merchants to Egypt, and Greek soldiers served with other mercenaries in the Egyptian army, which was paid by the profits of the foreign trade. The Greeks bought barley, wheat, wool, and papyrus for sale in Greece; they supplied olive oil and wine as well as pottery for the Egyptian trade. They took home with them also a spirit of historical inquiry aroused by the antiquity of Egypt and its monumental records of the past, and they gained from the Egyptians a better understanding of practical science.

Naucratis was founded in the reign of Psammetichus by merchants from Ionia and the islands, including Ægina and Rhodes. A violent nationalist reaction after the defeat of the Egyptian forces in Syria by the Babylonians led to the usurpation of Amasis (c. 569 B.C.), who avoided further trouble by adopting a closed-door policy for Egypt, but maintained Naucratis as an extraterritorial centre for permanent Greek residents and visiting traders. He built a great temple for the Greek gods, and provided separate precincts for the cults of the chief towns engaged in the Egyptian trade, which served as centres for their transient merchants. All Greek trade with Egypt was thereafter concentrated at Naucratis, which became a prosperous and completely Hellenic city. Amasis himself married a Greek princess from Cyrene, was a friendly ally of Polycrates of Samos and of Cræsus, and sent rich gifts to the chief Greek sanctuaries, especially Delphi, where he contributed lavishly to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo. He continued to use Greek mercenaries to secure his capital at Memphis, but Egypt as a whole did not share the Hellenism of its ruler.

The broad pastures of Cyrenaica, "rich in flocks," where grain, dates, and the silphium plant so highly prized as a medicine and a condiment grew abundantly, were colonized by islanders from Thera who founded the city of Cyrene. Thera was still a monarchy, and kingship persisted at Cyrene until the fifth century B.C. The relations of Cyrene with Laconia and Samos were especially close, and now that Ethiopia was a lost land, the ivory, ostrich eggs, and other treasures of inner Africa reached the Greeks through Cyrene, and the Syrians by way of the Phœnician colonies of Leptis and Carthage. Phœnician opposition prevented Greek colonization of the African coast west of Cyrenaica.

#### THE GREEKS IN THE WEST: CORCYRA AND THE ADRIATIC

The island of Corcyra was ideally situated as a way station from Greece to Italy and the Adriatic coasts. An Eretrian settlement founded there early in the colonial period was soon transformed into a Corinthian colony, which kept its independence and its right to profit by an open-door policy in spite of Corinthian demands for preferential treatment. Thucydides says that the first naval battle was fought between Corcyra and Corinth; usually, however, their mutual interests on the coast of Epirus led to cooperative action. Epidamnus and Apollonia, their chief colonies in this district, profited in the sixth century B.C. by trade with both sides of the Adriatic.

The Umbrians and other tribes of eastern Italy were sufficiently prosperous to provide a market for Greek imports, and the Etruscans in the Po Valley were also good customers. After the fall of Tartessus in the sixth century B.C. the demand for tin from the Bohemian mines made the Adriatic trade more valuable, and several Greek cities established colonies there.

## SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY

Many more ships sailed from Corcyra westward to the fine harbors across the Ionian Sea than made their way up the forbidding shores of the Adriatic. The Greek colonies of Sicily and southern Italy are an outstanding example of a successfully transplanted civilization. The climate was like that of Greece, but the land was much more extensive and productive. The western Greeks not only gained material wealth, but became a leading branch of the Hellenes, and made notable contributions to their civilization. They seldom assimilated the local population.

Minoan tombs and pottery in Sicily show the place of the island in Cretan trade. Thucydides cites traditions of Greek voyages thither after the Trojan Wars; actual Greek colonization began about 735 B.C. with the foundation of Naxos by men from Chalcis, and of Syracuse by the Corinthians. Megara, Crete, and Rhodes also founded important cities, and the earlier colonies sent out secondary settlements. In most cases, the Sicels were either reduced to serfdom or expelled from the desirable land along the coast. The fertile land produced great wealth, and the tyrants who ruled Acragas, Syracuse, and Gela in the sixth century B.C. and later were noted for their magnificent cities and temples, their patronage of the arts and their victories in the chariot races at Olympia and the other national festivals of Greece.

In Italy, as in Sicily, the great period of colonial activity extended from about 735 to 680 B.C. Cumæ may have been founded even earlier by Eubœans for the sake of trade with the Etruscans, Latins, and other peoples of central Italy. Throughout its independent history, Cumæ was the chief centre of Greek influence on the Italian peoples. The fame of the Cumæan Sibyl, whose cave was connected with the great temple of Apollo, shows the significance of Cumæ in the diffusion of Greek and oriental religious ideas in the west. Emigrants from Achæa on the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf took the chief part in the colonization of southern Italy. Fine grainfields, superlative wool, and the plentiful produce of olive orchards and vineyards that were set out by the Greek landowners, produced wealth which was reflected in the proverbial luxury of Sybaris, Croton, and other cities. This led to the cultivation of arts and crafts for the sake of elegant living, but the same cities also made notable contributions to Greek philosophy, mathematics, and medicine.

## ITALIANS, GREEKS, AND HELLENES

The conscious differentiation between the colonists and the local population created a need for inclusive names for each group. The Greeks gave wider application to the name of a single *Italic* tribe with whom they early

came into contact, and the people of central Italy called the colonists *Græci* after a small town in central Greece which participated in the foundation of Cumæ. The prominence of the little Achæan state of Hellas in the foundation of the south Italian colonies led to the use of the name *Hellenes* for the colonists there. Its adoption as a common name for Hellenes throughout the world in the late seventh century B.C. was made easier by the myth of the sons of Hellas who were supposed to be their ancestors. The early use of the term *panhellenic* indicates the growth of the idea of Hellenism as contrasted with the barbarian world.

#### SPAIN AND MARSEILLES

Spain first became known in the east as a source of tin, which was essential for the manufacture of bronze. Though some tin was found in northern Spain, the Tartessian merchants also procured the metal from northern sources, the famous "Cassiterides" or tin islands. Early Greek traditions of far western voyages were associated with Spain; the labors of Heracles, most famed among adventurous travellers, included an encounter with the monster Geryon, who was born in a cave near the source of the "silver-rolling Tartessus River," and another with the giant Atlas on the African coast. The pillars of Heracles marked the limits of Greek seafaring after Carthage blocked the straits of Gibraltar to alien shipping.

After Colæus of Samos made the first historical Greek voyage to Tartessus in the middle of the seventh century B.C., the Phocæans, who had been exploring the trading possibilities of the Adriatic, turned their attention to the Tartessian trade. They formed a friendly alliance with King Arganthonius, who is said to have ruled from about 630 to 550 B.C., and who lived in Greek tradition as the ideal happy monarch. Since eastern sources of tin were limited, tin was even more important in trade than the fabulous silver of Tartessus, while Greek oil, wine, metal wares, and pottery were readily sold in exchange. The Phocæans profited by their knowledge of the western Mediterranean to choose a site near the mouth of the Rhone for their colony of Marseilles (c. 600 B.C.), which has had an unrivalled history as a seaport and as a centre of Hellenic influence. (Reading List 30)

#### HELLENISM AT THE CLOSE OF THE COLONIAL ERA

By the middle of the sixth century the period of extensive colonization was over, and the rôle of the colonies in Greek life was clearly defined. Urban centres in Hellenic lands were now generally capable of supporting an industrial as well as an agricultural population. The farmers profited by the new markets for oil, wine, and wool. The influence of the colonial movement is inextricably bound up with that of the political and social changes in the Greek states during the same period, which will be consid-

ered in the next chapter, but certain aspects of Hellenic life in the sixth century B.C. may serve alike as a conclusion to the study of the colonial expansion and as an introduction to that of the city-state.

### THE GROWTH OF HELLENIC UNITY

The concept of Hellenic unity spread from the colonies to the cities of Greece. It became a vital force in the Greek view of life, though it seldom assumed political importance. Hitherto, individuals had no rights except as members of a given city, tribe, or family, but now men from different cities lived in a single colony which made up for its lack of ancient tradition by emphasis on the common Hellenic heritage. This was especially true in the case of refugees from the Messenian wars, and in that of political exiles who might have no past connection with the mother-city of the colony in which they settled, or with its customs and cults. They flocked back to the festival of Zeus at Olympia, and to the other national games, to which they gave a truly panhellenic character. The Sicilian tyrants were as anxious to win glory in the sight of Hellas by a victory in the four-horse chariot race at Olympia, as any young man was to win the footrace for the honor of his native town.

All Greeks shared in the worship of the great gods, and especially in that of Zeus, "the father of gods and of men," as majestic as the snow-capped mountain from which the Olympians were named, and the poems of Homer which immortalized the gods and heroes were memorized and recited throughout the Hellenic world. Local deities sometimes disappeared as a result of emphasis on the cults of the great gods, but were more commonly worshipped as special aspects of the Olympians, or in association with them. (Reading List 22)

Architecture and sculpture were chiefly devoted to religious purposes, and underwent a like transition from varied local forms to a general type. By the middle of the sixth century the classical proportions of Doric architecture in Greece and the western colonies and of the Ionic style popular among the eastern Greeks were well established. The chief types of archaic sculpture also illustrate the development of a general style with infinite variations in detail. The nude standing male figures have the simplicity of line characteristic of Egyptian sculpture, animated by a new Greek feeling (Plate 33a). The "maidens" found on the Acropolis of Athens wear their elaborate robes with Ionian grace and charm (Plate 33b). Pottery, cheaply produced everywhere, preserved more local types, but orientalizing vases made by Corinthian potters from the end of the eighth century B.C. and the Athenian wares which superseded them in popular demand in the sixth century B.C., were widely sold to those who could afford more than mere utility in their household equipment. (Reading Lists 31-33)

## INTERSTATE RELATIONS

The time when peaceful individuals went about armed for fear of violence was past, and conflicts between cities were diminished by recourse to arbitration, and by more general recognition of established boundaries. Leagues of neighboring tribes which had been formed to safeguard a common sanctuary served also as a basis for joint political action. The best known were the Amphicytonic League which protected the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, and the Ionian League which met at his sacred island of Delos. Greek wars, however, were never ended. An old controversy between the Eubæan cities of Chalcis and Eretria for possession of the fertile Lelantine plain was renewed by a war at the opening of the seventh century B.C. which involved many cities in Greece and spread to the colonies. Chalcis eventually won, but the real spoils of the victory went to Miletus and Corinth, at the expense of Megarian and Eubæan interests in western trade.

The alliance of Miletus and Corinth for Italian trade, the friendship of the Phocæans with Tartessus, and the close ties between Miletus and Sybaris illustrate the increased importance of cooperation between cities. The traveller was no longer unprotected during his sojourn in alien lands. The old institution of personal guest-friendship became a function of the local government, which appointed a citizen to protect the legitimate interests of resident or transient foreigners. The trader now had coins whose value was guaranteed by the official device of the city which issued them. The oracle of Apollo at Delphi exercised a great influence on interstate relations, though its responses were often safely ambiguous. The increasing importance of Greece in Mediterranean affairs is illustrated by the consultation of the Delphic oracles by Lydians, Egyptians, and Etruscans, and by their gifts to other Greek sanctuaries and to the tyrants.

The art of war had also changed. The strength of an army lay chiefly in the efficiency of the phalanx, a mass formation of *hoplites*, or heavy-armed soldiers, and the aristocratic cavalry was less important than before. Men who could afford a full panoply of body-armor, shield, sword, and spear, made up the chief military forces, and had a just claim to full citizen rights. Defeated armies were entitled to ransom and to the return of their dead for honorable burial. It was no longer considered fitting to kill or enslave captured Greeks.

## GREEK CIVILIZATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD:

## MITYLENE

The Greeks who dominated the Mediterranean world had ceased to be an obscure or backward people. Mitylene on the island of Lesbos, the chief Æolian centre, is an outstanding example of Hellenic civilization in the

early part of the sixth century B.C. Its citizens had long suffered from bitter political conflicts between the nobles and the people, and between rival tyrants; they finally sought relief by appointing Pittacus, later famous as one of the Seven Wise Men, as dictator. Many aristocrats were exiled, among them the poet Alcæus, who lamented the storms which overwhelmed the ship of state. A sound code of laws was established, and when Pittacus resigned at the end of his ten years of dictatorship, peace and prosperity continued and a general amnesty was proclaimed. But the glory of Lesbos depends less on the commercial prosperity of the island or on the wisdom of Pittacus than on the works of Alcæus and Sappho, whose genius created the enduring substance and the classical metres of lyric poetry. Little remains of the politics and passion of Alcæus or of the "few roses" which were all that Byzantine scholars included of Sappho's poems in their anthologies, but time has dealt less hardly with the traditions of the genius of the first great lyric poets, and of Sappho's group of talented Æolian maidens who could devote themselves to the muses of music, dancing, and lyric poetry, and share in the life of their city with a freedom and honor seldom shared by their sisters in later ages. (Reading List 34)

## IX

### THE GREEK CITY-STATES

*It is clear that the polis is a natural growth, and that man is by nature a political animal: he who is cityless by nature and not by misfortune is either a worthless creature or a superman.* —Aristotle

THE INDEPENDENT CITY-STATE was the distinctive feature of classical civilization as contrasted with the oriental monarchies, in which the city was subordinate to the royal power, and with the less civilized peoples who did not develop politically beyond a tribal organization. The character and institutions of the Greek *polis* and the Roman city were fundamentally related, but whereas the Greek city-states remained independent units, the Romans succeeded in uniting many cities under their single authority and thus "made the world a city." *Polis*, the Greek term for the city, was originally applied to a fortified enclosure which was used as a refuge and defense in time of war. As the Greeks learned to "live a good life after the fashion of a political community,"<sup>1</sup> the polis ceased to be primarily a physical area and became a partnership of free citizens. The Greek city-state was a more mobile and dynamic form of government than the oriental city, for its development was directly determined by its citizens, and not by the divine ordinances of a king. Magistrates and citizens were bound by the sovereign law of the state, but individual laws were constantly subject to change by their will.

#### THE ORIGINS OF THE CITY-STATE

During the early period local administration was based on common descent. The open villages in which related tribes settled were the scene in which the city grew; its living organization sprang from the functions of family, brotherhood, and clan. The family was the primary unit. Groups of related families formed brotherhoods whose members fought side by side in the army. The clan gained great importance as the royal power declined, until the heads of the clans became the chief authority in the state. Later these same clans offered the strongest opposition to tyranny and democracy. Family, brotherhood, clan, and tribe were individually bound by hereditary cults.

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<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* VII, 4, 7.

There was no place in this organization for aliens. But as the members of a tribe were scattered in individual villages, often separated from kindred groups, contiguity began to outweigh the principle of relationship. Village life tended to focus about a natural stronghold where flocks and other possessions could be gathered for safety in time of war. Groups of villages united to form towns for defense, as a result of conquest, or for common economic interests, and eventually for the sake of fuller political and social opportunities.

During the eighth and seventh centuries many states made the transition from *monarchy*, the rule of a single hereditary king, to *aristocracy*, "the rule of the best," in which a council composed of the heads of the clans, who were the chief landed proprietors, administered public affairs. These aristocratic councils devised the constitutional framework by which the state assumed its own personality independent of a sovereign, and became the possession of those whose property and ability enabled them to serve it. They established the chief magistracies, whose holders were elected from their number, eventually for annual terms; they formulated the unwritten laws of the state, administered justice in accordance with these laws, and transformed the priestly functions of the king into a state religion, for which public temples were built. As mounted knights the nobles assumed the chief responsibility in war.

In Epirus and other backward western states, the government of tribal kings continued; in Thessaly the noble clans ruled, though a few cities grew up. Arcadia kept its village and clan organization, and the growth of city-states was also retarded in the western Peloponnesus. The normal political growth of Laconia and Messenia was checked in the eighth century B.C. by the dominance of Sparta. Elsewhere the city-state was firmly established by the sixth century B.C., and included a large agricultural population as well as industrial workers and merchants. The Greek city always combined rustic and urban elements in one body politic.

#### THE BREAKDOWN OF ARISTOCRACY

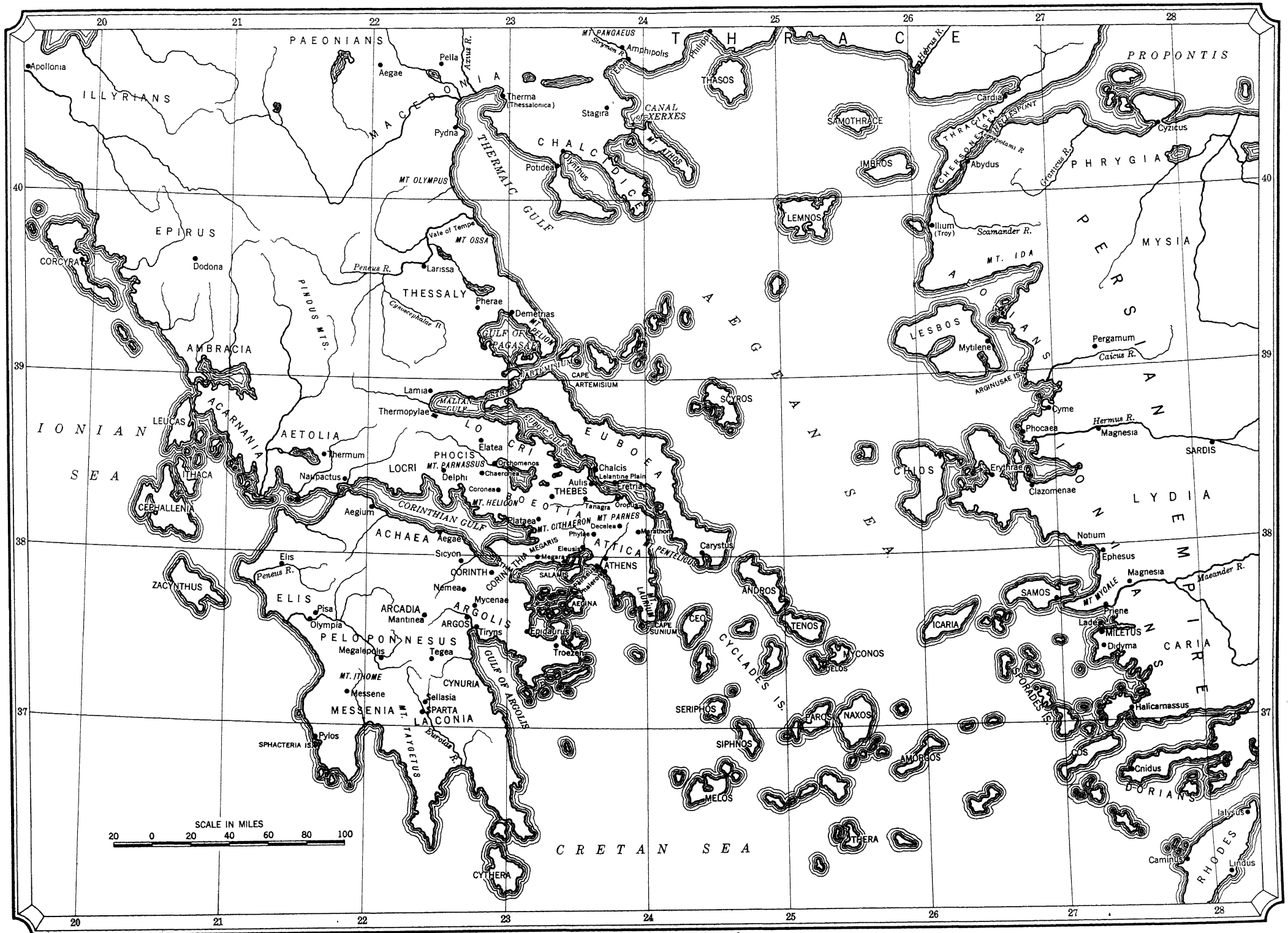
Aristotle defined aristocracy as a government in which the best men, chosen on the basis of birth, rule with a view to the best interests of the state as a whole.<sup>2</sup> But as landed property began to overshadow considerations of birth, the poorer members of noble families lost influence, and the solidarity of the nobles was broken by rivalry between the clans. The growth of industry and commerce gave men of ordinary birth opportunity to accumulate wealth. The increasing importance of the heavy infantry lessened the strategic value of the cavalry and gave members of the middle class a claim to political rights commensurate with their new obligations in

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<sup>2</sup> *Politics* III, 5, 2.



# V. REFERENCE MAP OF GREECE





war. Aristocracy tended to degenerate into *oligarchy*, in which political rights were based on wealth, not birth, and were exercised in the interest of the rich. The classes which lacked political rights demanded knowledge of the laws and a share in the administration of justice. By about 650 B.C. written codes of law were set up in the market place in most cities. This publication of the laws called attention to the exclusive privileges of the ruling class.

The economic changes of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., which turned aristocracy into oligarchy, increased social cleavage and fostered individual ambition and bitter factional strife. Political unrest was increased by the oppression of the poorer farmers by great landowners. Thus many factors combined to encourage ambitious individuals to seize control of their cities and govern as unconstitutional rulers. Such men were called *tyrants*. In a few cases an attempt was made to prevent revolution by appointing a dictator for a limited term, to reorganize the state in the interest of political stability. Pittacus succeeded admirably at Mitylene, and Solon's reorganization at Athens laid the foundations for the Athenian democracy, though it was followed within a few years by a tyranny.

#### GREEK TYRANNY

Aristotle's definition of tyranny as monarchy ruling in the interest of the monarch alone without regard to the profit of the community is only partially correct. For whether the tyrant was a noble who ruled in defiance of his class or a successful tradesman whose personality and wealth enabled him to overthrow the oligarchy, he depended primarily on popular support against the opposition of the former rulers. Money enabled him to hire soldiers if a military coup was needed to establish his power, to maintain a strong bodyguard, and to inaugurate a program of subsidies for immediate relief and public works to provide employment and increase his fame.

The tyrant usually abode by the established laws of the state and increased the civic rights of the industrial and farming classes to secure his own unconstitutional authority against the intrigues of the nobles. His personal wealth was supplemented by the confiscated estates of aristocrats, but public expenditures on a larger scale than any Greek city had known before required also the full development of natural resources and the institution of taxation. The tyrants exploited the mines, encouraged industrial development, increased commercial enterprise, and assisted farmers to produce more profitable crops, and thus to some extent lessened the odium of their taxation by increasing general prosperity. The temples, aqueducts, public fountains, canals, and roads built by the tyrants, and their expenditures on poor relief and festivals, extended the responsibility of the city-state for the well-being of the citizens, and established precedents which no later

government could afford to overlook. Money superseded landed property as the basis of political classification, as the rights of citizenship superseded those of brotherhood and clan. These changes were chiefly inaugurated by individual tyrants, but they were a normal aspect of political development, and took place also in cities where no tyranny was established.

Though tyranny thus increased the ability of the state to provide a good life for its citizens, its continuance bred revolt. Success gained by concessions to the masses pointed the way to popular government without a tyrant; increased prosperity and freedom from class oppression lessened the need of undivided authority. In Sicily, however, the need of strong military leadership against Carthage enabled successive tyrants to maintain their rule after tyranny ceased in the older Greek cities. The continued rule of a single tyrant or his family bred autocracy on the one hand and rebellion on the other. In many cases tyranny was ended by the success of the nobles in detaching popular support from a ruler who had come to seem a monarch exerting despotic power over the political community,<sup>3</sup> but the tyrant's fall often led directly or indirectly to democracy, since the people had learned their potential place in the state. When the franchise was restricted, it was not the old aristocracy of birth that governed, but an oligarchy which supported the common interests of the wealthy and the middle class against the urban proletariat. (Reading List 35)

#### THE TYRANNIES OF SICYON AND CORINTH

Sicyon, Corinth, and Samos illustrate the close relations between Greek tyranny and the new interests of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Sicyon, west of Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf, was a prosperous centre of agriculture and industry, in which the non-Dorian population was exploited by the Dorian nobility. Orthagoras, a member of the lower class, led a farmers' revolt against the aristocracy, and established a tyranny which his family continued for 100 years (c. 656-556 B.C.), the longest uninterrupted tyranny in Greek history. The greatest of the Sicyonian tyrants was Cleisthenes, who took a leading part in Hellenic politics in the early sixth century B.C., especially in his opposition to Argos and in a Sacred War for protection of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. His joint action with Athens and Thebes freed Delphi from local control and brought it under the supervision of the Amphictyonic League as a panhellenic sanctuary, and thus gave wider significance to the Pythian Games which were celebrated there in honor of Apollo. Cleisthenes broke down the Dorian tradition in Sicyon by changing the local hero-cult and reorganizing the tribes. He instituted a festival in honor of Dionysus, at which tragic choruses were presented, and made Sicyon famous for its music, architec-

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* III, 5, 5.

ture, and sculpture. After his death, Sicyon lost its political importance but continued to prosper under a moderate oligarchy.

In Corinth, the close Dorian oligarchy of the Bacchiad clan was broken down (c. 655 B.C.) by Cypselus, an able general and popular demagogue whose name suggests that his wealth may have been drawn from the manufacture of pottery. Cypselus did not expel the nobles, except the members of the former ruling family, but taxed their property in order to employ the poor on lavish public works, of which the most famous is the fountain of Peirene. His successful colonial policy enabled his successor Periander to dispense with direct taxation and to finance his reign by market and harbor tolls, with such additional income as the earnings of the city courtesans who made Corinth a popular resort of seafaring men. At the opening of the sixth century Periander was the most powerful man in Europe; he was a friend of the kings of Egypt and Lydia and of Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus. His court was a favorite resort of poets, notable among whom was Arion of Lesbos, who first gave form and plot to the traditional mummery at the feast of Dionysus, and thus prepared the way for the later development of Greek drama. Sculptors and architects also sought Periander's patronage, and his buildings were famed throughout the world. His commercial and industrial policies won for Corinth an internal stability which survived the fall of the tyranny (c. 582 B.C.). Thereafter the city was ruled by a mercantile oligarchy which continued an imperialistic policy in the western colonies and maintained a strong navy.

#### POLYCRATES OF SAMOS

Polycrates seized the power in the island of Samos shortly after the neighboring Ionians became subject to Persia. During his reign (539-522 B.C.), Samos was the foremost city of the world. Herodotus describes his harbor works, his temple, and the tunnel which brought water from a spring on the other side of a mountain, as the greatest works in Greece. Anacreon found material at the Samian court for his graceful songs of wine and women, which have been much imitated by later poets.

Polycrates' chief aim was to secure the independence of Samos from Persia and to establish the maritime supremacy of the island. He built the greatest navy that the world had yet known, and seized many islands and coast cities. He undertook a commercial blockade of the Persian coast and had all ships searched, making no distinction between friend and foe. Sparta and Corinth attempted to suppress his piracy without success, and Herodotus says that their hostility increased his desire to rule over all the Greek world. But a Persian satrap lured him to his death by lavish offers of gold, and the glory of Samos ended in anarchy and revolution. Samian exiles increased the number of homeless wanderers who took to piracy and

threatened the security of Greek ports, in spite of Sparta's attempt to restore order. (Reading List 34)

#### THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY: THE REVOLUTION IN MEGARA

Democracy was still an unknown form of government but the concessions made by tyrants or oligarchs in order to win popular support suggested the possibility of government by the citizen body as a whole. The conviction that the state should provide for the economic needs of its members was an important factor. The wages which the tyrants paid for labor on public buildings and naval construction and for service as oarsmen helped to establish this principle.

Aristotle's definition of democracy as government in the interest of the poor without regard to the welfare of the community as a whole suits the programs of democratic revolutions in the sixth century B.C. and later. Private ownership of land was fully recognized under ordinary conditions, but revolutionary leaders revived the principle of ultimate state ownership by demanding the redistribution of land among the citizens.

In Megara the tyrant Theagenes (c. 640 B.C.) made open war on the nobles: after his fall the aristocracy ruled moderately for a time, but later adopted a policy of oligarchic repression. Resentment of this was increased by the loss of Salamis, which Athens seized, and resulted in a ten years' revolution led by farmers and shepherds from outside the city, who demanded not only cancellation of mortgages but repayment of the interest they had paid and subdivision of the large estates. They also demanded meals at the public expense and the full franchise, with admission to all offices. The poems of Theognis of Megara, who approved neither oligarchs nor democrats but looked back to the aristocracy as an ideal government, describe the ensuing anarchy in terms which recall Ipuwer's picture of the Egyptian revolution seventeen hundred years earlier. The mob plundered the houses of the nobles and robbed peaceful travellers. The poet lamented:

This city is still a city, but the people are changed; men who before knew nothing of law or justice, but, clad in goatskins, grazed like deer outside the city, are now the notables, and the former notables are now the rascals. Who could endure such a sight? They laugh and deceive one another in divers ways, knowing nothing of good or evil.<sup>4</sup>

It is clear that the demagogues who led this revolt of the farmers had no constructive program in view, and apparently their successors were equally shortsighted. The exiles reestablished their power by armed force. Theognis did not consider conditions in Megara exceptional; indeed, he expressed great alarm at the disorders and civil wars which were destroying

<sup>4</sup>Theognis I, 53-60.

the Greek folk in other cities. A sound democracy was the product of slow growth and constructive statesmanship, but the case of Megara is a graphic illustration of the dangers that confronted the Greek oligarchies if they failed to avert open rebellion. (Reading List 35)

#### THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PELOPONNESUS: ARGOS AND SPARTA

At the close of the ninth century Argos was the chief state in the Peloponnesus and exercised wide influence over adjacent islands and the Isthmian cities. The myths of the voyage of the Argonauts and the labors of Heracles represent Argos as the centre from which the early Greeks set out for exploration and adventure in far lands, and at least testify to the creative imagination of the Argive poets. Heracles was the first local hero to achieve panhellenic fame. During the eighth century the power of Argos declined, and Corinth and Megara thereafter pursued independent commercial policies. Sparta, whose power had hitherto been confined to Laconia, where the pre-Dorian population had been subjected to her authority, conquered the fertile plains of Messenia beyond Mount Taygetus, and reduced the Messenians to serfdom. The long war for Messenia may be dated by the lists of Olympic victors, for the last free Messenian competed at the games in 736 B.C., and the first Spartan victory after the war was recorded twenty years later.

The land of Messenia became the property of Sparta, and was allotted, with the helots or serfs who tilled it, to individual Spartans, who were thus provided with support without personal labor. The towns on the northern borders of the Spartan territory were left a fair measure of local autonomy, subject to taxation and military service; the subordinate position of their population in the Spartan system is shown by the name *periæci*, "dwellers around." Periæcic colonies were established on the borders of Messenia to guard the helot land from external interference. The conquest of Messenia and the permanent enslaving of its inhabitants were unparalleled in the history of the established Greek states, though the early Greek conquerors, especially the Thessalians and Dorians, had commonly reduced the local peasants to serfdom, as in the case of Laconia.

By the conquest of Messenia Sparta became a wealthy state without concentration on industry and commerce; it was as much a centre of the arts as a tyrant's court, and attracted famous poets, including Alcman of Sardis, whose festival choruses for Spartan maidens won wide renown. The war songs of Tyrtæus inspired the soldiers with martial spirit. Laconian pottery, bronzes, and carved ivories ranked high among the artistic products of Greece.

Under King Pheidon (c. 715-665? B.C.), Argos again dominated the northern Peloponnesus and the Isthmian states, and became a serious rival

of Sparta. Though Pheidon ruled as hereditary monarch, his grasp of the new sources of power led Greek historians to group him with the tyrants. He is credited with the introduction of silver coinage into Greece, and is said to have established a mint on the island of Ægina, which he governed. He dedicated at the Argive Heraeum specimens of the old iron currency which was now superseded by coined silver. He aided Megara against Corinthian aggression. His policy of gaining power over neighboring states instead of engaging in colonial enterprise culminated in the invasion of Elis, where he transformed the local games in honor of Zeus, which had been celebrated at four-year intervals since 776 B.C., into a splendid festival which, as we have seen, became a panhellenic gathering of men from the colonies and the homeland.

Pheidon's control of Cynuria, which lay between Laconia and Argos, and of the island of Cythera off the southern coast of Laconia, made him a menace to Spartan security. The Spartans finally conquered Cythera, but Cynuria was a recurrent source of conflict between the two states in later days. After Pheidon's death, the tyrants of the Isthmian states weakened the influence of Argos, while Elis and Pisa resumed their old contest for the control of the Olympian plain. Argos was now distinctly inferior to Sparta, but the hostility between the two leading states of the Peloponnesus continued.

During the late seventh century the Messenians were encouraged by Argos, Arcadia, and Pisa to revolt from Sparta. In the long war which followed, the Spartans reorganized their army and established their famous heavy infantry. The strength of the Messenian resistance at Mount Ithome left the helots a heritage of patriotism which survived almost three centuries of Spartan oppression. This made the Spartans realize the serious danger of their position, and led to the formation of a militaristic state in which individual interests were rigidly subordinated to the maintenance of armed strength.

The new Spartan constitution was established by about 600 B.C. It was attributed to the lawgiver Lycurgus, of whose historical character there was already much doubt in ancient times. Some elements of the Spartan system may have formed part of the earlier government, but there is no longer reason to deny, as historians have done in the past, that the Spartans under strong compulsion could completely change their way of life within a generation. Greek political theorists liked to distinguish the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements in the Spartan government, but it seems more accurate to consider it as "a tribal state compacted by pride and danger,"<sup>5</sup> which, like the modern totalitarian state, formulated its own political principles regardless of current practice.

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<sup>5</sup> The phrase is quoted from Adcock, *Cambridge Ancient History* III, 692.

## THE SPARTAN SYSTEM

The hereditary monarchy continued, with two kings chosen from the two royal families. These, with 28 men of sixty or over, elected for life from the noble clans, made up the *gerousia* or council, which also acted as a high court for criminal cases. All full Spartiates over twenty years old took part in the *apella* or assembly which acted on measures proposed by the council, and elected the magistrates called *ephors* as well as the members of the council. The five ephors were chosen for an annual term from the whole body of citizens, and by the reform of Chilon (c. 556 B.C.) gained very wide powers. They presided over the council and assembly, decided civil suits, and had general supervision over the citizen body, foreign policy, and the periœcic towns. The kings still commanded the army, but two ephors accompanied them, and the college of ephors made many military decisions. It is not surprising that kings and ephors were often at variance, and that an ambitious and able king was likely to be curbed by the conservative ephorate.

All ordinary domestic matters, the education of girls, and the rearing of boys under seven were the concern of Spartan women, who enjoyed a freedom unknown in most Greek cities, but saw very little of their husbands. From the age of seven, the boys were brought up in military bands with rigorous training intended to produce strength, shrewdness, and fortitude in the face of danger and privation. Adult men lived under almost equally severe discipline and ate at the common mess, for which they provided out of the produce of their allotments which were tilled by the helots. The system left no opportunity for the gentler arts for which Sparta had once been famous.

Industry and commerce, and the working of iron from the mines of Taygetus, were left to the periœci, whose first duty was the proper equipment of the Spartans, and who insulated Sparta from contact with other states, while they themselves led a more normal existence than their lords. The helots were ordinarily free to live and work undisturbed on the farms, provided that they paid their masters their fixed share of produce, but they might be transferred at any time by the orders of the state, or be compelled to attend the Spartans in war. A more serious menace than war beyond the frontiers was signaled by the occasional proclamation by the ephors of open war on the helots, which was intended to emphasize their inferiority and to kill any who might be planning revolt.

Besides the full Spartans, who were one-tenth of the population, and the helots and periœci, an intermediate group developed which included those who became unable to meet the expenses of the common table, and the offspring of alliances between full Spartans and inferiors. (Reading List 36)

## THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

Early in the sixth century Sparta attempted to conquer the plain of Tegea on the Arcadian frontier; though her disastrous failure was partly atoned for by the conquest of some Argive land a few years later, she soon began to extend her influence by a series of alliances instead of annexing additional territory. By the end of the sixth century most of the Peloponnesian states except Argos and some towns in Achæa had made treaties of alliance with Sparta, and accepted her leadership in offensive and defensive warfare. In 505 B.C., this system of alliances was transformed into the Peloponnesian League, whose sessions were held at Sparta. The members of the League were bound by definite agreements to uphold the decisions of the majority. Sparta commanded the army of the League, and the Spartan regiments were its chief military strength.

## THE BŒOTIAN CONFEDERACY

The formation of a league was the recognized means of securing cooperation between autonomous city-states. The fullest application of this principle in the sixth century B.C. is seen in the case of Bœotia, where the old tribal league was superseded by a federation of city-states. Thebes was always the chief city of the Bœotian League, but failed to gain the authority which Sparta had in her alliance. By 550 B.C., the cities of the Bœotian League had adopted a uniform coinage marked with the Bœotian shield in token of their membership in the confederacy and with individual symbols as a sign of their autonomy. The amphictyonies previously mentioned also served to secure the advantage of common action without loss of independence.

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF ATHENS

We have little exact information about Athens before the sixth century B.C., though it was a favorite subject of study for later historians, and a wealth of early legend is preserved. The fullest account of Athenian development is that of Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Athenians*. The process by which the numerous settlements in the thousand square miles of Attica were united to form the single city-state of Athens reproduced on a large scale the creation of other city-states by the union of several villages. This union of Attica, which was accomplished by the end of the eighth century B.C., was ascribed to the hero Theseus.

The mineral wealth and fine harbors of Attica were not exploited until the sixth century B.C., but Athenian craftsmen in the ninth and eighth centuries had produced fine pottery decorated in geometric style, especially large urns used as grave monuments (Plate 38a). Otherwise, Attica was

still a rather backward farming state which found it difficult to produce sufficient grain for local use. During the eighth century B.C., the great landholding nobility gradually encroached on the royal power and transformed the government into an aristocracy. By about 683 three *archons* elected for annual terms from the noble clans were in charge of the administration: one, whose name identified his year of office in the calendar, as the chief executive; another, the *polemarch*, as commander of the army; and the *king-archon*, chiefly for religious duties. All had judicial functions, as had the six minor officials called *thesmothetes* who served as guardians and recorders of the laws. The council of the *Areopagus*, named for its meeting-place on the hill of Ares, supervised the administration and served as a high court.

The military reorganization, by which the heavy-armed infantry became the chief strength of the army, broke down the exclusive aristocracy of birth in Athens as in other states, and produced a government based on wealth, reckoned at first in terms of land and the grain produced on it. To determine their military obligations, citizens were divided into three classes, the horsemen, who served in the cavalry and had to furnish horses, armor, and attendants, the middle class, who had to provide a full panoply for hoplite service, and the *thetes*, the poorest class, who were only called out occasionally as light-armed skirmishers. It is not certain how far this system had progressed before Solon's legislation.

The latter part of the seventh century B.C. was disturbed by increasing hostility toward the landowners, and by serious agrarian distress such as prevailed elsewhere in Greece. A tyranny was narrowly averted when Cylon, son-in-law of Theagenes of Megara, attempted a *coup d'état*. Eleven years later (621 B.C.), Draco was chosen to codify the laws; the surviving fragments of his code show the extent to which state jurisdiction had superseded that of clan and family, and illustrate the severity of early criminal law. The code did not require constitutional changes or create means for holding the magistrates responsible for legal administration. By the beginning of the sixth century the economic and political crisis in the state was so serious that the nobles yielded to popular demands for reform, and in 594 B.C. Solon, the first great Athenian statesman, was appointed archon with extraordinary powers to remedy abuses and revise the constitution<sup>6</sup> in the interest of peace and prosperity.

#### THE REFORMS OF SOLON

Solon's measures saved Athens from the disasters of revolution although they involved heavy losses for the rich, and did not satisfy the extreme demands of the poor. Most small farmers had either lost title to their land

<sup>6</sup> The word *constitution* is used here, as in the case of England, as a comprehensive term for the essential laws of the state; it does not refer to a single document like our constitution.

and been enslaved for debt, or had to pay their creditors one-sixth of the income from their farms, whose total produce had been inadequate to support them without disastrous indebtedness. The measures by which this intolerable situation was ended were known as the "Shaking off of Burdens," a metaphor which was especially apt in a land so frequently shaken by earthquakes. Solon cancelled all debts ensured by the person or land of Athenians, freed men who had been enslaved for debt, and provided for the return of those who had been sold outside Attica. Enslavement for debt was prohibited. Extreme as these measures seemed to wealthy creditors, they could give only temporary relief to the poor; it was still necessary to provide the thetes with means of support and with political rights to prevent the recurrence of the crisis.

Solon lacked time and money to accomplish these ends, but he enacted numerous beneficial measures. He initiated a silver coinage on the standard used by Chalcis and Corinth, which brought Athens into their wide sphere of commercial activity. He encouraged skilled craftsmen from other cities to settle in Athens, and required idle Athenians to learn a trade. This encouragement of industry was most fruitful in connection with pottery, the oldest of Greek crafts. Before the middle of the century, the wares of Athenian potters began to outsell those of Corinth throughout the markets of Hellas.

To curb the greed of Athenians who sold their grain abroad regardless of domestic needs, Solon prohibited the export of grain, but permitted that of wine and olive oil, which were in great demand in the northern colonies. He revised the old military classification of citizens by adding a new class for the most wealthy, who were classified as "five hundred bushel men," and he included wine and oil with grain in the assessment of income for census purposes.

### THE CONSTITUTION OF SOLON

In the new government political rights as well as military obligations were definitely based on income. Such a government was called a *timocracy*. It is probable that money income was soon equated with agricultural products in the official reckoning. The thetes, whose annual earnings were less than the equivalent of 200 measures of grain, now received definite political rights. They were admitted to the *ecclesia*, the general assembly which elected magistrates and voted on measures which affected the state as a whole. They were also admitted to a new court, the *heliæa*, which heard appeals of citizens against the magistrates and conducted trials of magistrates accused of malfeasance in office, as well as general civil suits.

The Areopagus kept its authority as guardian of the laws and public prosecutor in criminal cases, but its administrative functions were shared with the new council of 400, which was chosen from the three upper classes

as a deliberative body to prepare measures for ratification by the ecclesia. The treasurers were elected from the first class only, and the archons and other magistrates from the two upper classes. Thus Solon's innovations gave political rights to all citizens, but confined executive and administrative authority to the propertied classes. Aristotle rightly concludes that Solon did not establish the Athenian democracy, but unintentionally prepared the way for it by giving the people powers without which they would have remained in a condition of slavery and of hostility to the government.

Solon's constitution was so simple and flexible that no revolution was required for the democratic revisions which later resulted from the policies of his successors and the growth of the city. It was widely used as a constitutional model for city-states founded in the Hellenistic Age three centuries later. He himself recognized, however, that the transition to the new régime could not be made without difficulty. One of his statutes forbade the citizens to take up arms against one another in time of political strife. The extant fragments of the poems in which Solon recorded his work include a warning to the governing class:

The people will follow its leaders best if it is neither given excessive liberty nor subjected to undue oppression.

He distrusted the workings of mob psychology:

As an individual each of you walks with the crafty step of a fox, but in the mass you are no more intelligent than idiots, for you consider only the words that a flatterer speaks, and never turn your eyes to his actual deeds.

Like the Delphic oracle, Solon preached the doctrine "Nothing in excess": he feared the influence of men whose judgment was warped by the arrogance of wealth and power. The Athenians of later times might profitably have studied Solon's maxims before listening to demagogues in the ecclesia.

#### THE TYRANNY OF PISISTRATUS

As Solon feared, ambitious men soon involved the state in conflicts between the rival factions of Plain, Shore, and Hill, but his constitution stood the test and remained in force under Pisistratus, the hero of the war with Megara for possession of Salamis, who made himself tyrant in 560 B.C. with the help of the Hillmen. Pisistratus met with strong opposition from the Alcmaeonid clan, and was exiled at least once before he finally established his power. During his exile he gained control of the silver mines in Thrace and established his influence in the northern colonial area, especially at Sigeum on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor, and in the Thracian Chersonese, which he later colonized and made the basis of Athenian commercial expansion.

During his continuous rule from 546 to 528 B.C., the natural wealth of Attica was adequately utilized for the first time. Coins minted from the silver of Thrace and Laurium bore the helmeted head of Athena with her symbol, the owl, as the reverse type. In the latter part of the century these Athenian "owls" became the standard currency in northern trade (Plate 40a). The broad bay of Phalerum accommodated increasing numbers of Athenian and foreign merchant vessels. The lands of exiled nobles were distributed to landless men, and a general tax provided subsidies which enabled needy farmers to devote much of their land to profitable vineyards and olive orchards, now that they could count on an abundance of imported grain in the market. The foreign sale of woollen goods aided both shepherds and craftsmen.

The limestone and marble quarries were worked to provide material for city walls, an aqueduct, and the famous "fountain of the nine streams," for a temple of Athena on the Acropolis, and an Ionic temple of Olympian Zeus projected on a magnificent scale and completed centuries later by the Roman emperor Hadrian. Pisistratus was honored among the tyrants of his time, and made Athens a leader among the states of Hellas. Artists from Ionia and the Peloponnesus contributed to the beauty of the city.

Under Pisistratus' son Hippias (528-510 B.C.), the Athenians began to weary of tyranny. The murder of the tyrant's brother, Hipparchus, by a private enemy, precipitated the issue, and the Alcmaeonids with the help of the Delphic oracle and the Spartan king Cleomenes at last expelled Hippias, who like other Greek exiles sought refuge at the Persian court.

#### CLEISTHENES AND THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

After a period of party strife, Cleisthenes became the most powerful man in Athens. This member of the Alcmaeonid clan, grandson of the famous tyrant of Sicyon, used his authority to establish Athenian democracy on a sound basis and prevent future control of the city either by the clans or by a tyrant. The constitution of Cleisthenes was fully established by 502 B.C. He broke up the old factions by substituting ten new tribes for the four old ones. Each tribe included three sections, made up of demes located in the Hill, Plain, and Shore districts, respectively, so that a single tribe was a cross-section of the whole citizen body. The hundred or more *demes*, or wards, were the basic unit of political life; membership in the citizen body depended on registration in a deme, and the mass of citizens was henceforth personified as *Demos*. Each deme managed its local affairs, kept records of its members, and observed a special cult which symbolized their relationship as demesmen and superseded that of family and phratry in their political life. It was probably in order to emphasize this kinship that membership in a given deme was made permanent and hereditary even though actual residence might change.

Cleisthenes admitted resident aliens to full membership in the demes and hence to full citizenship; the ten new tribes were assigned to the protection of ten Athenian heroes in whose worship all citizens joined regardless of their personal ancestry.

A new council of 500, called the *Boulé*, took the place of Solon's council of 400; 50 of its members were chosen by lot from each of the ten tribes to serve for an annual term. The official year was divided into ten periods during which the 50 councillors from a given tribe served in turn as the active committee of the council. Individual members of this committee presided in turn over the daily meetings of the council, and over the ecclesia, which met forty times a year. Thus any Athenian citizen might be called on to preside over the general assembly of the state. The council of 500 was a committee of the ecclesia; it supervised the daily administration of the state and received foreign embassies, but its primary function was to prepare measures for discussion and ratification by the ecclesia. Thus the council initiated legislation, but only the sovereign assembly could ratify it. Permanent legislation as distinguished from temporary ordinances was subject to the scrutiny of magistrates and court before it could obtain full validity. The democratic council and assembly encroached on the powers of the Areopagus and exercised increasing control over the archons and other magistrates who were still chosen only from the two upper census classes.

At this time or soon after, the ecclesia began to elect ten generals each year to command the ten tribes. These generals, unlike the other magistrates, could be reelected for successive terms, since military efficiency was the prime consideration. Their office became the chief goal of ambitious demagogues who wished the sanction of a magistracy to support their personal leadership in the ecclesia. Through the reforms of Cleisthenes, the Athenians of the fifth century B.C. came to realize the full possibilities of city-state government, and initiated as complete a democracy as the world has known. (Reading List 37)

By the end of the sixth century B.C., the essential institutions of the city-state were developed and the individual Greek thought of himself first of all as a citizen. Like Theognis of Megara, he might travel over the world and find nothing fairer than his own city. Whether his political principles were oligarchic or democratic, he valued above all else the autonomy of his city, both in its internal government and in its relations with other states. He had learned to cooperate with other cities in alliances which furthered their common interests without infringing on their essential independence. Though these ideals did not prevent civil conflicts and interstate wars, they engendered pride in the superiority of the free Hellenes over peoples who tamely submitted to despotism, and who had not attained the political institutions which distinguished the civilized Greek from the barbarian.

## X

### THE RISE OF THE WESTERN POWERS

*Such toil it cost to found the Roman race.*

—Virgil

DURING THE EIGHTH AND seventh centuries the Phœnicians, Etruscans, and Greeks developed the local resources of their western colonies and carried on their trade without serious conflict of interests. In the sixth century several states adopted policies of expansion which made the delimitation of frontiers and of spheres of commercial and political influence major issues. By 480 B.C., the western coasts of the Mediterranean were partitioned among these states.

The western powers were founded by peoples who differed as widely in political background and in culture as in racial and geographical origins. While Tyre was occupied by her resistance to the eastern empires, her colony at Carthage gradually assumed leadership of the Phœnician trading posts; she controlled the adjacent Libyan lands and kept up close contacts with the old Phœnician cities, while she developed an independent maritime power in the west. The Etruscans from Asia Minor, who probably began their voyages to the west soon after the period of the Sea Raiders, colonized the western coast of Italy north of the Tiber; in the ninth century they occupied all the land later known as Etruria. The Etruscans in Italy owed much to the Villanovans whom they assimilated, as well as to their Greek neighbors. Tartessus in western Spain was a wealthy and enlightened monarchy which had a long-established eastern trade, and was now most favorable to Greek interests and receptive of Greek influence. The Greek colonists emigrated from the city-states of Greece during their formative period; colonial conditions and the natural resources of the new world accelerated their development and made them leaders in the progress of Hellenism as well as in its diffusion among their neighbors. The Indo-European speaking peoples of Italy, who were chiefly of Mediterranean stock, had adopted the distinctive Iron Age culture of the Danubian region from the northern invaders who had settled among them, while those who lived in Etruria and northern Italy were gradually brought under Etruscan influence. In central Italy, however, the Samnite mountaineers and the Latin towns of the west coast maintained their national identity and founded strong powers which were to dominate the later history of the peninsula.

## THE GREEKS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

In the sixth century the Greeks of southern Italy reached the height of their prosperity; Sybaris and Croton, with Miletus in Ionia, were the leading cities of the Hellenic world. Sybaris controlled all the territory from her harbor on the Gulf of Tarentum to Pæstum on the west coast and founded inland colonies to guard the short land-passage to the western sea. The city became the chief centre for distribution of Milesian goods in Italy, and much Etruscan trade passed through her markets. A later writer says that the Sybarites dressed in Milesian wool, and had a strong friendship with Miletus: "For of the people of Italy they most loved the Etruscans, and of those outside Italy, the Ionians."<sup>1</sup> The neighboring city of Croton was second only to Sybaris in wealth. In later times, Sybaris was proverbial for ingenious cooks and sumptuous banquets and Croton for its health. When Democedes of Croton, the son of an Ionian priest of Asclepius, was exiled for political reasons, Athens and Argos competed for his services as state physician. Later he entered the service of Polycrates and after the tyrant's fall became private physician of the Persian Darius. Pythagoras emigrated to Croton from Samos during the reign of Polycrates and there founded his school of philosophy and established the Pythagorean way of life, with Milo, the most famous of Greek athletes and a notable statesman and soldier as well, among his disciples.

The close connection between the Greek cities is shown by their general adoption of a peculiar type of coin; either Sybaris or Croton tried to increase this unity by establishing Italian Games on the model of the pan-hellenic festival at Olympia. But the prospect of a united Greek power in Italy was ruined by the rivalry of the cities. Croton and Sybaris for a time cooperated at the expense of their neighbors, but later engaged in a war with each other, in which Sybaris was destroyed. Croton gained little by the destruction of her rival, for she suffered heavy losses in a war with Rhegium soon after. The Italic Lucanians and Samnites opposed the extension of Greek influence, and grew in strength as the Greek cities were weakened by their wars with one another.

In later times Tarentum, founded by Sparta (c. 710 B.C.) as an outlet, we are told, for the illegitimate population born during the Messenian wars, became the leading city of southern Italy. It had a strong natural citadel, a fine harbor, and productive fields and pastures; the woollen fabrics and purple dyes of Tarentum gained the reputation earlier held by those of Miletus.

Among the other south Italian cities, Locri was noted for the laws of Zaleucus, probably compiled early in the seventh century B.C., and tradi-

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, *Geography* XII, 519b.

tionally the first written code of laws in any Greek city. The rôle of Croton in the development of Greek thought was paralleled by the Phocæan city of Elea, where the Ionian Xenophanes founded the rationalistic philosophy of the Eleatic School. In philosophy as in medicine, commerce, and industry, the Italian Greek cities were directly indebted to the Ionians. The Romans first became acquainted with Greek philosophy through their neighbors in southern Italy.

### THE PHOCÆANS, MARSEILLES, AND CARTHAGE

Early in the sixth century the Ionian Phocæans, supported by their friendship with Tartessus, had many colonies along the southern and eastern coasts of Spain and in southern France; in 560 B.C. they founded Alalia in Corsica. The Ligurians at first welcomed the opportunity for trade afforded by the Phocæan colony of Marseilles, but later vainly opposed the extension of Massiliot power. One of the resulting conflicts is commemorated in the name of Nice, the ancient Nicæa, "city of victory." In the middle of the century, Persian expansion destroyed the close bond between Marseilles and the East. The Phocæans abandoned their old home in Ionia and settled at Alalia with a fair prospect of building up a strong Greek power in the western Mediterranean. The Carthaginians and Etruscans united to check their expansion, and in 535 B.C. engaged in a great naval battle off Alalia. The Phocæans claimed the victory, but could not maintain their settlement in Corsica in the face of the united opposition of the two powers. The Etruscans occupied the island while the Carthaginians, who had apparently succeeded in blocking the straits of Gibraltar to Tartessian commerce, for Tartessus completely disappeared from history before the end of the century, seized the Phocæan colonies in Spain. Thereafter the Carthaginians and Etruscans dominated the western seas, except for the northern shore from the Maritime Alps to the Balearic coast of Spain, which Marseilles controlled.

Marseilles was now a completely independent state with wide influence. She defeated a Carthaginian fleet in 535 B.C. and claimed her place among the chief Greek cities by erecting a treasury at Delphi. Until the middle of the first century, Marseilles controlled the coast and neighboring islands without acquiring much inland territory, and conducted a flourishing trade with the inland tribes and with the Latins of central Italy as well as with Greece. The city was a notable centre of Hellenism throughout the period of Gallic expansion in the neighboring districts of France and the Po Valley. Marseilles maintained her freedom long after the other western Greek colonies were subordinated to Rome, and she took a leading part in the exchange of goods between western Europe and the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

## SICILY: THE GREEK TYRANTS AND CARTHAGE

The great days of Sicily began at the close of the sixth century B.C., when the Greek cities of Italy were already past their zenith. Sicily had been in close commercial contact with the Ægean world before the tenth century B.C. The flourishing local culture of the Sicels was increasingly subject to Greek influence from the ninth century B.C., as is shown by the predominance of imported Greek pottery and of local imitations of Greek wares in Sicilian graves before the period of Greek settlement. Sicel opposition to the Greeks was local and ineffective; their national development was checked and Sicilian political history thereafter was that of the Greek city-states. Many Sicels became serfs or free subjects of the Greeks; others continued to occupy their independent communities under increasing Hellenic influence.

Phœnician settlements in Sicily had apparently been limited to trading posts, for no trace of Phœnician towns has been found in the eastern part of the island. After the Greek colonies were established, the Phœnicians retained only the western harbors which were essential stations for their voyages to Spain and the western Mediterranean in general. Thus the island was divided into two unequal parts which differed in culture, race, and external relations; while the greater part was occupied by Greeks and semi-hellenized Sicels, the western corner was left to Phœnician trading posts and the more barbarous natives. The Greek colony on the river Himera marked the frontier. The period of active Greek colonization ended with the founding of Acragas in 580 B.C. After an unsuccessful Greek attempt at control of the western end of the island, there was little conflict with the Phœnicians for some years.

During the seventh and sixth centuries the Sicilian Greek cities developed close oligarchies; this led to conflicts between the dominant merchants and landowners and the underprivileged classes at Syracuse and elsewhere, which contributed to the establishment of tyrannies. During the sixth century we hear of tyrants at Gela, Himera, Leontini, and at Rhegium in southern Italy, which was active in Sicilian affairs. The only one of the earlier tyrants to achieve lasting fame, the notorious Phalaris, became tyrant of Acragas soon after its foundation and is said to have adopted barbarous Phœnician devices for the torture of his enemies, though he is also credited with establishing Acragas as a leading Sicilian city.

When Carthage began her expansion in the middle of the sixth century she assumed control of the Phœnician cities in western Sicily. They kept their local government, but their external relations were controlled by Carthage. Carthaginian interests in Sicily threatened the Greek cities which had begun to extend their territorial control over lesser Greek and Sicel communities, and the possibility of appeals to Carthage against

Greek aggression became an active danger. During the latter part of the seventh century Syracuse had inaugurated a policy of territorial aggrandizement by founding dependent colonies in southeastern Sicily, the most important of which was Camarina.

#### THE TYRANNY OF GELON: SYRACUSE AND CARTHAGE

Early in the fifth century Gelon, a distinguished cavalry commander, became tyrant of Gela (491-485 B.C.). Gelon was not only an efficient general but a shrewd statesman. Syracuse was the best center for a unified Sicilian power, and a democratic rising there gave the tyrant of Gela his opportunity. From 485 to 478 B.C., he ruled Syracuse, with Gela as a subordinate city under his brother Hiero. Unlike most tyrants, Gelon conciliated the oligarchs and entrusted local affairs to their control, for he did not consider popular support a sound basis for permanent power.

At this time the city of Syracuse consisted chiefly of the island of Ortygia, and the suburbs on the mainland were thinly settled. Gelon destroyed Camarina and transplanted its population to Syracuse; later he added half the residents of his own city of Gela, and the upper classes from two conquered towns, whose populace he sold into slavery abroad. Thus Syracuse became a metropolis with a greatly enlarged population; the public centre of the city was transferred to the mainland, though the tyrants resided in the island for greater security. The rapid growth of the population required the construction of extensive waterworks, and the great docks of Syracuse were probably also a part of Gelon's program.

The alliance of Theron of Acragas with Gelon in 485 B.C. made it clear that Syracuse would soon control all the Greeks of Sicily unless her power was checked. When Theron seized Himera, Anaxilas of Rhegium sought and gained Carthaginian help. Ancient and modern historians have debated whether Carthage had formed an alliance with Persia, which was then engaged in war with the Greeks (see Chapter 12). The evidence is not conclusive, but the action of Carthage was sufficiently motivated by the chance to profit by Greek dissensions, and the synchronism of Greek victory over the barbarians at Himera with that at Salamis is probably mere coincidence. Late in the summer of 480 a Carthaginian army landed at Panormus and marched unopposed to Himera, where they besieged Theron until Gelon arrived and routed the enemy by a stratagem as shrewd as that by which Themistocles determined the Greek triumph at Salamis. The ensuing panic at Carthage was groundless; Gelon was ready to make peace in return for a large indemnity, and the boundary was definitely fixed at the Himera. All the Sicilian cities east of the river became dependent allies of Syracuse. Though Carthage did not attack the Sicilian Greeks again for 70 years, her control of the west coast was a threat to Greek

security which justified the tyrants in maintaining strong armies. The prominence of Syracuse as an intellectual and artistic center under Gelon's successors will be considered later, but we may note here that among the most beautiful Greek coins were those issued to commemorate the victory of the Himera, and called *Demareteia* in honor of Gelon's wife (Plate 40b). Syracuse was now definitely established as the chief Greek power in the western Mediterranean. (Reading List 38)

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARTHAGINIAN POWER

For generations after its foundation at the end of the ninth century B.C., Carthage was a typical Phœnician trading post, so free from any policy of territorial aggrandizement that rent was paid to the neighboring Libyan princes for the land occupied. In the sixth century a new policy was adopted and the foundations of the later empire were laid by the defeat of Tartessus, an alliance with the Etruscans against the Phocæans, and the control of the Phœnician colonies in Sicily.

This concentration of the former Phœnician interests under Carthage was accompanied by the establishment of control over northern Africa; the land formerly rented was annexed and its rich fields and orchards were tilled by Libyan serfs for Carthaginian merchants. Toward the end of the century Mago, as leader of the oligarchic government of rich merchants and landholders, reorganized the army, which thenceforth consisted of contingents from the Libyan subjects and allied states, with large numbers of mercenaries under Carthaginian officers. The two chief magistrates shared the civil and military command of the state. The military genius of Carthaginian generals for the next three centuries lessened the inherent danger of depending on an army composed of subjects and hired soldiers, while the taxes on commerce and agriculture enriched the treasury and made Carthage so famous as a good paymaster that the best mercenary soldiers from Italy, Greece, and the east enlisted in her forces. Thus the Carthaginians added a strong military power to the commercial genius of their Phœnician ancestors. The alliance with Etruria continued, and when the Etruscan power declined, Carthage assumed undisputed control of the western sea. Greek interest in Carthage is illustrated by the many references to Carthaginian government in Aristotle's *Politics*. (Reading List 39)

### THE ETRUSCANS

According to the theory now generally accepted, the original home of the Etruscans was in northwestern Asia Minor. They probably joined the Sea Raiders in their attacks on Egypt and the Mediterranean coasts, as we have seen, and their own land suffered disaster in the period of confusion which followed. Etruscan voyages to Italy for copper and tin probably

began soon after. As the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor and the new states that grew up in the interior lessened their opportunities for expansion at home, their interest in forming permanent colonies in the west increased. The Italians with whom they traded had built their towns on the best natural sites in the great plain between the Appennines and the coast, which like the adjacent Tuscan Sea was to be named for the invaders. The first colonists lived side by side with the Villanovans in their towns; as their numbers increased, the Etruscans achieved political supremacy in town and country. The local peasants became serfs of the Etruscan landowners, while in the towns the northern Villanovan culture was fused with the new oriental elements to produce the distinctive Etruscan civilization. Since the Etruscans came to Italy in comparatively small groups, their domination of Etruria was only gradually established. A considerable time elapsed between the settlements at Cære, Tarquinii and Populonia and their occupation of the inland cities.

#### ETRUSCAN CIVILIZATION

The great achievement of the Etruscans took place before the beginning of historical records in Italy. Greek historians noted some details of their contacts with the Greek cities in the sixth century B.C., and there are many Roman traditions of the Etruscan kings and the wars of the early republic. Inscriptions in the alphabet which the Etruscans took over from the Greeks are found in tombs of the seventh century B.C. and later, but the key to the Etruscan language is still undiscovered, though the meaning of many individual words is known. Etruscan studies therefore depend chiefly on archæological evidence, especially that of the great chamber tombs of the seventh century B.C. and later, and on political and religious institutions which survived in later Roman practice.

Etruscan prosperity depended not only on the working of the copper and tin mines of Etruria and the iron mines of Elba, but on agriculture, stockraising, and industry. The fusion of Villanovan and oriental metallurgical skill, together with the use of Greek designs, made Etruscan mirrors, candelabra, and weapons famous throughout the ancient world. In the fifth century B.C. and later, Etruscan artists created magnificent bronze portraits and animal sculpture (Plate 32a). The Etruscans developed grape and olive culture in Etruria as the Greeks did in southern Italy, and were famous horse-breeders. They were skilful engineers and conserved the fertile volcanic soil of southern Etruria and Latium by elaborate systems of underground drainage.

The great stone tomb chambers which cover many acres of land near Cære, Tarquinii, and other Etruscan sites date from the seventh century B.C. and later, as do the city walls constructed of cut stone in the Greek fashion. Our real knowledge of Etruscan society begins with the paintings in these

tombs (Plate 31), their sculptured sarcophagi, and their furnishings, which are far richer than those in the simpler graves of earlier times. These paintings depict a wealthy society, devoted to lavish banquets at which dancing-girls and flute-players furnished entertainment. Furniture, dress, and jewelry were elaborate and costly; the wine jars and drinking cups were of the finest Greek types. Boxing, wrestling, foot races and chariot races, hunting, and fishing were favorite sports. The later tombs show increasing interest in monstrous and savage creatures of the lower world. The whole scene is overlaid with Greek influence, but in its essence is as unhellenic as the great sixth century terra cotta statue of Apollo from Veii (Plate 32b), the crouching sphinxes and lions that decorate Etruscan granulated gold jewelry in oriental fashion, and the glossy black pottery that the Etruscan potters developed from their Italian models.

### ETRUSCAN RELIGION

The Etruscans worshipped many gods of oriental, Italian, and Greek origin, chief of whom were the three identified by the Romans with Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. They built up an elaborate system of ritual which required a highly trained priesthood. The art of divination by examining the viscera of sacrificial animals or by interpretation of omens, among which lightning was especially important, and the religious rituals for the foundation of cities and for taking the auspices to legalize elections and other civic acts, were adopted by the Romans. The Etruscan interest in the grim divinities of the dead and in the magic spells and sacrifices by which their power could be averted or utilized against one's enemies also exerted a profound influence on Roman religion.

### THE ETRUSCAN POWER IN ITALY

The Etruscan cities seem to have been governed in earlier days by elected kings, for whom magistrates chosen from noble families were commonly substituted in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The league of twelve Etruscan cities was a religious rather than a political union, and Etruscan conquests were due to the initiative of cities or nobles who sought to increase their own power. The Etruscan occupation of Etruria has often been compared to the Norman conquest of England, and their later expansion in Italy also resembles Norman exploits in Mediterranean lands. Etruscan nobles gained overlordship in Latium and transformed the Latin villages into substantial towns, chief among which was Rome, which commanded the only practicable crossing of the lower Tiber. They occupied Campania, except for the Greek territory of Cumæ, and founded Capua, which became a great centre of metallurgical industry.

In the sixth century the Etruscans extended their power eastward from Etruria to the Adriatic coast and north to the Po. Felsina, near mod-

ern Bologna, became their chief northern city, and by 500 B.C. the independent Villanovan culture in this district had yielded to their influence, and regular Etruscan trade with the Rhine Valley had begun. The Illyrian Veneti and the peoples north of the Po remained independent, but the best lands from the Po to the Greek cities in the south were ruled by the Etruscans before the end of the sixth century. In the meantime the alliance with Carthage and the occupation of Corsica increased Etruscan influence in the western seas. Even Italian tribes which were not under direct control profited by Etruscan trade, and adopted the Greek alphabet and other cultural elements from the dominant power. But the Etruscan domination, based on independent local dynasties, lacked cohesion, and the loss of the southern conquests began before the northern expansion was completed. (Reading List 40)

### THE LATINS

Before the Etruscans introduced industries and commerce and fostered city life, the Latins were a backward agricultural and pastoral people who raised sheep and cattle, coarse grain, figs, and some grapes. The country was thickly settled, with small individual holdings which required intensive cultivation. Pasture and woodland were held in common. The people lived in round thatched huts which had a single room with an opening in the roof to draw off the smoke of the open fire on the hearth and to admit light and air. As among the other Italian tribes, the chief political unit was the canton, which corresponds roughly to a rural township. The members of the canton held a town meeting to decide matters of general interest, and the open village shared the common protection of a fortified centre, similar to the early Greek polis, and like it the nucleus of the later city. Defense of the fertile Latin plain from the incursions of the highland tribes was a recurrent problem which fostered some degree of union. Temporary leagues were formed for military purposes, and fixed rules were established for the declaration and conduct of war.

It was only under Etruscan and Greek influence that the divinities worshipped by the Latins were invested with personality. In earlier times they were thought of as *numina*, "consenting powers" with whom the state and the individual entered into a contractual relationship on an unemotional basis which remained characteristic of Roman religion. These *numina* were closely associated with farm and family life, and the early Latin festivals marked the significant days in the farmer's calendar. Religious cults were local in character, but there were several associations which ultimately led to some degree of Latin unity, especially those for the worship of Jupiter on the Alban Mount, and of Diana at Lake Nemi. (Reading List 41)

The Etruscan rulers of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. stimulated industrial development and commerce in Latium. Fifty or more village communities were united into ten or twelve important towns, chief among them Præneste, Tibur, Tusculum, and Rome. The wealth of these cities increased rapidly: Præneste became a notable centre of Etruscan art and industry. The resulting civilization, and the political and social aftermath of the Etruscan rule, can be best studied in connection with Rome.

### THE GROWTH OF ROME

The Tiber determined the topographical character of Rome and much of its early development. The square hills, Palatine, Capitoline, and Aventine, on the left bank of the Tiber, some fifteen miles from the sea, are blocks of hard volcanic rock isolated by the great stream of earlier ages, which cut valleys in the softer stone and carved out the spurs of the Cælian, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal hills which project from the Alban plateau, with the ridges of the Janiculum and Vatican across the river. The great bend in the river beyond forms the only open plain in the city, the Campus Martius where troops were drilled. The central valley remained a marsh, and no real union between the villages on the Palatine, Cælian, and Esquiline was possible until an early engineer contrived to drain it, and so created the *Forum* or market place which was to be the focus of public and private business throughout the history of ancient Rome. The rocky heights of the Palatine commanded the Tiber at the point where it could be most safely crossed before bridges were built, and thus controlled access to the salt deposits near the mouth of the river, still commemorated in the *Via Salaria*, or Salt Road, which runs from Rome into central Italy. The key position of the city in the centre of Italian communications, and the defensive value of the Palatine and Capitoline hills with the Janiculum as an outer line of defense more than compensated for the inconvenience of its inner topography, its limited area, recurrent floods, and the obstacles to commerce presented by the poor harbor of the Tiber and the difficulties of transport upstream to Rome.

From about 1000 B.C., the Latins and Sabines founded villages on the Roman hills. An early stage in the process of unification was marked by a festival which commemorated the union of the seven villages on the Palatine, Cælian, and Esquiline hills. Before 600 B.C. the Forum was drained and the "City of the Four Regions" was formed, which included the Quirinal and Viminal settlements also, with the Capitoline as the fortified citadel. It is uncertain whether this larger city was founded by an Etruscan ruler or was formed by the local population for better defense against Etruscan aggression, for the Etruscans had already seized Præneste, and Rome blocked the more convenient route from Etruria to Latium and Campania.

## EARLY ROME: TRADITION AND HISTORY

The foregoing brief summary of the growth of Rome is based on current studies in which the archæological evidence has been interpreted with the aid of religious survivals which were recorded by classical writers. At the end of the third century B.C. when the Punic Wars stimulated national pride, and educated Romans familiar with Greek epics and prose histories began to write the history of their own country, they lacked adequate materials for a continuous narrative of events prior to their own century. Even the founding of the city was assigned to various dates from 900 to 728 B.C., until in the time of Julius Cæsar, Varro's date, 753 B.C., was generally accepted.

It was agreed, however, that kings ruled the city until the republic was established in 509 B.C. by the expulsion of the Etruscan Tarquin. For the period of the kings, historians depended on picturesque legends, the traditions handed down in the patrician families, and the tales invented by Greek writers to associate Rome, like other cities in the Hellenic sphere of interest, with the heroes of the Trojan War. The narrative history of the first two centuries of the republic also depended in large part on popular oral traditions and on those of the chief families, but these were reenforced by the official calendars, which recorded the consuls of successive years and the official triumphs. The *pontifex maximus*, as head of the chief priestly college, compiled an annual record of notable events which included significant natural phenomena. The laws were codified in the middle of the fifth century B.C., and treaties and other state documents were usually recorded in the Forum or in a temple. Such documentary material was certainly scanty in the fifth century B.C., and probably in the early part of the fourth. Since the documents which later historians used are not preserved, there is little evidence to show which of them were authentic, and which were invented after regular records began to be kept.

During the second and first centuries Roman history was frequently revised in the light of current political interests and as a vehicle for clever phrase-makers. Only fragments of these histories are preserved. The Roman historian Livy, whose history, written at the end of the first century B.C., established the canonical narrative, recognized the difficulty. But as he lacked the materials and method necessary for critical revision, he gave the full traditional account, with due warning to his readers; he set the dividing line between history and tradition at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Livy's contemporary, Virgil, chose the Trojan Æneas as the hero of his epic in honor of the Roman Empire, and thus fixed the classical version of Greek and Roman legends which united Troy, Carthage, and the Alban kings in the ancestry of the city.

The story of Latium from Æneas to the death of Romulus remains legendary, though both the epic and the prose accounts include many details

which are consistent with our knowledge of early Italy. The later kings may well have been historical rulers; the Sabine Numa who founded Roman religion and organized industries, Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, who won land for the growing city, Tarquin the Elder, Servius Tullius, and Tarquin the Proud, who built up the city itself and made it a leading power among Etruscan and Latin states. The seven kings were credited with institutions which the Romans inherited from Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans, and with some achievements which belong to the early republic, but the narrative gives a useful picture of early Roman institutions.

During the greater part of the sixth century at least, Rome was under Etruscan influence: some historians maintain that all the seven kings were Etruscans, while others think that the only foreign rulers were the Tarquins, who established their tyranny by armed force and gained the support of the plebs by public works and by encouraging industry and commerce. Servius Tullius, whose reign falls between those of the Tarquins, may have won the throne by a nationalist reaction, for his name is Latin, and he was very popular in later tradition, which ascribed to him the first stone wall around the city and the reorganization of the army on a property basis, two important elements of strength in the military crises of the fourth century B.C. Tarquin the Proud, like many sons of tyrants, aroused such opposition that the Romans hated the name of king for many centuries; the republic was established by a bloodless revolution which aimed only at expelling the tyrant and establishing the government of the senate with annual magistrates subservient to it.

#### ROMAN SOCIETY

The essential unit in Roman society was the family, in which the father had absolute power over his wife, his sons and their wives, and his unmarried daughters, whom he could put to death or sell into slavery if he wished. He conducted the ritual which secured for the family the protection of Vesta, the divinity of the hearth, and of the Lares and Penates, gods of field and pantry. The spirits of the dead still belonged to their families, whose living members were bound to perpetuate the family name and worship, through which the contact of the dead with reality was continued. The clan was also prominent, and every Roman was known by the name of his clan as well as by his individual name (e.g., Servius Tullius was Servius, of the Tullian clan). The *patrician* clans, with their numerous dependents, were very powerful politically, but both clan and family were so far subordinate to the state that blood feuds were unknown.

The *plebeians*, who correspond roughly to the *thetes* in early Greece, were socially inferior and were forbidden to intermarry with the patricians. This distinction may have arisen, as in Greece, from the early concentration of land in the hands of a few men who were thus enabled to claim social and

political authority. Many plebeians were dependent clients of patrician patrons, to whom they owed field labor, military aid, and occasional payments. Since the patricians were landowners with little interest in trade, the end of the Etruscan domination and the wars which followed led to a rapid decline of industry and commerce, with consequent distress to the industrial population, which had increased under the Tarquins. The agricultural prosperity of the country also declined, partly because of neglect of the Etruscan system of underground drainage. (Reading List 42)

### THE GOVERNMENT OF ROME IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

The patrician senate was the chief governing body of the republic. Two magistrates called *consuls* were elected annually from the patrician families to perform the executive and military functions of the king. They used the ivory curule chair and purple robes of the Etruscan kings, and like them were attended by men who carried the *fascēs*, an axe in a bundle of rods, as instruments of the absolute authority by which they might have any citizen summarily executed or scourged. Each consul had complete authority; they exercised this *imperium* on alternate days, but in case of a conflict of opinion either could interpose his veto to block the action of the other. To avoid dangerous deadlocks, a single dictator was appointed in times of political or military crisis with absolute authority superior to that of the consuls. The dictator was expected to lay down his office when the crisis was over, and regularly did so.

The political life of the state, like its religious ritual, was conducted by the patricians. The assembly of citizens was convoked by a patrician magistrate to hear and ratify the will of the senate on important matters, especially in connection with the declaration of war and ratification of treaties, and to pass sentence of death or exile. It also elected the magistrates from the patrician candidates. In this assembly, known as the *comitia curiata*, the citizens were divided into thirty groups, each of which had a single collective vote, so that the decision rested with a majority of the groups and not of the individuals who voted. The *comitia* could not act independently of the senate and magistrates, and many plebeian voters were clients who were bound to support their patrician patrons. The unwritten laws of the state were transmitted from generation to generation in the patrician families; thus the plebeians had no check on the interpretation of the laws or their specific application.

### THE PLEBEIAN OPPOSITION

In addition to the patrician neglect of the commercial relations which the Tarquins had established with the Greek and Etruscan cities, the wars against the Etruscans worked hardship for the plebeians, and the resulting

economic distress was increased by recurrent shortage of grain. The conquests of the kings had extended Rome's territory until the city controlled 300 square miles of land along the Tiber, more than twice the area of any other Latin city. But now conquest was succeeded by defensive wars in which the citizens had to serve with little hope of profit.

The plebeians soon formed an organized opposition party within the patrician state, and drew up a definite program of political and economic reform. Early in the republic they built a Greek temple to Ceres, the goddess of grain, on the Aventine Hill where most of the industrial population lived, including Greeks who were engaged in the grain trade. This temple became a centre of plebeian activities and was cared for by two plebeian officers called *aediles*. The early history of the conflict between plebeians and patricians is obscure, but it was marked by less violence than revolutions in the Greek cities, and the growth in power of the plebeians was very slow.

In foreign affairs the early republic made one definite gain which vitally affected the later growth of the city. The alliance of Latin states against the Etruscans had become a Latin League from which Rome was excluded, and which soon engaged in war to avert the threat of Roman domination. By 493 B.C., however, the mountain tribes attacked the Latin plain with such success that the league appealed to Rome for help and a treaty was signed which virtually recognized Rome's leadership in Latium, since she pledged herself to furnish forces equal to those of all the other members for the defensive wars of the league. The treaty also guaranteed the citizens of the member states mutual rights of intermarriage, trade, and property holding; these rights, together with the common need of defense, prepared the way for the later unity of Latium as the nucleus of Roman power. For a century and a half the strength of Rome was concentrated chiefly on the defense of the Tiber against northern aggression and that of the Latin frontier against the Volscians and other mountain tribes. The Etruscan loss of Latium was soon followed by that of Campania, which was overrun by Samnite mountaineers. The expansion of the Samnites and Lucanians also reduced the power of the Greek cities of southern Italy. Syracuse and Carthage, which rapidly recovered from the defeat at the Himera, were the chief powers in the west in the fifth century B.C. (Reading List 43)

#### EARLY ROMAN RELIGION

The pontifex maximus, who like other religious officials of Rome continued his private interests while acting as priest, took over the religious functions of the king as head of the state religion. The Romans had accepted the Etruscan ritual which required scrupulous accuracy in detail; priests were therefore appointed for life from patrician families. In addition to the board of pontiffs who aided the pontifex maximus, there were

special priests in charge of the sacrifices, of the ritual essential to the valid performance of public acts, and of the interpretation of omens. The agricultural gods became the protecting powers of the city, and the sky-god Jupiter, now the supreme deity of the state, was worshipped in the Etruscan style with Juno and Minerva in the Capitoline temple which Tarquin had begun.

Etruscan sculptors were commissioned to make terra cotta statues of the three divinities in the human semblance in which Greek and Etruscans conceived their gods. The hearth fire, Vesta, was never given human form; the sacred fire in the Forum, tended by the Vestal Virgins, linked family worship with that of the state. The vegetation-god Mars became the patron of the city's wars. The proper conduct of religious ritual, which was considered the first essential to the prosperity of the state, remained the exclusive prerogative of the patricians, and the especial care of the senate. (Reading List 41)

## XI

### THE PERSIAN EMPIRE: RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

*The gods did not reveal all things to men from the beginning, but by searching they at last discover the truth.* —Xenophanes

THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. was marked by changes of supreme importance for the Greek and oriental world. The territory from the coast of Asia Minor to the Indus Valley was united under the single power of Persia, the greatest of the oriental monarchies, whose central territory of Iran has survived as a national unit to the present time. The subordination of local states to Persia helped to weaken the political aspect of religion and to free the gods from association with a single place and people, while Greeks shared with orientals the desire for personal union with the gods and the hope of immortality. These factors led to the widespread adoption of religions which transcended national boundaries and held out the assurance of salvation. A few Greek thinkers sought to explain the universe in terms of reason, not of faith; these early philosophers, or lovers of wisdom, prepared the way for later European philosophy and science.

#### THE ORIENT AFTER THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

At the close of the seventh century Babylonia succeeded to the Mesopotamian and Syrian provinces of the Assyrian Empire; her Median allies governed Assyria and the northern and eastern provinces. Lydia began to unite all Asia Minor under a single power, and Egypt sought to recover her former authority in Palestine and Syria. Thus Median and Lydian ambitions conflicted in Cappadocia, and those of Babylonia and Egypt in Syria.

#### THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

At first Babylonia was the strongest of the four powers. The brief rule of the Chaldean dynasty erased from ancient tradition the memory of the long subservience of Babylonia to the Kassites and to Assyria, and made her the symbol of earthly power. The New Babylonian Empire was founded by Nabopolassar, but its greatness was largely the work of his son Nebuchadnezzar.

Soon after the fall of Nineveh, the Pharaoh Necho II marched into Palestine. Josiah, whose religious reforms had helped to restore the independent strength of the kingdom of Judah, resisted the Egyptian advance at Megiddo, where he was defeated and killed. But the decisive defeat of the Egyptians and their Assyrian allies at Carchemish in 605 B.C. enabled Nebuchadnezzar to annex the greater part of Syria and Palestine before his father's death forced him to return to Babylonia. Judah still resisted Babylonian authority, until in 597 Nebuchadnezzar captured the city of Jerusalem and deported to Babylonia all the soldiers and craftsmen with the members of the royal family except Zedekiah, who was left as the vassal of the Babylonian king to rule the weak population which remained. The next Egyptian campaign gained ready support from Judah, Tyre, and Sidon. When Nebuchadnezzar again took Jerusalem in 586 after an eighteen months' siege, he destroyed the walls, the temple, and the palace, and carried into captivity all but a few peasants who remained to cultivate the land. A motley group from neighboring places soon joined them, and the worship of Yahweh in Judah was contaminated by alien customs. But the Jewish exiles in Babylonia cherished the memory of rites which could be performed only at Jerusalem, and strictly followed the rules of circumcision, diet, and observation of the Sabbath which distinguished them from the worshippers of other gods.

According to Greek tradition, Tyre successfully withstood the Babylonian siege for thirteen years, but the rest of Phœnicia was subjected. Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions record his building achievements and not his victories, so that we are poorly informed about his reign except for the accounts in the Old Testament. His success fostered intense national pride which found its outward expression in the rebuilding of the temples throughout Babylonia, especially those of Marduk to whom his victories were ascribed, and in the beautification of Babylon, the city of Marduk and the king. The city walls were rebuilt on a magnificent scale. The main road through the city was the broad "Procession Street," planned for the pomp of festivals as well as the busy traffic of the capital. The monumental Ishtar gate, once brilliantly decorated with griffins and bulls of glazed tile, still stands. The royal palace was rebuilt, and decorated in a mixture of western and native styles (Plate 27).

Nebuchadnezzar's death in 562 was followed by several brief reigns, during which the power of the priests of Marduk increased. Nabonaid, who came to the throne in 556 B.C., alienated the priests and people by reviving old religious ceremonies and apparently also by his devotion to the moon-goddess Sin, whose cult was popular in Arabia. He has lived in history chiefly as a religious fanatic and antiquarian, who was more interested in deciphering the building inscriptions of his predecessors than in securing the loyalty of his people and defending the kingdom against Persia. His re-

moval of the local gods to Babylon was apparently intended to prevent their destruction by the enemy, but it aroused much opposition. Much of his reign was spent in Arabia, a valuable part of his dominions. The tributes paid to Assyria during its control of this territory had included gold, "the dust of the land," precious stones, aromatic plants, horses, mules, and camels.

In his third year Nabonaid extended his power to the fertile oasis of Tema, where caravan routes meet midway from Babylonia to Egypt and from Mecca to Damascus. He made Tema "a glorious city like the palace at Babylon"; it became his western capital, and he resided there while his son Belshazzar governed at Babylon. (Reading List 44)

### THE MEDIAN EMPIRE

During the seventh century the chiefs of the Medes in northern Iran, who had long been subject to Assyria (Plate 26) united kindred tribes to form a strong power. Deioces, the reputed founder of the Median dynasty, established his capital at the old city of Ecbatana (now Hamadan), famous for the seven concentric walls, painted in bright colors, which protected the king's palace. His successor Phraortes maintained friendly relations with Assyria as a tributary ruler until he had conquered or peacefully annexed most of the related tribes of Iran. The utter failure of Phraortes' later attack on Assyria showed the weakness of his tribal army against the efficient imperial forces. Cyaxares, who succeeded Phraortes in 633 B.C., established his sovereignty over the Persians of southern Iran, whose Achæmenid rulers became vassals of the Medes. He reformed his army on the Assyrian model with infantry divisions of spearmen and bowmen. Its especial strength lay in the mounted archers, who were trained to shoot from any position while riding at full speed. This army, as we have seen, determined the fall of the Assyrian power, and while Nebuchadrezzar secured control of the southern and western provinces which had been dominated by Sumerian and Babylonian civilization for over two thousand years, Cyaxares faced the task of pacifying Assyria and the northern tribes, and of subjecting the Armenians in the former territory of Urartu, which Assyria had never ruled.

The reduction of Cappadocia brought Cyaxares into conflict with Alyattes of Lydia; their five years' war was ended by a treaty in 585 B.C. under the arbitration of Nebuchadrezzar and the Cilician king. The treaty fixed the frontier at the Halys River, which was to be the traditional boundary between Anatolian and Asiatic powers, and the peace was sealed by the marriage of Cyaxares' son, Astyages, with a Lydian princess. In the following year Astyages became king of Media; the northern and western frontiers were now secure, while the Median and Babylonian strength was too evenly matched to justify war between them, though the Persian vassals of Media had detached Elam and the great city of Susa from Chaldæan control.

Nebuchadrezzar's huge fortifications may have been intended primarily to discourage Median aggression.

The reign of Astyages was generally peaceful; his court at Ecbatana was modelled on those of the Assyrian kings, with fine royal buildings, gardens, and pleasure-grounds. Hunting in the open country and in the royal preserves was the favorite sport of Median kings and nobles. The Median Empire brought Iran and Armenia completely into the political sphere of the ancient world. (Reading List 45)

### LYDIA AND IONIA

Before the Median war the rulers of Lydia restored order in Asia Minor and annexed much of the former Phrygian territory. The Cimmerian raids and the eastern interests of Lydia prevented much aggression against the Greek cities of the coast, though Miletus was unsuccessfully attacked more than once. After the treaty of 585 B.C., however, Lydia could only expand westward. Alyattes colonized the northwestern territory, and his successor Cræsus (560-546 B.C.) undertook to subjugate the Greek cities. The long association of the two peoples, their close economic ties, and their cultural interdependence made Cræsus seem a Hellenic ruler rather than an alien conqueror, and probably led many cities to prefer submission to the risks of resistance. Only Miletus withstood the Lydian attack successfully and maintained its independence as a free ally. Elsewhere, the tyrants and aristocracies accepted the new régime and modelled their society on that of the Lydian court.

The Greeks learned from the Lydians to love oriental beast fables and tales of romantic adventure, and to play boardgames such as the eastern courts enjoyed. The soft Lydian mode was used by Greek musicians as well as the passionate Phrygian and the martial Dorian. Lydia attained its greatest wealth in the reign of Cræsus, while subjects and allied states shared in its prosperity even though they had lost their independence. The rich gifts of Cræsus to the Delphic sanctuary and to other Greek centres won him such wide renown among the free Greeks that the fall of Lydia was considered a Hellenic catastrophe. (Reading List 27)

### LYDIAN AND GREEK COINAGE

The kingdom of Lydia played a decisive part in Greek economic development in the sixth century B.C., for it not only furnished an excellent market for Ionian manufactures but carried on transit trade from Mesopotamia and Syria to the Greek cities of the coast. The Greek tradition that the Lydians invented coinage has already been mentioned. Both the Ionians and the Lydians profited by the adoption of official coinage on a common standard.

The earliest Greek coins known to us are thick and irregular blobs of electrum, but coinage rapidly became a fine art, and many coins rank among the finest artistic products of Hellas. Individual cities chose characteristic designs for their official issues, such as the head of Athena and the owl on Athenian coins, and the ear of wheat which appropriately typified the rich grain fields of southern Italy. Coins often give valuable testimony on details of political and economic history for which we have no other exact evidence. Gold coins were sometimes issued, and copper was used for the smaller denominations, but the standard in Greece was the silver drachma, the counterpart of the shekel in the oriental system. (Reading List 28)

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

The rise of Persia was an event of primary importance in world history, for which our sources of information are very inadequate. Important additions are being made, however, through current excavations at Persepolis, to the scanty records of the Achæmenid dynasty which were known formerly. The Old Testament writers prophesied the utter ruin of Babylon, and gave detailed accounts of Persian relations with the Hebrews. The fullest narrative which we have is that of Herodotus, who used Ionian and Persian sources, and was particularly interested in the conquest of Lydia and the Ionians, which led to the Persian wars with the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. Herodotus supplies many details of Persian social life and religion, and of the wealth and organization of the state, as well as anecdotes of the rise of Persia under Cyrus the Great, and the deeds of his successors.

Pride in free Hellenic institutions as contrasted with oriental despotism, the characteristic Greek attitude toward the great empire which was their most formidable neighbor, did not diminish Greek admiration for many Persian customs, nor their curiosity about a power whose history touched their own at so many points.

The descendants of Achæmenes, the legendary founder of the Persian dynasty, consolidated the Persian tribes in southern Iran as vassals of the Medes. Their Achæmenid dynasty ruled in unbroken line until Alexander's conquest of Persia. The acquisition of Anshan, a district closely connected with Susa, brought them into intimate contact with the ancient power of Elam, which was subject to Persian control before the reign of Cyrus the Great.

### THE CONQUESTS OF CYRUS

Cyrus the Great, son of the Achæmenid king Cambyses I, became king of Anshan in 559 B.C. For a few years he remained loyal to his Median overlord, Astyages, but strengthened his own position by alliances with

other Iranian rulers, and perhaps with the Chaldæan Nabonaid, and by constructing a Persian capital at Pasargadæ. By 553 B.C. he was ready to establish his independent sovereignty. The Iranians seem to have been more conscious of their common ancestry than of the distinction between separate tribes: Medes and Persians alike called their land Iran and boasted of being "Aryans, of Aryan descent."

When Cyrus invaded Media, many of Astyages' troops deserted to him; he took Ecbatana in 550 B.C. without a siege, and in the following year was undisputed sovereign of Media. Thus the shift from Median to Persian authority was scarcely more than a change in dynasty.

The success of Cyrus was a more serious matter to the other powers than to the Medes. Cræsus formed a coalition with Amasis of Egypt and Nabonaid of Babylon to check Persian aggression, and sent envoys to Sparta in the hope of Greek support, while he himself marched across the Halys River to recover Cappadocia as a direct challenge to Cyrus and an indication that the Median treaty was no longer binding. Cyrus defeated the Lydians at the frontier and pursued Cræsus to Sardis before the allies could help him. Here the war was ended by the capture of Cræsus. The fate of the Lydian king was a popular theme with Greek moralists, since it taught the danger of excessive good fortune. According to one account, Cræsus became the chief adviser of the Persian ruler.

Cyrus demanded that the Greek cities of the coast surrender, but all except Miletus, to which he offered the terms of alliance formerly granted to Lydia, decided on armed resistance. They were subdued by Harpagus, whom Cyrus made governor of Lydia. The island of Samos under Polycrates, who at first opposed Persia, but later cooperated in Cambyses' Egyptian expedition, remained independent until 524 B.C., when the tyrant was executed by the Persian satrap.

After a few years probably spent in campaigns against the eastern and northern nomads, who were a recurrent source of danger to Iran, Cyrus attacked the Chaldæan Empire in 539 B.C. If, as seems probable, he first subdued the southern Sealand, Babylonia was surrounded on all sides by the Persian power, and was effectively cut off from her western provinces. The hopelessness of resistance and the unpopularity of Nabonaid made the Babylonians yield readily, and Cyrus was accepted as the king favored by Marduk.

The Hebrew prophecies of the total destruction of the city were not fulfilled; Babylon received special favors and the images of the gods were returned to the local shrines from which Nabonaid had taken them. Babylonian commerce flourished until Seleucia was founded in the Hellenistic Age to replace it as the western centre of Mesopotamian trade, but it was a provincial city, and was no longer powerful politically. The western provinces were easily added to the Persian Empire.

## THE PERSIAN POLICY TOWARD SUBJECT PEOPLES

The Persian Empire was a new creation only in the lands east of Iran and west of the Halys. Earlier powers had established the precedent of submission to autocratic rule in the central territory, and the harshness of the Assyrian conquest gave Cyrus an opportunity to adopt a more liberal policy in his re-creation of the Assyrian power on a larger scale. The Persians used as cruel methods of torture as the Assyrians had ever devised, but they seldom needed to employ them. Revolts were due to nationalist movements less often than to the treachery and ambition of individual governors. The policy of fostering local customs and national religions on a non-political basis helped to secure loyalty.

The story of the return from Babylonia of the Jewish exiles and of the rebuilding of Jerusalem with Persian help is well known, and we may assume that a similar policy was followed in the case of other deported peoples who had not lost their national identity. Though the Persian kings worshipped only one god, Ahura Mazda, they were accepted as the representatives on earth of Marduk, Amon, Yahweh, and other gods of their subjects.

## CAMBYSES

The short reign of Cambyses was marked by a series of campaigns in the south which completed the conquest of the older powers. With the help of the Phœnician fleet, Cambyses annexed Egypt, where he was accepted as the incarnation of Amon. The Greek colonists of Cyrene submitted voluntarily, and Cambyses planned further annexations on the African coast, but was prevented by the refusal of the Phœnician sailors to attack their western kinsmen. An expedition to the desert oracle of Amon perished in a sandstorm. The Ethiopian campaign which was intended to complete the conquest of the lands formerly controlled by Egypt was only partly successful, but the northern part of Ethiopia was annexed.

Persia had now attained the geographical limits dictated by the ancient history of the east and by the position of its Iranian rulers. Further annexations would result either from the need for more adequate defense of the northern and eastern frontiers or from a scheme of conquest unrelated to earlier oriental policies.

## THE REIGN OF DARIUS THE GREAT

The reign of Cambyses ended in a revolution led by a Median pretender who claimed to be Smerdis, the brother whom Cambyses had murdered at his accession. The false Smerdis reigned for some months and won general acceptance until he was executed by Darius, a prominent member

of a collateral line of the Achæmenids, who became the third legitimate ruler of the Persian Empire. The early years of Darius' reign were spent in suppressing revolts in different parts of the empire, which were instigated by men who wished to establish their independent local rule.

Darius recorded his victories over these traitors and the extent of his kingdom on a majestic cliff near Behistun, past which a great caravan route led. Beneath the sculptured figure of Darius with the conquered rebels and the winged symbol of Ahura Mazda the record was carved in the Persian language, for which a cuneiform alphabet was used, and in Elamite and Babylonian. The Behistun inscription is not only important as the key by which Babylonian and related languages have been deciphered, but for its record of the empire and the dignity and simplicity of the imperial style in which it is written.

Darius' chief task was one of organization, to provide a lasting basis for a peaceful administration, in which the subject peoples should share not only the burdens but the privileges of the state, to whatever nationality they individually belonged. This was most difficult to achieve in the case of the Greek cities, whose traditions of autonomy and freedom were fundamentally opposed to the oriental type of government. The Scythian and eastern expeditions were probably intended to rectify and secure the frontiers. The Indian campaigns were successful in this: Cyrus' eastern annexations were secured and extended; the Punjab was annexed, and the exploration of the water route from India to the head of the Persian Gulf aimed at the extension of eastern commerce. The old project of a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea was renewed successfully, and furthered the same purpose though maritime commerce with India was not fully developed until Roman times.

Eastern trade was largely in the hands of the Aramæans, who profited greatly by the unification of the land from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and from the Caucasus to Ethiopia. Aramaic script was later adopted in some parts of India and even spread to China. Persian was used at the court and in official communications with Persian officials, and Greek was used in dealings with the Hellenic cities; elsewhere Aramaic was the common medium of communication, and did not split into local dialects until it was supplanted by Greek as the *lingua franca* of Hellenistic times.

The Scythian tribes were a recurrent source of danger to the northern provinces. Darius did not realize the extent of the country occupied by these nomads of the south Russian steppes, or the difficulty of communications. He apparently planned to break down their power by a campaign from Thrace into the Scythian territory, and then to establish a defensible northern frontier. His troops bridged the Bosphorus and subdued the Thracian tribes, but the Scythians withdrew before them until lack of food, the impossibility of securing decisive action, and the exhaustion of the army made it necessary

for Darius to give up the campaign. The reduction of Thrace had cost far too much. The Scythian expedition was viewed by the Greeks as the first Asiatic attack on Europe, and affected their attitude toward the Ionian revolt and subsequent events.

#### PERSIA AND THE EMPIRE

Darius described his native land of Persia as "beautiful, possessing good horses, possessing good men." It was not suited by its position or topography to serve as the centre of the imperial administration, but it supplied the greater part of the civil and military officials of the empire and its best troops. The King was bound to consult the Persian nobles on important matters, and his seven councillors on lesser questions. The sons of noble Persians were brought up at the court, where they were trained for their imperial careers by an education which added study of the laws of the Medes and Persians to their famous arts: "to ride, to shoot the bow, and to tell the truth." The Persians were exempt from taxation, though they were expected to honor the King with lavish gifts. Persepolis, not far from the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, was the national centre of Persia under the later kings, and each ruler added to its great palaces (Plate 29). The close bond between Persians throughout the empire, and their loyalty to the King and to Persia itself was a source of unity in the vast and heterogeneous population of the empire.

The King's power was in many respects absolute, but was limited by the practice of consulting the Persian nobles and the precedents established by the royal decrees. The fear of assassination, which is always a check to absolutism, influenced the development of court ceremonial, which sought to raise the King above the merely human level, and to restrict direct access to him. The custom of *proskynesis*, which required men who approached the King to prostrate themselves before him, indicated his elevation above mortal rank, and his close association with the god.<sup>1</sup> But he continued to hear appeals to the royal justice, and pillared audience halls were conspicuous among Persian buildings (Plate 28). We know little of the complex bureaucracy which must have been instituted to care for the central administration of the empire, except that thousands of officials were daily fed at the king's table, and that the archives were carefully kept. Susa, the old capital of Elam, Ecbatana, the Median capital, and Sardis in Lydia, were the chief administrative centres. The famous royal road from Sardis to Susa, with its post stations and relays of mounted couriers, made it possible to convey official communications in a week over a route which required three months for ordinary travellers.

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<sup>1</sup> Evidence is accumulating in support of the identification of Persian rulers with the god, as in other oriental countries, but the question of their deification is not yet entirely settled. See C. McEwan, *Oriental Origins of Hellenistic Kingship*, Chicago, 1934.

## PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The provinces, usually called *satrapies*, were larger than those of earlier powers; a single satrapy might include several distinct peoples who differed in religion and in the form of their local government. Countries which submitted voluntarily to the Persian ruler often retained their hereditary rulers. The Greeks nominally kept their local autonomy, but the satrap of Lydia supported tyrants in the cities and might at any time intervene directly in their affairs. Temple-states kept their traditional privileges. Grants of country estates or of cities were often made to the king's chief supporters, especially Persians and members of the royal family, to be held tax-free under the usual military obligations, and to prominent exiles from other countries.

These diverse elements were under the authority of the satrap who was usually chosen from the Persian nobility or from the royal family. The size of the king's harem insured a large supply of lesser princes for the official service. As there were less than 30 satrapies, these officials had very wide authority. They administered justice subject to appeals to the king; they supervised the general administration and the collection of taxes and commanded local troops, except in districts where these duties were assumed by local authorities under their general jurisdiction. To a considerable extent they controlled the external interests of their provinces and might make treaties, receive envoys, or conduct wars with neighboring peoples outside the empire. Their office was held subject to the king's pleasure, but tended to become hereditary in practice. The danger of separatism was always inherent in a system which gave the individual such wide power, but the perquisites of office were too great to be lightly risked, while subordinate officials and neighboring satraps were likely to inform against an overambitious man, and further checks were provided by the commanders of the permanent garrisons and frequent inspections by members of the royal family and the intelligence staff known as the Eyes of the King.

The control of finance was the satrap's essential function. Aside from Persia, which furnished only men and horses for the army, the provinces paid annual tribute in gold and in kind, in addition to numerous gifts (Plate 30a). They also provided for the upkeep of the courts of king and satraps, and rations, equipment, and quarters for the army. Tribute was paid in gold bullion, a costly practice for districts which had to procure the metal from abroad. Darius established a standard silver coinage for commercial use in the west, where Lydian and Greek coins were current; his coins also circulated in India. Elsewhere, uncoined silver in the standard weights of old Babylonia continued in use. Gold was not used as a medium of exchange, but accumulated in great quantities in the royal storehouses.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This account of the Persian financial system is based on information furnished by Dr. Waldo Dubberstein, from unpublished researches in Babylonian and Persian economic history.

Taxes were also assessed on commercial goods and on fisheries and mines. Payments in kind, aside from the foodstuffs and equipment needed for the courts and the army, were based, as they had been under earlier empires, on the natural and industrial products of individual districts. Forced labor was exacted for the upkeep of the roads and the royal postal service, for canals, public buildings, and for the army. In spite of heavy requisitions, the empire as a whole prospered, and some towns, like Alishar in the old Hittite country, had their greatest prosperity under Achæmenid rule.

The finest troops were the 2000 nobles who formed the royal bodyguard, and the 10,000 "Immortals," who were distinguished by special equipment and training. In addition there were permanent garrisons at strategic points such as Sardis, Memphis, and Babylon. The satraps depended on local troops to suppress minor rebellions, but for more serious crises a general levy was raised. Herodotus' vivid description of the troops levied for Xerxes' expedition against the Greeks in 480 B.C. pictures a motley horde from all parts of the empire, equipped with many types of native weapons and armor. On open ground such an army, skilfully commanded, would be useful for outflanking and surrounding an enemy, as well as for the shock of mass attack, but on broken terrain or in mountainous country a smaller body of efficient troops more capable of integrated action might easily prove superior. The Median and Persian bowmen had been splendidly trained since the days of Cyaxares, but their advantage was lost if the enemy survived the rain of arrows and forced a hand-to-hand conflict.

#### ACHÆMENID ART

Herodotus' description of the Persians as "readiest of all men to adopt foreign customs" is essentially true, but does not imply mechanical imitation or servile lack of originality. The architecture and sculpture and the brilliantly colored glazed tiles of the Persian palaces indicate a unified and harmonious art derived from many sources and thus appropriate to the empire which created it. For Persian art of the Achæmenid period was neither a folk product nor the expression of religious worship and belief. The worship of Ahura Mazda required only simple altars for the sacred fires, and the conventionalized winged figure which represented the god of light did not offer much inspiration for the individual sculptor's genius. The representations of the King, his councillors and officials, his defeated enemies, the bulls and lions which adorned his palaces, and the long line of archers that guarded the great staircase of Persepolis, embodied the imperial spirit of Persia, as did the palaces themselves with their pillared audience halls, and the majestic rock-cut tombs of the kings (Plates 29-30). An inscription of Darius at Susa lists Babylonians, Medians, Lydians, Egyp-

tians, and Ionians among the artists summoned to build his palace, and its materials included cedarwood from Lebanon, rare woods from Gandhara in India, and ivory from Ethiopia and India, the farthest corners of the empire. (Reading List 46)

### THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

The period from the eighth century to the end of the sixth century B.C. was as significant in religious as in political history. Many men sought to attain salvation by spiritual means, not merely by good works. The attainment of the "Way of Heaven" by the followers of Lao-tse and Confucius began a new religious epoch for China in the sixth century B.C. In India, the Buddha taught his disciples to withdraw from the physical world and seek release from the evils of bodily existence and the recurrent cycle of births, not as a means of personal salvation, for the individual had no real existence in a constantly changing world, but for the eternal peace of Nirvana. The Buddhist withdrawal from the sphere of action into that of contemplation was a way that not every man could take.

### ZOROASTRIANISM: THE WORSHIP OF AHURA MAZDA

At about the same time, the prophet Zoroaster recast the old worship of the Medes and Persians; he made a complete break with priestly authority and with the cults of the many gods, and proclaimed Ahura Mazda, who was not a god in human form, but universal light and divine wisdom, as the sole divinity. The date of Zoroaster's teachings has been much disputed, but documents recently discovered at Persepolis support the theory that his patron was Vistaspes, the father of Darius the Great: this would date his reforms in the middle of the sixth century B.C. (Plate 30b). Darius adopted the new worship officially, and held his empire as the gift of Ahura Mazda.

The ever-burning fires of the Iranian holy places were maintained in connection with the worship of Ahura Mazda. Life was considered as a perpetual conflict between good and evil, which was to be ended by the glorious triumph of Ahura over the forces of wickedness and the establishment of his eternal reign of righteousness and truth. Fire, earth, and water were sacred elements to be kept free from pollution. A simple ethical code emphasized truth and virtue, kindness to animals, and the brotherhood of man.

After the worship of Ahura Mazda was generally adopted, it underwent many changes. The conflict of good and evil led to a dualism in which Ahriman, the prototype of the devil, was opposed to the beneficent power of Ahura as a second god. The angels, intermediaries between god and man, were identified with the genii of oriental mythology, and the old

Aryan divinities reappeared. Popular Iranian worship thus diverged widely from pure Zoroastrianism, which continued chiefly in Persia itself. The Magian priests studied and developed the astrological lore of the Chaldæans. The *Avesta*, a collection of hymns, prayers, and other liturgical writings compiled in the third century of our era, contains a few fragments which date from the early years of the cult.

### JUDAISM IN THE ACHÆMENID PERIOD

The history of Judaism in the Achæmenid period illustrates the adaptation of a national religion to conditions of worship under a universal empire; the national god could no longer lead his people to victory over their foes. His cult did not depend on a state but on individuals, who might introduce it into distant lands, and attract aliens to it both abroad and at home. The Great King recognized and honored the power of local divinities, who thus tended to gain wider significance. The national and political strength of the old cults was replaced by personal ties which were less affected by changing conditions. Since the religion of Zoroaster conformed to the new type, the Persians had no reason to impose the worship of Ahura Mazda on their subjects. A natural result of the new religious movements, however, was the desire to win as many people as possible to one's own faith and thus make it truly universal, to achieve the end described by the Hebrew prophet:

From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered in my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.<sup>3</sup>

But this missionary spirit rarely involved hostility to other religions; only the Jews were forbidden to worship other gods than Yahweh, and the tendency to identify one's own god with those of other nations was common.

The new régime at Jerusalem was finally established by the legislation of Ezra before the middle of the fifth century B.C. The government was an aristocracy under a high priest. Yahweh was the god of heaven and earth, to be worshipped by all men, but his cult centred at Jerusalem, and his followers must live by the regulations set forth in their sacred books, which bound them to ancient practices that few other men could readily accept. The ritual helped to maintain a strong sense of national identity among the Hebrews, who in spite of the restoration remained "a folk scattered and dispersed among the people in all provinces,"<sup>4</sup> but it diminished the direct influence on other nations of the worship of Yahweh, which was now completely monotheistic and free from the old idolatries.

<sup>3</sup> Malachi i, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Esther 3, 8.

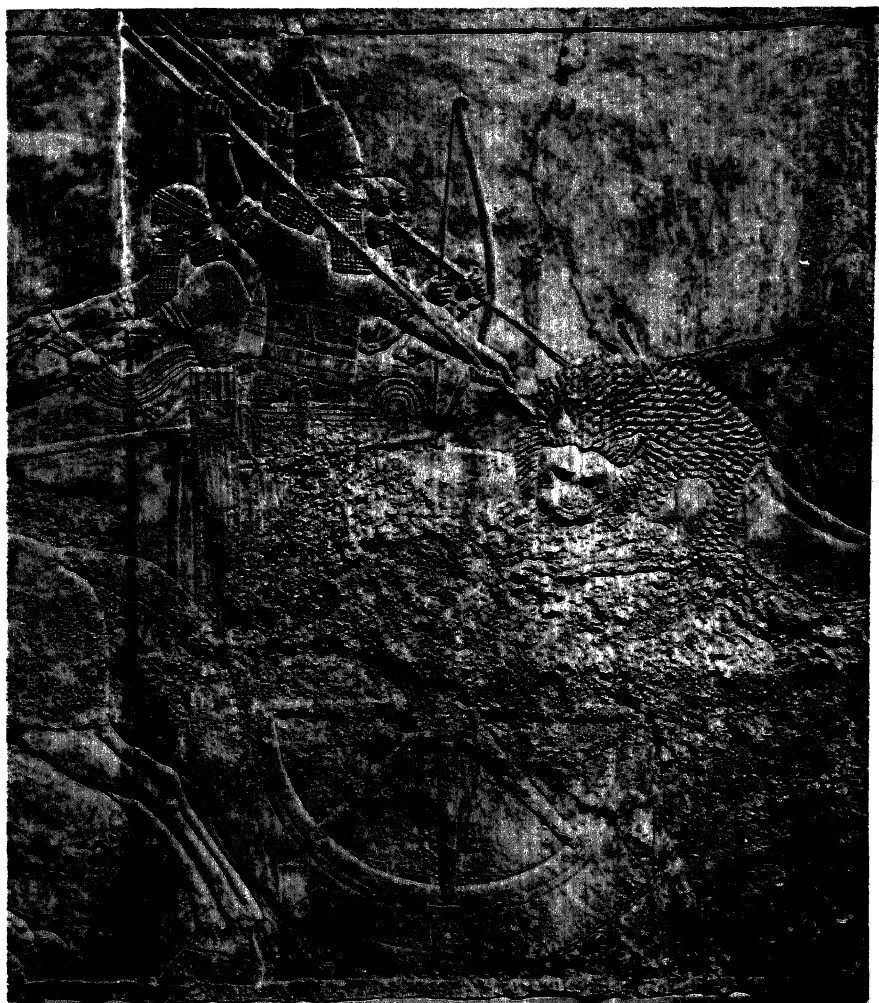
## THE GREEK MYSTERY RELIGIONS

The current longing for personal religious experience and for the assurance of salvation led to the wide adoption in the Greek world of mystery religions, among which the Eleusinian and Orphic cults were most important. Their ritual was jealously guarded by the initiates, who were bound by vows of secrecy, but the essential elements are known. These were the human suffering of a god, who became the mediator between gods and men; the commemoration of this divine suffering by some form of dramatic presentation which enabled the initiate, after purification, to share in the divine suffering by a mystic experience; and his assurance thereby of eternal life.

The mysteries at Eleusis in Attica commemorated the mourning of Demeter (Plate 44) for the loss of her daughter Persephone, in which the earth shared by the death of vegetation during the winter months of Persephone's sojourn in Hades and the renewal of life at the return of the goddess. The rites associated with the Thracian god Dionysus had a wilder and more orgiastic character, but out of them developed the Orphic cult, which prescribed a ritual mode of life for its initiates, and supplemented the spiritual experience of the mysteries by emphasis on strict bodily purity. The cult was associated with Orpheus, a half-legendary poet. Its central myth was the violent death of Dionysus at the hands of the Titans, the creation of man from the earth on which the god's blood fell, and the rebirth of Dionysus through the agency of Zeus. The old cults of Osiris and Isis in Egypt and of the mother-goddess and her subordinate male divinity in Syria and Anatolia, which embodied the essential characteristics of the mystery religions, also became popular among the Greeks at this time. Orphic communities were established throughout the Greek world, while the mystic cult of Demeter was primarily associated with Eleusis in western Attica, where it originated. The myth and its sacred representation were transcended by the spiritual experience of the initiate and the mystical exaltation which made him exclaim: "Blessed is the man who has seen these things!" (Reading List 47)

## THE EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHERS: THE IONIAN PHYSICISTS

The period in which the mystery religions developed also marked the beginning of the deliberate search by certain Greek thinkers for a rational explanation of the universe and of man's place in it. Thales of Miletus and his disciples, the Ionian physicists, are known to us only through discussions of their work by later Greek writers. These early philosophers were handicapped by the lack of a philosophical vocabulary, which forced them to use concrete terms for abstract ideas. They were acquainted with oriental



Relief from Palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, showing the king killing a lion

British Museum

*Photograph by W. F. Mansell*

## PLATE 25



Median Groom in the service of Sargon II  
*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*

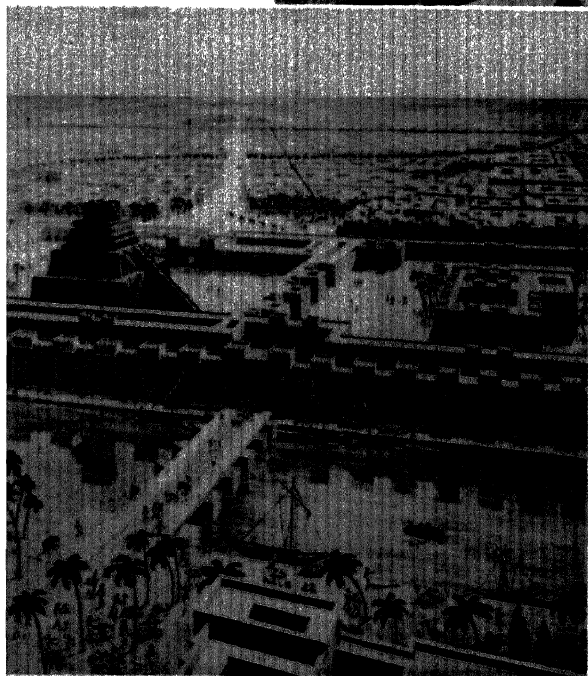
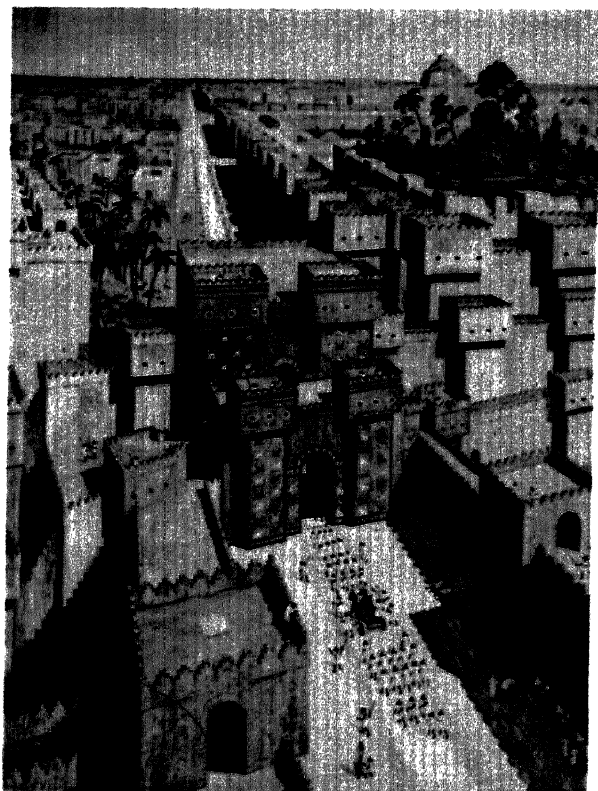
PLATE 26

# PLATE 27

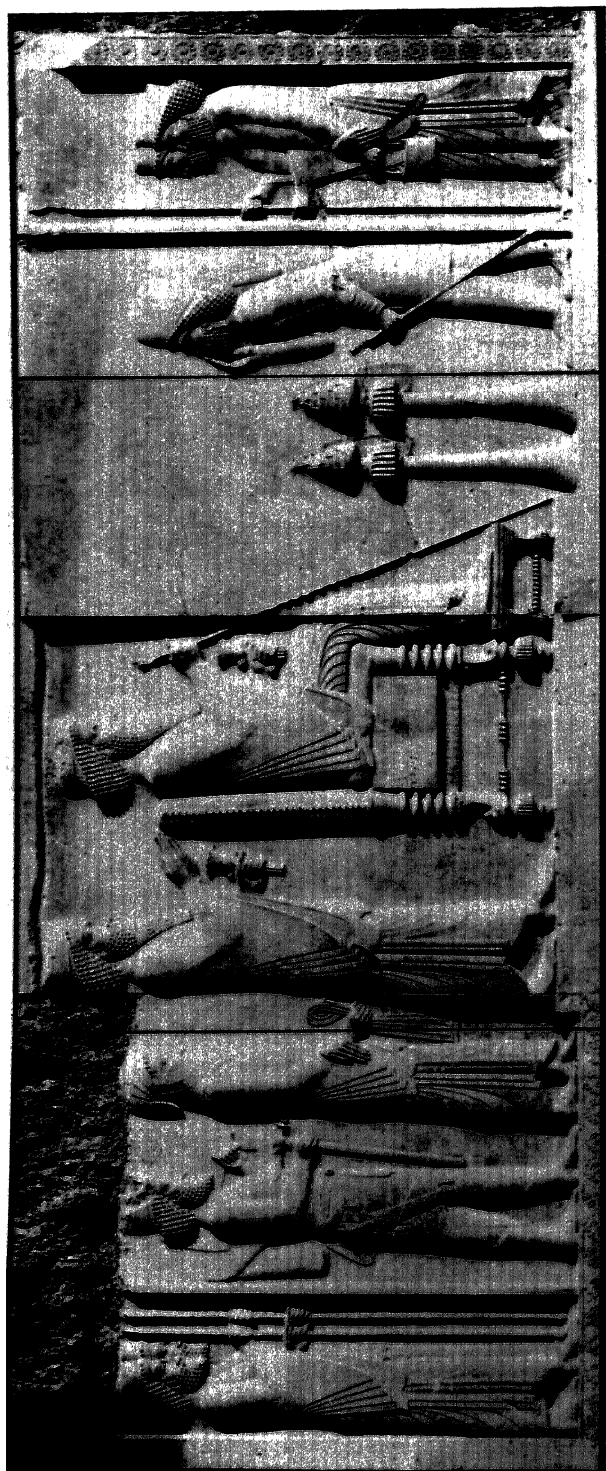
PAINTINGS BASED ON  
UNGER'S RESTORATIONS  
OF BABYLON IN THE  
TIME OF NEBUCHAD-  
REZZAR

*Courtesy of the Oriental In-  
stitute of the University of  
Chicago and Dr. Eckhard  
Unger*

a: The Ishtar-Gate and  
Procession Street



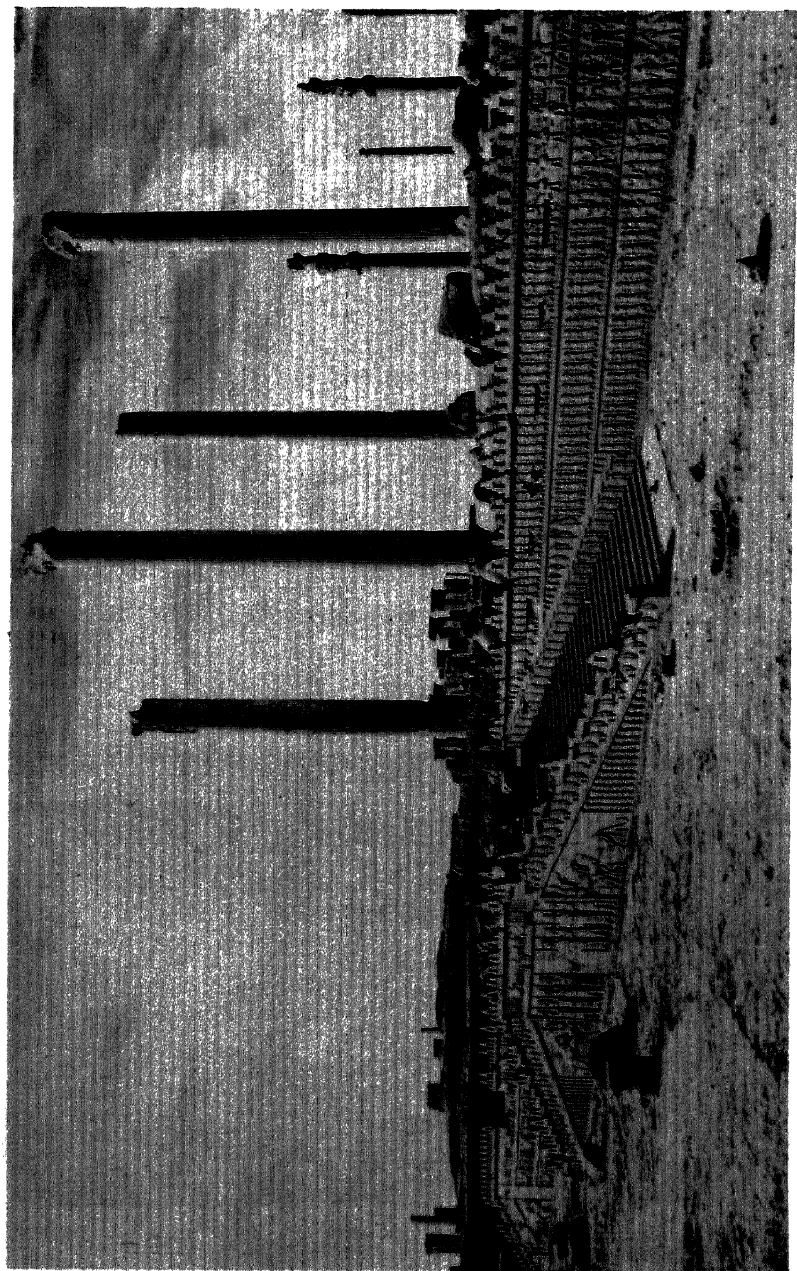
b: The Great Wall and  
the Ziggurat or 'Tower  
of Babel'



Darius and Xerxes, giving audience to a Median petitioner: relief in the Palace at Persepolis

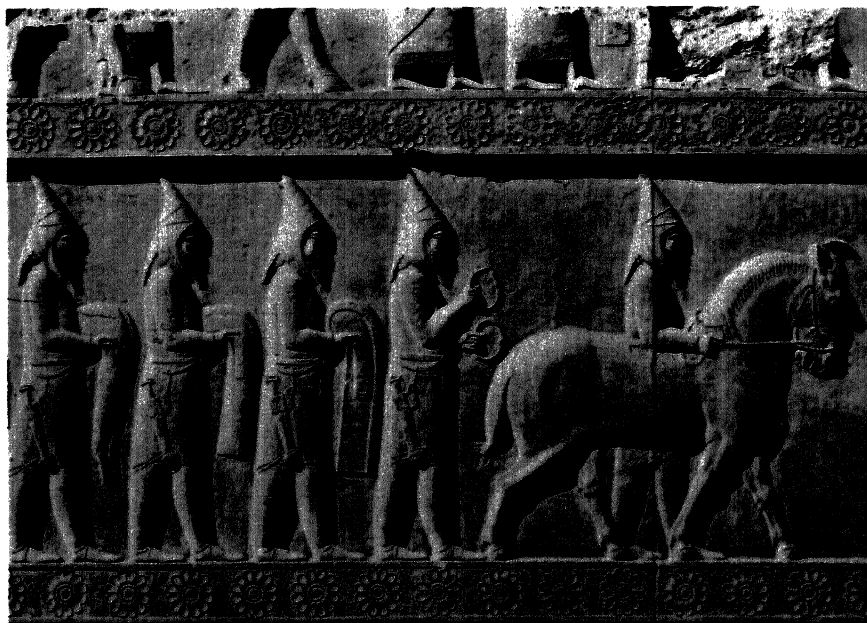
*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*

PLATE 28

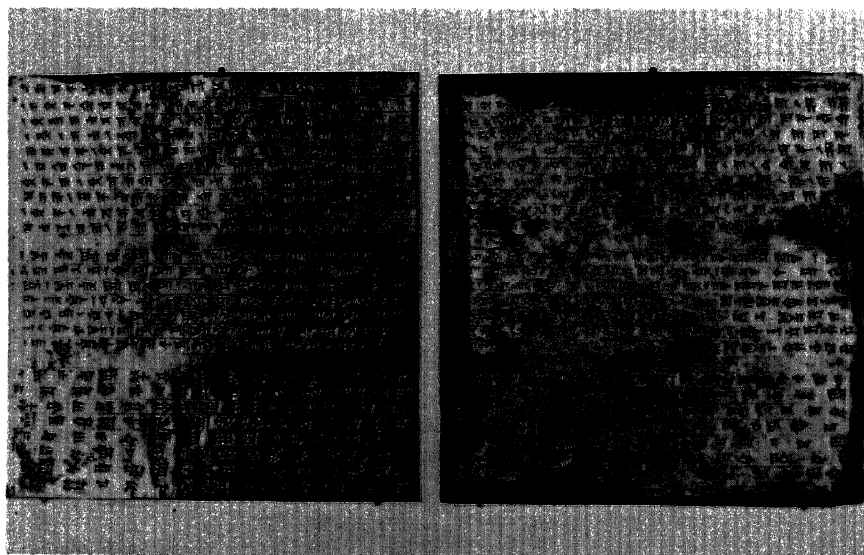


The Great Stairway at Persepolis  
*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*

PLATE 29



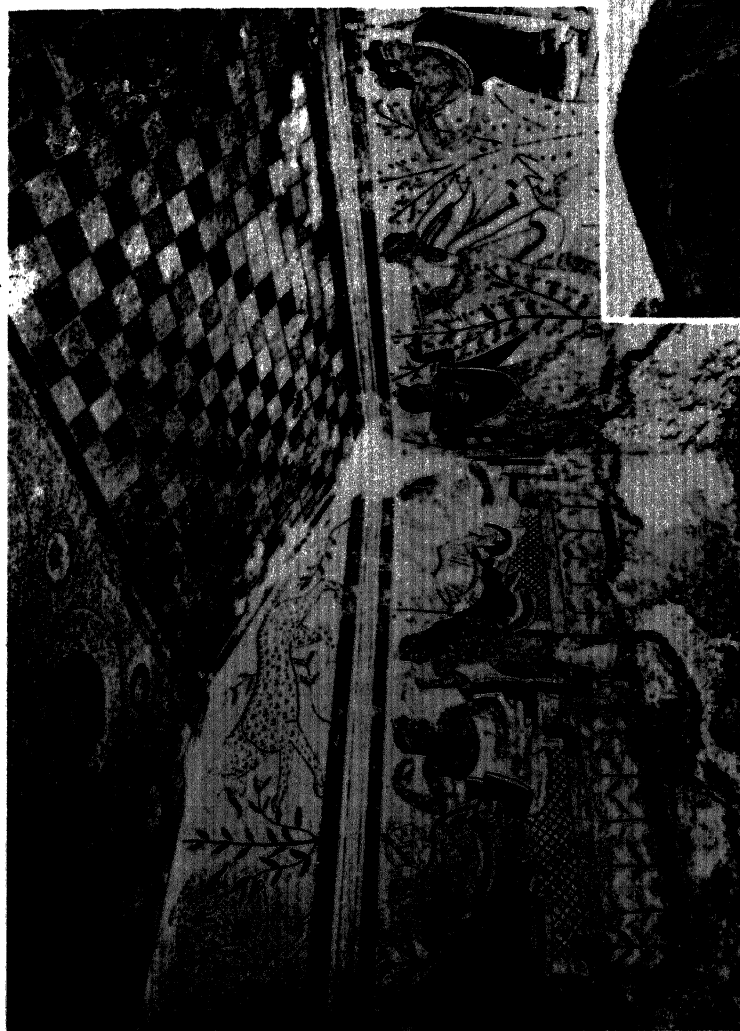
a: Scythian Tribute-Bearers from Ferghana; relief on the Great Staircase at Persepolis



b: Gold and Silver Foundation-Tablets of Darius the Great from Persepolis; the inscriptions in Elamite, Babylonian, and Old Persian state the extent of the empire which Ahura Mazda has given the King

### PLATE 30

*Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



a: Interior of the Tomba dei Leopardi, c. 500 B.C.  
 From Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*; Courtesy Max Miemeyer Verlag, Halle

b: Etruscan Tomb near Cervetri  
 Photograph by C. E. Bennett

# PLATE 31

PLATE 32



a: Etruscan Bronze Statuette of a warrior, 5th century B.C.

*Courtesy of the William Rockhill Nelson  
Gallery of Art, Kansas City*



b: Terra Cotta Statue of Apollo from Veii  
Villa Giulia Museum, Rome

*Photograph Alinari*

thought and science, as was natural in a country so closely in touch with all parts of the contemporary world as Ionia was in the sixth century B.C. No distinction was made between science and philosophy until the late fourth century B.C., and the Ionian thinkers were much concerned with physical science in their effort to define the "first principle," or primal substance from which they thought all things were produced.

Thales was especially interested in astronomy, if we may accept the tradition that he predicted the total eclipse of the sun which took place during the battle between Lydia and the Medes in May, 585 B.C. His disciple Anaximander, who was famed as the first Greek to make a map of the world, deduced from observation of living things that man was evolved from a more rudimentary animal. Thales had chosen water as the first principle, but Anaximander discarded this theory in favor of the "boundless" or "undefined" as the substance of which all things are composed. He emphasized the birth and destruction of living things as a result of their conflicts with one another. Anaximenes, the third member of the Milesian group, returned to a specific substance, air, as the first principle from which all else was formed by processes which we should call rarefaction and condensation.

### THE PYTHAGOREANS

About 530 B.C. Pythagoras moved from Samos to Croton in southern Italy, where he had numerous followers who, like himself, were members of the Orphic sect. They not only adopted the Orphic way of life with its emphasis on physical purity and its numerous taboos, but the Orphic theory of the universe. They believed in the transmigration of souls from one incarnation to another until the destined cycle was fulfilled and the individual was freed from the necessity of rebirth. Pythagoras found in number the abstract quality which his philosophy required; he made many contributions to arithmetic, geometry, and music. These studies led to his conviction that numerical relations are dominant elements in a world controlled by harmony. His astronomy was far in advance of contemporary thought, for he believed that the earth and the heavenly spheres revolved about a central fire in a movement determined by eternal harmony.

### THE ELEATICS

Since Greek religion did not require acceptance of a creed, and was not based on a dogmatic system, it presented no obstacles to rational investigation of the nature of the gods. The philosophy of Thales implied some form of pantheism, and the search for a first principle was in itself a denial of divine creation in the usual sense of the term, but Xenophanes, who emigrated from Ionia to Elea in Italy in the latter part of the sixth century

B.C., attacked the anthropomorphism and polytheism of the time, and the myths that represented the gods as committing evil deeds. He applied the name of god to a single being, "not like mortals in either form or thought," whose whole being is sentient, and who "without toil sways all things by the power of his thought." Xenophanes considered wisdom the one proper aim for mankind, but saw with regret that most men preferred athletics and feasting.

A younger philosopher of Elea, Parmenides, freed himself completely from concrete phraseology, and turned from observation of natural phenomena to denial of their reality in the light of logical abstractions. He accepted only Being, one and indivisible; space and movement thus became mere matters of opinion. This Eleatic theory anticipated later dialectics in its emphasis on abstract reasoning without reference to the physical world, but by its very nature could not exercise a directing influence on scientific thought.

#### HERACLEITUS

A contemporary of Parmenides, Heracleitus of Ephesus, whose work was to have its chief influence in later generations, also devoted himself to reason rather than to the physical sciences, but in terms more closely related to those of his predecessors. To the unchanging unity of the Eleatics he opposed Change, or Becoming, as the essential reality: "All things change, nothing remains. . . . One cannot step twice into the same river." He thought that the strife of earth, air, fire and water produced a constant cycle of death and birth in these elements and in the things composed of them. Fire, reason, or thought, was the one reality by which all things in turn were kindled and extinguished. (Reading List 48)

## XII

### THE AGE OF THE PERSIAN WARS

*But as things were, he speaks truly who says that the Athenians were the saviors of Hellas.*  
—Herodotus

THE GREEK VICTORIES over the Persians in the early fifth century B.C. set a definite limit to the westward expansion of Persia, prevented the absorption of Greek cities into the oriental system, gave a dynamic impetus to Hellenism, and paved the way for the maritime imperialism of Athens. Our chief source of information about the Persian Wars gives them a special interest for the student of history, for the *Histories* of Herodotus are the first unified narrative of international affairs composed by a historian who understood the significance of his subject in world history. Herodotus combined literary and monumental sources with the reports of men who took part in the events of which he wrote, and used a language and style which can still be read with understanding and pleasure. Herodotus ended his history with the events of the year 479 B.C., but as his work was not completed before 430 B.C., he wrote with full knowledge of subsequent developments, which often influenced his point of view.

The expansion of Persia was a direct threat to Greek freedom. When Cyrus defeated Lydia, a Megarian poet prayed to Apollo to ward off the Medes<sup>1</sup> so that the people might perform his spring festival with feasting, dances, and hymns of praise: "for in truth I am afraid, when I regard the foolishness and ruinous dissensions of the Hellenes."<sup>2</sup> Before the end of the sixth century the Greek cities of Asia Minor, Thrace, Cyprus, Cyrene, and Naucratis were all subject to Persia. Darius' control of the Hellespont threatened the independence of the northern colonies. The Egyptian, Phœnician, Cypriote, Cilician, and Ionian ships gave Persia a greater navy than any previous Mediterranean power had had, and insured her supremacy in the Ægean. The annexation of western Anatolia and Thrace might logically be followed by that of Macedonia and Chalcidice, the Ægean islands, and Greece itself. Several incidents suggest that patriotic Persians, including the powerful queen Atossa, urged the conquest of Sardinia and Italy while Darius was still engaged in the work of organizing the empire.

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks referred to the Persians as Medes, recognizing their power as a continuation of the Median Empire which they had known earlier; so states which made terms with Persia were said to "make peace."  
<sup>2</sup> Theognis, lines 773-781.

But while the Great King could count on Persian national support to mobilize the military and naval strength of subject peoples for his conquests, the Greeks had no common policy. The Anatolian cities did not unite against Cyrus; free Greek cities appealed to Persia for help in their wars with one another, and political exiles from Greece, Italy, and Sicily came to Darius' court, where they intrigued to gain Persian aid for their restoration. Both Bœotia and Ægina were actively hostile to Athens, as Argos was to Sparta. The chief hope of panhellenic action depended on Cleomenes, king of Sparta, who organized the Peloponnesian League and also made Sparta the recognized arbiter in the affairs of central Greece. But the military strength of Sparta and the League depended on the heavy-armed infantry, which could only be used to defend Greece in case of Persian attack, whereas a navy strong enough to control the Ægean was necessary to prevent such attacks and secure permanent independence.

#### THE IONIAN REVOLT: 499-494 B.C.

The impending conflict was precipitated by the ill-advised action of the Ionian Greeks who rebelled against Persia in 499 B.C. They were not reconciled to Persian authority, though most of them, except the Phocæans, had rejected the idea of emigration to the free west. Their prosperity was definitely waning, partly because the industrial development of the other Greek cities and the aggressive commercial policies of Corinth, and more recently of Athens, had reduced their foreign trade. The destruction of Sybaris in 510 B.C. was a serious blow, as we have seen, and trade with Naucratis fell off after the Persians conquered Egypt. It was natural, though not logical, to blame Persia for this economic decline, especially since taxes must be paid to the king. Dissatisfaction was increased by Persian support of tyranny. Rebellion was threatened during the Scythian campaign, the first serious setback after an unbroken series of Persian victories.

Miletus, under the tyrant Aristagoras, led in the revolt. The Hellenistic Greeks and Cyprus cooperated, as did the non-hellenic Carians, but the Æolian cities were passive. Aristagoras won democratic support by resigning his tyranny and by helping the other cities to depose their tyrants also. He revived the old Ionian League as the basis of union against Persia and went to Sparta, Athens, and Eretria to ask for help. Intervention in the east had no place in Spartan policy, but Athens and Eretria sent a few ships. Miletus had aided Eretria in the Lelantine War, and the two were commercial allies. Athens was linked with the Ionians by kinship and commercial interest, and had suffered from the Persian conquest of the Thracian Chersonese and of her colonies on the islands of Lemnos and Imbros.

The rebellious troops marched on Sardis and took the town but not the citadel; their aggression came to an abrupt end when a serious fire forced

them to evacuate the town. The Athenians and Eretrians then returned home. During the tedious period of resistance to the satrap Artaphernes in the following months, the Ionian League began to break down. The Phœnician fleet reduced Cyprus and with the aid of Egyptian, Cypriote, and Cilician ships defeated the Ionian navy at Ladé near Miletus, and blockaded the city by sea. Further resistance to Artaphernes' siege was hopeless. Miletus was destroyed and the bulk of the population was deported to the lower Tigris. The shrine of Apollo at Didyma was plundered and burned; thus the Ionian League lost both its political and its religious centre. While the other cities were being reduced, the fleet restored Persian authority in the Hellespontine district. Since the Persians understood the value of peaceful administration too well to indulge in useless reprisals, they restored the former taxes without increase, and established courts to secure fair trial of cases which arose from the war. When the Persian Mardonius became governor in 492 B.C., he even instituted democracies in the Ionian cities in the hope that he might secure their loyalty during his projected European campaign.

#### THE EXPEDITION OF MARDONIUS

Whether Darius would have considered the conquest of Greece desirable if Athens and Eretria had not helped the Ionians is an unsettled question, but their intervention made at least a punitive expedition essential. Mardonius was made commander of the army and navy, which were to co-operate to restore control of Thrace, secure the allegiance of Macedonia and northern Greece, and punish Athens and Eretria for their share in the burning of Sardis. But the wreck of the fleet off Mount Athos forced him to abandon the latter part of the project, and he returned after he had secured Persian interests in Thrace and reduced Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, to vassalage. Darius, therefore, adopted a different plan for the next campaign. He ordered Datis and Artaphernes, son of the former satrap, to gather a fleet and army in order to establish Persian sovereignty in the Ægean islands on the way to Eubœa and Attica.

#### AFFAIRS IN GREECE FROM 494 TO 490 B.C.

Expectation of Persian reprisals won support in Athens for the new naval policy of Themistocles, the first Greek statesman to comprehend the full significance of sea power. As archon in 493 Themistocles persuaded the ecclesia to vote funds for modern warships and the necessary harbor works. The Athenian harbor at Phalerum was an open bay where the old-fashioned fifty-oared ships could easily be drawn up on the beach. But Corinth had introduced a new type of warship, the trireme with three banks of oars and a much deeper draught. Themistocles therefore began

to equip and fortify the harbor at Peiræus, which suited the new requirements admirably, though it was farther from the city. Before long a flourishing town grew up about the new port, which was later to be the centre of Athenian commercial interests and the legal residence of foreign traders.

In 493 Miltiades returned to Athens from the Thracian Chersonese, where the attack of the Persian fleet had ended the hereditary tyranny of his family. His former tyranny made him suspect in the democratic state, but since he was a skilful politician and the only Athenian intimately acquainted with the Persian army, he soon gained wide influence. His insistence that the Greek infantry could easily defeat the Persians outweighed Themistocles' arguments, and the naval program was shelved.

In 491 while the Persian expedition was being made ready, Darius dispatched envoys to the Greeks to demand earth and water, the symbols of submission to his power. Most of the islands medized, including Ægina, which was now the chief naval power among the Greeks, and was an active enemy of Athens. The Spartan king Cleomenes, whose prestige had been greatly increased by his defeat of Argos in 494 B.C., recognized that the Persian capture of Athens would endanger all the Greeks. He forced Ægina to give hostages for her neutrality during the war. The Spartans, like the Athenians, risked the wrath of the gods by their violent treatment of the Persian envoys.

#### THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

Late in the summer of 490 B.C., when news of the movements of the Persian fleet made it clear that the attack would not be long delayed, the Athenians sent to Sparta for help. This the Spartans promised, with the stipulation that their army could not set out until after an approaching festival. The Persian halt in Eubœa was brief, for Eretria, their objective, could offer no adequate resistance. The city was destroyed, and when the fleet returned to Persia, the few survivors were deported to Susa.

From Eubœa it was a short sail to the bay of Marathon on the eastern coast of Attica, where the Persians, guided by Hippias, whom they intended to reinstate as tyrant, could disembark and march overland to Athens, thus avoiding the long sail around Cape Sunium. But the Athenian army with a small contingent from the allied Bœotian city of Platœa, making a total force less than half as great as the Persian host, reached the plain of Marathon before the march on Athens could begin. Callimachus was in nominal command, but Miltiades, who had been elected to the board of generals, actually directed the Athenian army. For several days the Athenians occupied the high ground above the plain of Marathon, while the Persians were drawn up near their ships. When the Persians at last launched their attack, the Athenians charged swiftly through the heavy volley of arrows, and by skilful tactics defeated the superior forces of the enemy in a brief hand-to-

hand conflict. The Athenian dead were few in comparison with the Persian losses. The Persians who survived the battle sailed around Cape Sunium, perhaps in the hope that the Pisistratid faction might still enable them to take the city, but the victorious Athenians made all haste to return, and the Persians did not attempt to land. The Spartans arrived, praised the valor of the Athenians, and honored their dead.

In one sense, Marathon was not a decisive victory, for the Persian defeat made a renewed attack on a larger scale inevitable. Athens had used her full strength, while Persia had sent a small fraction of her huge forces. The crisis was successfully postponed, but by no means ended. But Marathon was the first great event in the conflict. A Greek army had defeated a Persian host twice its size, and thus proved that the famed conquerors of Asia were mortal men. Athens had wrought almost single-handed, but Eretria lay in ruins, and the landing of a Persian army in Attica at last made men realize that the liberties of all Greece were threatened, if one state should become subject to the Great King. If opposition was doomed to failure, it would be prudent to avoid the losses of war and gain favorable terms by voluntary submission. This was the regular advice of the Delphic oracle during the next ten years, but the victory of Marathon had more influence on those "who had the better mind about Hellas." In later times, when Athens had become the greatest city in the Greek world, her coins still commemorated Marathon by the upright olive leaves on Athena's helmet and the little waning moon on the reverse (Plate 40a).

#### THE YEARS OF PREPARATION

After Marathon the Greeks were granted a ten years' respite. Before Darius could consider another European campaign, the internal affairs of the empire demanded his attention, for a revolt broke out in Egypt, the least stable portion of the Persian territory. The king died in 486 B.C. and was succeeded by Xerxes, who was occupied for some time in subduing Egypt and Babylonia and in suppressing a religious reaction against Zoroastrian worship. Xerxes was not free to plan an expedition against Greece until 483 B.C., and his great host did not leave Asia Minor until the spring of 480.

In the meantime events in Athens diminished the danger that the victory of Marathon would be fatal to the necessary development of the Greek naval power. The disgrace and death of Miltiades removed the chief opponent of naval expansion. In 487 B.C. the development of Athenian democracy was furthered by a law that the archons should be chosen by lot from the eligible candidates, instead of by election. This opened the former chief offices in the state to mediocre men. The archons became routine officials, subordinate to the council and ecclesia, while real executive power passed to the ten generals, who continued to be elected as before. Since

there was no bar to reelection of the generals, a popular demagogue might hold the office for a considerable time with mounting influence in the ecclesia. This consecutive leadership, shrewdly handled, increased the share of the people in the important decisions of the state. Within a few years, the Areopagus, composed of ex-archons, naturally lost its prestige and its wide influence.

The renewal of the war with Ægina soon after the Persian attack gave Themistocles an opportunity to urge the construction of a strong navy. In earlier times, ships and their crews were furnished by the local subdivisions of Attica as a part of the citizens' obligations to the state. The navy planned by Themistocles, however, was on too large a scale to be handled in this fashion. By a fortunate chance, the treasury now had adequate funds with which to build the ships at the expense of the state. An unexpectedly rich vein of silver in the mines at Laurium had lately increased the public revenues far beyond the normal requirements. This made it possible for the state to build the ships by public contract, and to exact only their equipment and the training of the crews as a liturgy or state service imposed on the wealthiest citizens.

Conservative Athenians distrusted Themistocles' proposals, for whereas the strength of the army lay in the heavy-armed soldiers drawn from the middle and upper classes, oarsmen for the navy would be members of the tetic class of manual laborers, who would naturally demand increased political consideration and could not be kept in service for long periods without compensation. Aristides, the leader of the conservative opposition, therefore made a counter-proposal that the surplus revenue should be divided among the citizens as their share in the profits of the state.

The question was settled in 483 by recourse to a curious institution inaugurated by Cleisthenes as a means of preventing civil strife and tyranny, which sometimes served, as in this case, to enable the leaders of the majority to carry out important policies without effective interference from the opposition. At a meeting of the ecclesia, sentence of honorable exile for a period of ten years was passed by popular vote against a man judged dangerous to the state. This vote was known as *ostracism*, because the names were scratched on broken bits of pottery (called *ostraca*), the cheapest writing material at hand. In this case, Aristides was ostracized in 483 B.C., and Themistocles launched his naval program in time to have over 120 ships ready when the Persians came in 480 B.C.

#### THE EXPEDITION OF XERXES

Xerxes revived Mardonius' earlier plans on a larger scale and made systematic arrangements to provision his great army on its march through Thrace and Macedonia to Greece. The fleet was to sail along the coast, keeping in close touch with the army; when hostile territory was reached,

the ships would be of constant service in maintaining communications and bringing supplies, and the actual conflict would depend on joint military and naval action. Bridges of boats were built to facilitate the crossing of the Hellespont, and a canal was cut across the dangerous promontory of Athos. Troops levied throughout the empire gathered in western Asia Minor and set out for Greece early in the spring of 480 B.C. Even the Ionian and Carian fleets were required to take part in the expedition. Since Herodotus was not a sound judge of military operations, neither his accounts of the size of the Persian host nor of its movements and the strategy of the campaigns can be accepted as they stand; they afford an excellent example of the legendary character that great events often assume shortly after their occurrence. Modern historians usually estimate the Persian army at from 100,000 to 150,000 soldiers and over 500 ships, while the total Greek forces were not much more than half as great. During his final preparations, Xerxes sent envoys to the Greek cities, except Athens and Sparta, to demand their submission.

#### THE GREEK PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE

Meanwhile, Sparta had summoned a congress at Corinth in the autumn of 481 B.C. to consider plans for defense. The unequal size of the forces meant that the Greeks could only undertake defensive operations and must avoid pitched battles in which the Persian numbers would enable them to outflank and surround their opponents. In the hope of reducing this disadvantage in numbers, the congress sent requests for aid to the Greeks of Crete, the Adriatic colonies, Sicily, and Italy, but with little success. Although the full cooperation of Syracuse would have enabled the Greeks to meet the Persian navy on fairly equal terms, the impending conflict with Carthage would have made it impossible for Gelon to dispatch his ships to Greece, even if the congress had acceded to his stipulation that he be made commander of the allied forces.

Argos, the inveterate enemy of Sparta, refused to join the alliance and by her doubtful neutrality exposed the Peloponnesian states to additional danger. Achæa and the western parts of central and northern Greece, which were still isolated from general Hellenic affairs, were also neutral, but were too far from the scene of the war to make their attitude a serious matter.

A Hellenic League for defense against Persian aggression was established on a permanent basis. Its members made peace with each other, ending the old war of Athens and Ægina and other current controversies, and political exiles were recalled. Sparta naturally assumed actual command of the allied forces, but Themistocles' influence was paramount throughout the campaign.

There were three points at which the Greeks might hope to check the Persian advance; the Vale of Tempe in northern Thessaly, the pass of

Thermopylæ which commanded the main route from Thessaly into central Greece, and the Isthmus of Corinth. The latter choice would abandon Bœotia, Attica, and Megara to the enemy and would expose the Peloponnesus to attacks by sea, with additional danger if Argos should actively medize. The successful defense of Tempe would check the Persians at the very entrance of Greece, but the fleet would have to operate at a disadvantage in open water, and Thessalian loyalty was doubtful. Consequently the small force which was sent to Tempe was withdrawn before the Persians came. The Thessalians medized, and the allies sent about 10,000 men, under the Spartan king Leonidas, to hold the pass of Thermopylæ until the fleet should have won a decisive victory in the straits of Artemisium, between Eubœa and the mainland.

### THERMOPYLÆ

It was probably in the middle of August that the Persian ships anchored at the Gulf of Pagasæ after considerable losses in a heavy storm, while the Greek fleet took up its position off Cape Artemisium. Since a frontal attack on the strong position of the Greek army in the pass would involve heavy losses and would have little chance of success, Xerxes, like the Greeks, waited for a successful naval engagement to decide the issue. At last he began to try to force the pass. After the Persians had attacked without success for two days, a Greek traitor led a Persian detachment by a steep mountain path to the rear of the Greek position. Whether the Phocians who guarded the heights were caught unawares, or whether they assumed that the Persians intended to take the road into Phocis is uncertain, but in either case they withdrew to their own country without resistance. A Phocian messenger reached Leonidas in time for him to dismiss the major portion of his troops, while he continued the hopeless defense of the pass with his Spartans, all of whom were killed. He may have felt that the time gained for the retreat of the other soldiers and for the naval battle justified this sacrifice, or he may have been actuated by the conviction that heroic resistance would serve the Greek cause better than the service of his men in later battles. However foolish his decision may seem from the practical point of view, the moral effect of his action was all that could have been hoped, and the memory of Thermopylæ engendered lasting pride in Spartan heroism.

### SALAMIS

Neither side had as yet gained a decisive advantage at sea, but since the Persians could now make their way through central Greece, the Greek navy withdrew to the Bay of Salamis off the southern coast of Attica. As there was no chance of defeating the Persian army in open battle, and there

was no defensible point at which to check them between Thermopylæ and the Isthmus, the one possible decision was to evacuate Attica and leave its fields and buildings to the enemy. The Greeks could then undertake to defeat the Persian navy near Salamis, where the straits between the island and Attica afforded the last chance of victory, if the Greeks could determine the location and strategy of the conflict. The ships guarded the transfer of non-combatants from Attica to Salamis, leaving only a small garrison to defend the Acropolis and a few civilians who refused to abandon their homes. Directly after Thermopylæ the Peloponnesians had begun in feverish haste to build a wall across the Isthmus as a last defense.

It was as much to the Persian interest as to that of the Greeks to win a decisive naval victory and thus avoid a long series of scattered conflicts. If the Greek navy could be destroyed, the defense of the Isthmus would be futile and Persian supremacy over Greece would be assured. Consequently the ruse of Themistocles succeeded. He sent a warning to the King that the Greeks intended to disband their fleet and return to protect their own shores. To forestall this, the Persians moved under cover of night to block the Greek escape, and were caught at dawn in a position which gave every advantage to the Greeks and made the size of the Persian fleet disastrous, as the ships involved each other in mutual wreckage. The course of the battle was graphically described by the poet Æschylus, who gave a masterly picture of the wrecking of the ships while Xerxes sat enthroned on the shore and with his undefeated army helplessly watched the ruin of his fleet.<sup>3</sup> Half the fleet was destroyed; some of the Ionian ships deserted to the Greek side and all hope of naval action was ended. The diminished fleet must now be used to prevent rebellion along the Ionian coast.

Xerxes decided to return to Persia by land and leave Mardonius with the major part of the army to renew the campaign the next year, in the hope that Greece might still be subjected. It was now late in September, and the Greeks could hardly be expected to adopt Themistocles' proposal to sail north, destroy the weakened Persian navy, and wrest the Hellespont from Persian control, though such a course would have considerably shortened the task of restoring Hellenic freedom. When Mardonius withdrew to Thessaly for the winter, the Athenians returned to Attica.

#### THE LIBERATION OF GREECE: PLATÆA AND MYCÆ

In the spring a Greek fleet was sent to guard the Ægean islands, which had already been forced to contribute to the defense against Persia. Mardonius, after futile negotiations with Athens, marched south in June. Attica was again evacuated and its citizens took refuge in Salamis, Eubœa, and Trœzen in the Argolis, which provided generously for their welfare. The

<sup>3</sup> *Persians*, 353 ff.

land and city were now completely devastated, and since Mardonius could not hope to storm the Isthmus without naval support and could not long maintain his army in the land his troops had twice ravaged, he encamped near Platæa across the Bœotian border. The Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians, who had medized, were required to furnish him with men and supplies. The defense of Greece thus depended on the Athenian, Megarian, and Peloponnesian forces.

After two weeks' skirmishing and a protracted battle on comparatively equal terms, the Greeks at last broke the Persian centre and killed Mardonius. The Persians retreated in good order, leaving the Greeks to share the lavish booty in their camp. Thebes, which had been the chief centre of Persian support, was besieged and taken, but the Greeks were wise enough to spare the city after the leaders of the pro-Persian party were handed over to be executed. The Bœotian League, however, which Thebes had dominated for several generations, was disbanded. Until Athens should recover from the Persian sack, Sparta was the one great power among the Greeks.

Meanwhile Chios and Samos urged the allied fleet to attack the Persian navy which was guarding the Ionian coast, and offered their support. The Greek League accepted the offer and completely defeated the Persians off Mount Mycale, across the bay from Miletus and near Ladé where the Ionian hope of freedom had been shattered fifteen years earlier. (Reading List 49)

Greece was safe, and news of Gelon's defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera during the summer of 480 B.C. confirmed the victory of Hellenism over its enemies in east and west. In 476 the triumph was completed when Gelon's successor Hiero saved the old Greek colony of Cumæ by a naval victory over the Etruscans. A new age began in which Greek policies were dominated by wider interests and ambitions than in the past, and the rapid development of new political and social forces made events before the war seem a far-off tale of half-forgotten days. The quickened spirit of the modern age realized to the full the promise of earlier generations. The military achievement of Hellas was paralleled by the great themes of the literature, sculpture, and architecture of the period, freed at last from the limitations of archaic technique and forms.

#### THE CONFEDERACY OF DELOS AND THE WAR WITH PERSIA:

478-448 B.C.

The way was now open for restoring the freedom of the Greek subjects of Persia and establishing Greek control of the Ægean, the Hellespont, and the Black Sea, on which the prosperity of progressive Greek cities so largely depended, and which alone could prevent the renewal of Persian aggression. This work was accomplished chiefly by Athens, and was the essential basis

of her imperial power.<sup>4</sup> The allied fleet sailed north from Mycale in 479 B.C. to besiege Sestos, the key to the Hellespont, but only the Athenian and Ionian ships remained to complete the siege and force the Persians to surrender. In the next year, the Spartan king Pausanias cruised about the *Ægean* with a Peloponnesian fleet and retook Byzantium, but his tyrannical command alienated the allies, who appealed to Athens to undertake their support instead. As Sparta lacked ships and a prolonged naval campaign was inconsistent with her established régime, there was little opposition to the change. Since the Hellenic League now ceased to function, a confederacy of island and coast cities was formed in 478 B.C. for the war with Persia; the new league depended primarily on the leadership and naval strength of Athens. The Athenian Aristides was commissioned to organize the league and to fix the number of ships to be furnished by each of the larger states and the annual contributions to be paid by those which were too small to send ships. The treasury of the confederacy was established on the island of Delos, the old shrine of the Ionians, and was administered by Athens.

In 468 Cimon, son of Miltiades, greatly increased the fleet in order to eliminate the Persians from the *Ægean* area. Not only Greek cities, but Carians and Lycians joined the confederacy, and those which refused to join were besieged and forcibly annexed to it. Cimon's victory on the Eurymedon River on the southern coast of Asia Minor in 467 or 466 B.C. made Cyprus the limit of Persian naval control. When a new expedition was sent to Cyprus a few years later, a revolt in Egypt offered an opportunity for further reduction of the Persian power. Part of the Greek fleet was dispatched from Cyprus to aid in the rebellion, but in 454 B.C. the Persians won a decisive victory by capturing 100 ships.

This heavy loss weakened the Delian Confederacy and increased its dependence on the naval power of Athens, so that the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens seems to have been accomplished without protest. In 449 when more pressing affairs on the Greek mainland had been settled, Cimon led another expedition to Cyprus, and shortly after his death there, the Egyptian disaster was avenged by the capture of 100 Persian ships in a battle near Salamis, the chief Greek city of Cyprus. This victory made it possible for Pericles to establish peaceful relations with Persia. It is not probable that any formal treaty was signed, for the king did not relinquish his claim to sovereignty over his former Greek subjects, but from 448 B.C. there was peace for forty years, and lands bordering on the *Ægean* and Hellespont lay outside the Persian sphere of interest as Cyprus and Egypt lay outside that of Athens.

<sup>4</sup> Only a brief summary of the war with Persia will be given here, leaving the general account of Athenian imperialism for Chapter 13.

## THE NEW AGE IN GREEK LITERATURE

In the early fifth century both the free Greek cities and the courts of the Sicilian tyrants afforded exceptional opportunities for men of genius. It is typical of the new age that the extant works of these men were created for civic purposes, to honor the city-states, the men who fought for them, the gods who protected them, and the victors who won them honor before gods and men at the panhellenic festivals. The personal interests which inspired the poets of the preceding generations yielded to the broader concept of men as Greeks and citizens. Under the impact of the new currents of religious, ethical, and philosophical thought, the poets also dealt with the fundamental problems of human existence, in compositions often intended for presentation at public festivals.

The writing of Greek history was a late development: Greece lacked both the incentive which oriental monarchs provided for the recording of their achievements and the convenient chronological framework of successive reigns. But in the latter half of the sixth century the Ionians began to write prose accounts of the cities, their local traditions, and the genealogies of leading families. This type of "inquiry" (*historia*) spread rapidly to the rest of the Greek world. The next step was to combine the accounts of individual cities into a unified survey of wider areas, such as the history of Ionian affairs in general. These works usually lacked both critical method and literary style, but they were rich quarries for Herodotus and later historians, who used them freely, however severely they criticized them. They are preserved only in the brief passages quoted by later writers. Hecataeus of Miletus is best known for his systematic geographical treatise based on his own travels and on his study of local traditions. Prose was now established as a recognized medium for formal writing, and philosophers also soon began to write in prose instead of verse. (Reading List 50)

Unlike the writers of prose, the poets of the time were heirs of a long literary tradition. Simonides of Ceos, the Theban Pindar, and the Athenian Æschylus reached the height of their powers during the period of the Persian Wars. All three were conscious witnesses of the change from the old world to the new: their poems served alike the free cities and the tyrants. Simonides is the first poet known to have composed odes in honor of victors at the panhellenic games, and is said to have initiated the custom of composing songs in honor of living men, to be sung at banquets. Simonides is known to us now especially by his verses in honor of the men who died at Marathon and at Thermopylæ, and by fragments of his dramatic choruses, for which he won many prizes.

Both Simonides and the Boeotian Pindar, his younger contemporary, were deeply influenced by the ethical ideas of their times. Pindar was most at home in the courts of the Sicilian tyrants, though his praise of Athens

and Ægina is unsurpassed. He saw with regret the passing of the days when men of birth and breeding ruled by natural right, yet he recognized the danger of excessive prosperity and power. His praise of the tyrants was accompanied by warnings that man must not dare to equal the gods, and for himself he asked a mediocre lot. Aside from brief quotations his extant works, far greater in extent than those of any previous poet since Hesiod, consist of odes in honor of victors at the panhellenic festivals. The form of these odes, which interweave appropriate legends with praise of the victors, is often complex, and their language and ethical teachings are lofty and austere; the metres and therefore the lost musical accompaniment were intricate, yet they were written to be sung at banquets and processions in honor of athletic victories. (Reading List 22)

The tragedies of Pindar's contemporary Æschylus, written for the festivals of Dionysus at Athens, recognized this ability of men to rise above their normal limitations, and presented gods, heroes, and men, from the Titan Prometheus to the Persian Xerxes, on a lofty plane. Tragedy now for the first time became a great art. Little is known of its development from the "goat-chorus" of the villages, or of the early tragedies of Thespis, who is said to have initiated dialogue between an actor and the leader of the chorus and to have won the first tragic contest at a Dionysiac festival in the time of Pisistratus. But when Æschylus first competed in 499 B.C., tragedy acquired its full dignity, and became a notable vehicle for the problems of human conduct and the relations of man with his city and the gods in the eternal search for justice. The choral passages long remained the chief element in tragedy, but Æschylus' addition of a second actor increased the possibilities of dramatic action. Aside from the *Persians*, his plays were set in the heroic age and cast in a heroic mould which was yet closely linked with the changing interests of his own time. (Reading Lists 51, 52)

### ARCHAIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The dynamic achievement of the period ushered in by the Persian Wars is nowhere more conspicuous than in architecture and sculpture. Not only in Sicily, where thousands of Carthaginian prisoners of war were employed on the great temples and other public works, and at Athens, where the ruined temples and statues of the gods were replaced in a style appropriate to the new position of the city, but throughout the Hellenic world architects and sculptors were summoned to honor gods, men, and cities. The older temples and statues soon seemed old-fashioned, and the term *archaic* is appropriately used for the period which ended with the Persian Wars. The last phase of the archaic period, from about 520 to 480 B.C., saw the collapse of many old conventions and prepared the way for the freedom and variety of the "Golden Age" which followed.

In the earlier period the buildings of wood and sundried bricks left few traces; toward the end of the eighth century stone began to be used for important buildings, but little is known of these except for their ornaments of painted terra cotta or of stone. It was not until about 550 B.C. that the local varieties of architecture yielded to a regular and well-coordinated plan with finely proportioned columns and capitals. Even then we know little of any buildings but temples and the treasuries which different cities erected at Delphi and Olympia to house their dedications to the gods.

The characteristic temple was a rectangular room surrounded by a colonnade and resting on a stepped foundation several feet high, so that it dominated the landscape. The massive columns of Doric temples were surmounted by the simplest capitals which could make a satisfactory transition from the vertical shaft to the horizontal lines of the superstructure (Plate 41). The slender columns of the Ionic style, which at this period was used chiefly in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor and in the Greek islands, were crowned by capitals with graceful volutes and delicate, sculptured detail.

The columned temple was especially suited to such lofty positions as the Acropolis of Athens, the rocky hilltop of Ægina, and the mountain terrace of Delphi. An altar for burnt offerings stood in the precinct in front of the temple; the building itself was a shelter for the cult statue and for offerings dedicated to the god. The many civic religious festivals took the place of congregational worship. (Reading List 31)

Aside from cult statues, the decoration of temples and treasuries provided the chief outlet for sculptors. The triangular pediments above the colonnades at the east and west ends of a temple were adorned with sculpture, at first crude and brightly painted representations of combats with fabulous monsters whose snaky coils conveniently filled the gables. Later, fine-grained limestone and marble were used, the technique of composition and modelling improved, and complex themes were vividly presented, as in the conflicts of gods and giants on Pisistratus' temple of Athena, or the great scenes of the taking of Troy on the temple of Ægina, which was completed during the Persian Wars. Scenes of legendary combat, especially the adventures of Heracles, were also favorite subjects for the continuous frieze above the colonnade of an Ionic temple, and for the rectangular carved metopes of the Doric frieze.

In the favorite types of early archaic sculpture, the standing nude male and the draped female figure, the arms are pressed close to the body, one foot is slightly advanced, but the pose is rigid, and the expression is usually a set "archaic smile." In the later archaic statues there is much more freedom, bodily proportions are better understood, and the whole figure has become instinct with life, though the interest in active movement which has

already appeared in pediments and metopes is little seen as yet in free-standing sculpture (Plates 33-35). The larger bronzes were melted down for their metal in later times, and many marble statues were sent to the lime-kiln when they ceased to be prized, but some archaic pediments and metopes have survived, though broken by the earthquakes or other hostile forces which ruined the temples they adorned. When the Acropolis at Athens was rebuilt after the Persian occupation, quantities of broken sculpture, including the many maiden figures dedicated to the goddess Athena, were deposited beneath the new pavement, to remain there forgotten until modern times. The sculpture of the archaic age is known to us entirely through the original work of the artists, whereas for the later periods we depend chiefly on copies "restored" by modern owners. (Reading List 32)

#### CORINTHIAN AND ATHENIAN POTTERY

The development of vase-painting reflects the changing character of Greek culture. From the tenth to the eighth century the primitive geometric style evolved into richer patterns, still monochrome in effect, with animal and human figures in angular outline. In the eighth century eastern influence led, especially in Corinth, to the use of curves rather than straight lines, with black silhouettes varied by touches of white and red. The favorite subjects were processions of birds, animals, and mythical winged beasts in horizontal bands, in which the dominant interest was that of pattern. Similar styles are seen in the carved reliefs of the time.

In the seventh century the black-figured Athenian ware showed the painters' interest in narrative, to which pattern was subordinated, and a single area of design took the place of the smaller bands to give freer scope for the composition and for larger figures with clear detail. From about 530 Attic vase-painters began to paint the background, instead of the design, in black, leaving the figures in the natural reddish color of the clay, and thus gaining additional freedom in details of feature and ornament which were indicated by painted instead of incised lines. These vases are our chief clues to the character of the larger works of Greek painters. The painter could free himself more readily than the sculptor from technical limitations, for he dealt with a material more easily handled. For the vase-painter, whose wares were chiefly intended for domestic use, a wider variety of subjects was appropriate than for the sculptor. His scenes included the athletic contests depicted on vases intended as prizes at the Panathenaic Games, the young soldier arming for his first battle, the shops and craftsmen of the city, women drawing water at the fountains or chatting together at home, religious observances, and always the favorite stories of mythology and epic. Thus the whole pageant of Athenian life passes before us, idealized to some extent, but free from the barriers of an alien language. (Plates 38-39: Reading List 33)

### XIII

## ATHENIAN IMPERIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

*Thus our course has been neither surprising nor inconsistent with human nature, for we accepted imperial power when it was offered us, and constrained by the strongest motives, honor, fear, and profit, refused to surrender it.*  
—Thucydides

THE UNITY WHICH the Greeks temporarily attained under pressure of foreign invasion aided the transition from primarily local interests to hegemonies<sup>1</sup> built up by close alliances with definite policies. The Peloponnesian League and the naval confederacy of Athens became the active forces in interstate relations. The conflicting issues of oligarchy and democracy, peaceful alliance and aggressive warfare, autonomy and imperialism are known to us through the writings of historians and political satirists, Plutarch's biographies of statesmen, and inscriptions which record the workings of local and Hellenic policy. The fifth century B.C. was most notable for the achievement of Athens, the establishment of her complete democracy, the course of her imperialism, and her leadership in the golden age of Hellenic civilization. Contemporary developments in other parts of the Mediterranean world may therefore be briefly summarized.

### PERSIA AND THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS

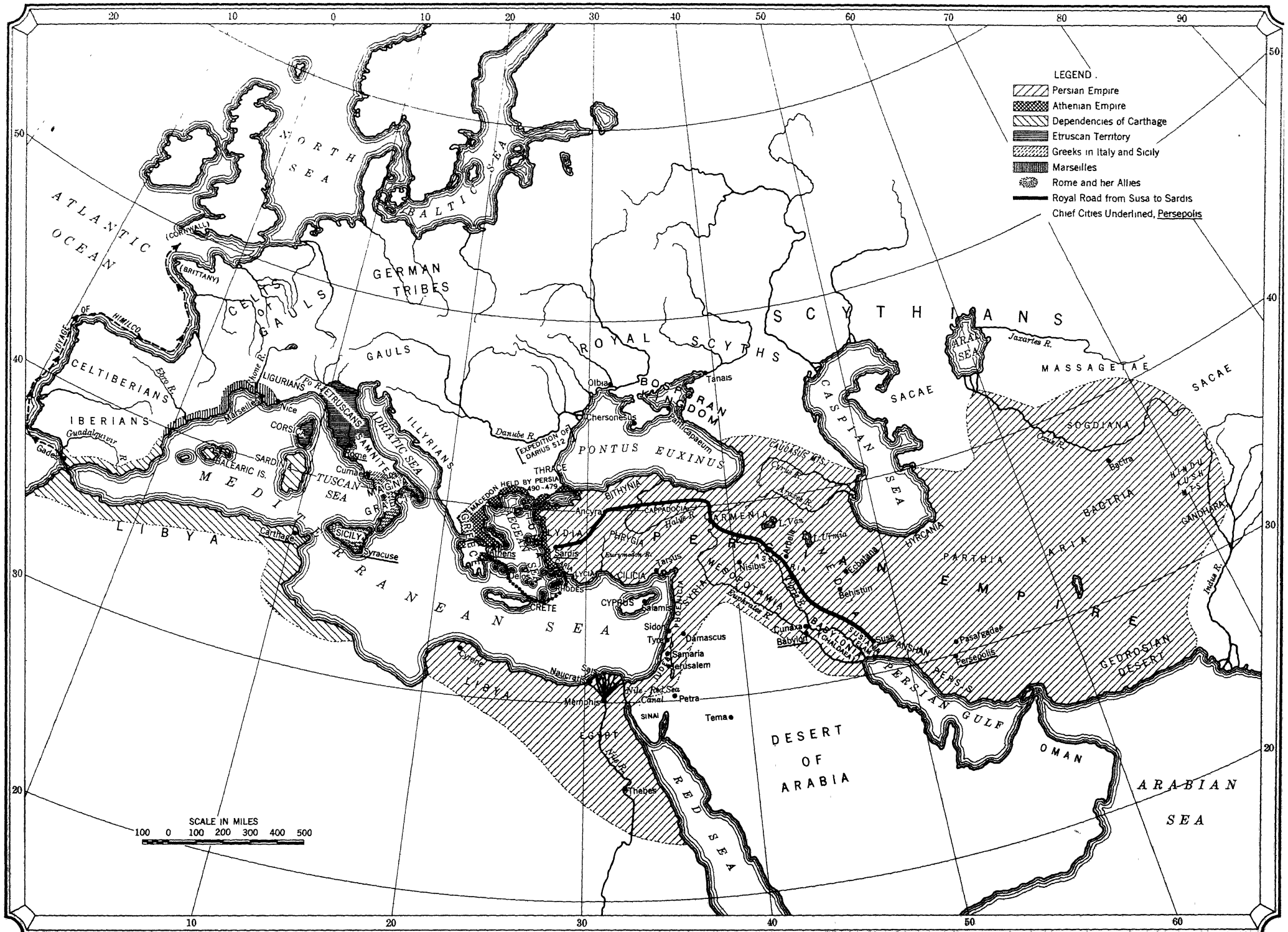
Persia was comparatively inactive at this time. The territory of the Persian Empire was reduced not only by the loss of the Greek cities on the Ægean and Pontic coasts, but by revolts among the mountain tribes in eastern Iran, Armenia, and northern Asia Minor, where Persian authority had never been firmly established. The rebellions in Egypt, however, were suppressed.

After the brief period of Persian sovereignty in Europe ended, the king of Macedonia extended his power eastward to the Strymon River and thus controlled the hinterland of the Greek colonies in Chalcidice. The colonies further east were seriously threatened by the rise of a united Thracian kingdom under a strong dynast. In the Pontic district, however, Greek interests were furthered by the philhellenism of the Bosphoran kings, whose

<sup>1</sup> The term *hegemony* (literally, leadership) was regularly used by the Greeks to indicate the preponderant influence of a state which dominated the policies of other states without supplanting their local governments.



# VI. PERSIA, GREECE, AND THE WEST, ABOUT 450 B. C.





relations with Athens were particularly friendly from the middle of the century.

### THE WESTERN GREEKS

The Sicilian cities underwent a notable political transformation, for the great tyrants, Anaxilas of Rhegium, Theron of Acragas, and Hiero of Syracuse, all died between 476 and 466 B.C.; by 461 independent governments were established everywhere. A native leader, Ducetius, profited by the breakdown of the Syracusan power and by his knowledge of Hellenic warfare and statecraft to form a Siceliot federation through which he hoped to control the entire island, but the democracy of Syracuse proved itself a worthy successor of the tyranny. Ducetius was forced to surrender in 450 B.C. and was treated with generosity due to his ability. Syracuse had already reestablished her position as defender of Hellenic interests in the west by a successful war with the Etruscans. In 445 B.C. she defeated Acragas and built up a strong modern army and navy to maintain her authority over the Sicilian republics. Segesta and several other cities formed alliances with Athens as an offset to the Syracusan power.

The Greek cities of Italy benefited by the defeat of the Etruscans, but were endangered by the aggression of Italian tribes. Tarentum, in particular, suffered heavy losses. Marseilles steadily developed her commercial interests, which brought her into conflict with Carthage on the eastern coast of Spain. Her contacts with Rome increased, and the Latin city on the Tiber was much influenced also by the Greeks of Campania. (Reading List 38)

### ROME

By the end of the fifth century the struggle to secure Latium from the aggression of the Volscians and other mountaineers was practically completed. The long-continued warfare which definitely established Roman leadership in Latium was attended by notable changes in the internal organization of the city. The citizens liable to infantry service were now classified on a property basis; the first class and cavalry furnished more centuries (military units of about 100 men) than all the rest together, since they were best able to provide full equipment and rations, and to serve in successive campaigns without personal hardship. The *centuriate comitia*, so named because the voting units corresponded to the centuries in the army, assumed most of the functions of the old curiate assembly. Prosperous plebeians, though still debarred from office, could thus exercise their influence on legislation and elections.

Rome was still primarily an agricultural community, and the authority of the patrician landholders was not undermined by any rapid growth of

industrial and commercial wealth. Public and private law were reduced to written form with the help of Greek codes, and in 449 B.C. the Laws of the Twelve Tables were posted in the Forum where all might read them. This publication of the laws was a check on the patrician administration, especially since the right of appeal from the magistrates to the assembly was confirmed, but the general knowledge of the laws called fresh attention to the abuses of patrician domination.

#### THE PLEBEIAN OPPOSITION: THE TRIBUNES

Plebeian resentment of their lack of political rights was increased by the fact that the right of appeal to an assembly over which the patrician magistrates presided offered no security against acts of violence on the part of the magistrates themselves. As the plebeians gained political wisdom, they formed an unofficial assembly of their own on a tribal basis, elected *tribunes* as their spokesmen, and occasionally withdrew or "seceded" to their own centre on the Aventine, or to some point outside the city, until their immediate demands were met. Another effective weapon of the plebeian opposition was refusal to enroll in the army. Urgent need of common defense against external enemies sometimes brought these "strikes" to an end without definite gains. Many incidents in the narrative history of this period illustrate the essential unity of the state, which led to the postponement of political issues for the common good.

A secession which took place after the publication of the Twelve Tables led to the regular organization of the tribal assembly, which met to pass plebiscites binding on its own members, and thus formed an effective organ of plebeian opinion. Its enactments, however, did not have the force of law. Ten tribunes were elected by this tribal assembly for the express purpose of protecting the plebeians against the action of magistrates. These tribunes were recognized by the state as the representatives of the plebeians and were protected in the discharge of their office by pledges of *sacrosanctity* which made any violence against them a heinous crime. The right of personal intervention gradually developed into full veto power by which any tribune could forbid the passage of a measure in the assembly or senate which he judged inimical to plebeian interests.

The tribunes were not magistrates, for they lacked the *imperium*, but the extension of their veto power was an index of the growing importance of the plebeians in Roman politics, and of their progress toward full citizenship. The tribunate has been well described as "tyranny in commission," for it gave the plebeians, in addition to personal security, the power to influence public policy by blocking legislation or executive action, long before they were eligible for actual magistracies or gained independent legislative power. (Reading List 43)

## CARTHAGE

After the defeat at the Himera Carthage gave up aggression in Sicily and began to consolidate her power in north Africa, Spain, and the adjacent islands. Much of the fertile land along the African coast became the personal property of wealthy Carthaginians, who had it cultivated in vast tracts by native serfs under overseers. The Carthaginians made heavy demands on their subjects and allies, but their citizens were free from taxation and had ample employment in the industrial and commercial activities of the state and as officers in the army. The rank and file of the army was composed chiefly of subject tribes and mercenaries. Increasing prosperity lessened the likelihood of revolution against the close mercantile aristocracy. At about the middle of the century, Himilco and Hanno, members of the great Barcid family, made voyages of exploration in the Atlantic. Himilco sailed north to the coast of Brittany, presumably to explore the old centres of Tartessian trade, while Hanno established trading stations along the western coast of Africa, which he explored as far as the Guinea Coast.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ATHENIAN POWER

Though the Peloponnesian army under Spartan command had freed Greece from the Persian occupation, permanent security required a strong navy under effective leadership. Themistocles had supplied both in 480 B.C. and had thus made the victory of Plataea possible, as well as that of Salamis. We have already seen how Athens came to organize the Confederacy of Delos for the long offensive against Persia which followed the brief defensive war in Greece. After Salamis, the most conservative citizens recognized that the future of Athens depended on her naval strength; the plans for the Confederacy therefore met with general approval, and political controversies were focussed instead on the Athenian government, for during the war the conservative Areopagus had resumed its old authority at the expense of the council and ecclesia.

Athenian feeling toward Sparta was another moot point, for Sparta intended to maintain her authority in central Greece. Themistocles, however, the natural leader of the democratic faction, sought to reestablish Athenian independence of action as rapidly as possible. He renewed the fortifications of the city on a more extensive scale, in spite of Spartan protests. He also had the Peiræus protected by a strong wall, within which a flourishing seaport with a large commercial and industrial population soon developed. Twenty years later, the fortifications of Athens were united with those of the Peiræus by the Long Walls, which secured communications between the city and the port in time of war, and made both impregnable as long as Athenian control of the sea secured adequate supplies of food, since the Greeks had not learned the art of siege.

Themistocles' policy of opposition to Sparta was effectively opposed by Cimon, son of Miltiades and leader of the conservatives, whose naval successes from the time of his first command of the fleet in 476 B.C. won him wide support. Cimon increased his popularity by generous contributions to the rebuilding of the city and by hospitality to the poorer citizens. His personality was more ingratiating than that of his opponent, and his victories were fresher in men's minds. In 471 or 470 Themistocles was ostracized, and Cimon's policy of friendship with Sparta, active prosecution of the war with Persia, and maintenance of the conservative democracy prevailed for several years, during which the naval supremacy of Athens was firmly established. Themistocles joined the anti-Spartan party at Argos; a few years later, he was denounced for treasonable intrigues with Persia, and whether there was any ground for the charge or not, he prudently went to the King's court instead of returning to Athens to stand trial. Three cities were assigned to his support, and the victor of Salamis died as a pensioner of Persia.

#### FROM CONFEDERACY TO EMPIRE

The Confederacy of Delos was organized as a voluntary association for the war with Persia, and its aggression was to be directed against districts under Persian control, such as Eion in Thrace, which Cimon wrested from the Persian garrison during his first command. But non-members might seriously menace the interests of the league. This was the case with Scyros, a rocky island on the direct route from Attica to Lemnos and the Hellespont, whose piratical inhabitants preyed on Ægean commerce. Scyros was, therefore, captured and resettled with an Athenian *cleruchy*. This type of colony, instituted in the time of Cleisthenes, was an effective instrument of control, for the colonists kept their Athenian citizenship and formed a privileged group in close touch with the home government. Cleruchies were also founded at Lemnos and Imbros; thus Athens had three convenient way-stations to the Hellespont. Carystus was forced to join the Confederacy, apparently because of its strategic situation in southern Eubœa; the other Eubœan cities had joined voluntarily. Both the use of force to compel membership and the seizure of land for Athenian citizens might well cause anxiety about the future course of the coalition.

The question of the actual nature of the alliance was forcibly raised in 468 B.C. by the revolt of Naxos, the largest island in the Cyclades, which contributed a substantial contingent to the fleet. Though the allies had sworn an eternal compact, the articles of the Confederacy probably did not include any provision against withdrawal. It was clear, however, that Naxos would continue to benefit by the existence of the Confederacy, and that her example might lead other members to give up the burdens of naval service or tribute. Consequently, the island was besieged and forced to surrender

its ships, and was reduced to tributary status, without a navy, and therefore without the power of independent action. One of the largest allies thus became a subject. The probability that no other course was feasible does not alter the fact that the voluntary alliance of autonomous states was being turned into an Athenian empire.

Cimon's resumption of active war and his victory on the Eurymedon two years later ended any real danger from Persia, and lessened the interest of the allies in supporting the fleet. Cimon maintained peaceful relations with Macedonia, but secured Athenian interests in the north by a colony on the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace, where all roads met at the one point where the lower Strymon could be bridged. This colony at the "Nine Ways" was soon destroyed by hostile Thracians, but the project aroused the hostility of Thasos, whose people had long exploited the timber and gold mines of the coast. The Thasians therefore seceded. When the island was taken after a two years' siege, its walls were destroyed and its ships were confiscated. Like Naxos, Thasos was now tributary; it was forced to surrender its holdings on the mainland to Athens. Athens now furnished a far larger proportion of the total navy than before, and the treasurers of the Confederacy, who were elected at Athens, controlled large funds for the maintenance of the fleet and its crews. The synod of the allies at Delos must have had very little authority, and since there was no longer any serious danger from Persia, the activities of the league were increasingly dictated by Athenian commercial interests.

The Athenian standards for coinage, weights, and measures were adopted throughout the Confederacy, and Athens made individual commercial agreements with many states. The decision that all lawsuits arising from commercial agreements made in Athens should be tried in the Athenian courts was readily accepted at first, since Athenian civil law was justly famous, but this practice led to the extension of jurisdiction to all cases which concerned Athens and its citizens, as well as to disputes about the tribute. The *heliæa* became the regular court of appeal and arbitration for members of the Confederacy. This extension of Athenian jurisdiction seriously affected the local autonomy of tributary states, which were required to refer to Athens all suits in which the penalty was death or loss of civic rights. This was one of the most significant factors in the establishment of full Athenian sovereignty.

#### THE FALL OF CIMON AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RADICAL DEMOCRACY

Though the advocates of a liberal administration probably outnumbered conservative Athenians, they lacked effective leadership, and no constitutional changes were made from 480 to 461 B.C. But during Cimon's absence

in the north, Ephialtes consolidated the democratic opposition and began a series of attacks on members of the Areopagus. For more than twenty years the archons had been chosen by lot, so that the majority of the Areopagites were now men of mediocre ability, but they still kept the powers they had gained during the war. The charges brought by Ephialtes were clearly intended to prove the individual and collective incapacity of the Areopagites to govern the city.

#### ATHENS AND SPARTA

The democratic movement soon gained support through events which discredited the pro-Spartan policy of the conservatives, and broke down Cimon's ascendancy. While Athens was establishing her naval supremacy, Sparta was occupied by affairs in the Peloponnesus. Tegea and other Arcadian states, aided by Argos, revolted from the Peloponnesian League. Though Sparta was eventually victorious, the struggle was a long and costly one. The people of Elis also founded a democratic city opposed to the league, and for a time dominated the pro-Spartan state of Pisa. In 464 B.C. an earthquake ruined Sparta and killed many citizens; a serious loss, since the number of Spartan soldiers was already dangerously small, and the ephors would not consider enfranchising "inferiors" and *perioeci*. The Messenian helots seized the opportunity to revolt, and fortified Mount Ithome, where they successfully resisted the Spartan siege after the rest of the country was subdued.

In 462 Cimon, against strong opposition, persuaded the *ecclesia* to send him with troops to answer the Spartan request for aid. The details of the story are not clear, but we know that the Athenians were dismissed before Ithome was taken, and that Corinth resisted the passage of the returning army. These direct insults strengthened the democratic party: Athens now formally renounced her friendship with Sparta and made alliances with Argos, Sparta's inveterate enemy, and with Megara, which needed aid against Corinthian aggression, as well as with Thessaly. The new alliances destroyed the last vestige of the Hellenic League and constituted a direct challenge to Sparta and Corinth. When the helots surrendered Ithome on condition of freedom to emigrate from Messenia, the Athenians helped them to settle at Naupactus on the Gulf of Corinth, which became an Athenian protectorate. (Reading List 53)

#### THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY AT ATHENS

In 461 Cimon was ostracized and the democratic party adopted a program of constitutional revision, aggression against the Peloponnesian League, and active prosecution of the war with Persia. Ephialtes, the democratic leader, had the Areopagus deprived of all functions except

jurisdiction in trials for homicide. Its former powers were assigned to the ecclesia, heliæa, and council. The necessary check on the legislative powers of the citizens was established by a decree which provided that the proponent of any law should be held responsible for its legality for one year, after which suit might be brought against the statute itself, so that enactments contrary to constitutional precedent would not become standing laws. Temporary administrative decrees were carefully distinguished from permanent laws. Thus the constitution was safeguarded, while the ecclesia was completely free to act in individual cases. Maine's definition of democracy as inverted monarchy is most appropriate to the Athenian system. Since the sovereign ecclesia governed without a ministry and was irresponsible, individuals were held strictly to account for their conduct of political affairs, and were penalized for failures even when they had acted in accordance with decrees of the ecclesia. It was easier to obtain an office in Athens than to lay it down, and the regular examination of the accounts of retiring magistrates contributed to the political training of their successors.

In the same year Ephialtes was assassinated, and Pericles, a grand-nephew of Cleisthenes, succeeded him as the unofficial leader and spokesman of the democratic party. For over thirty years Pericles was the chief man in Athens; his ambitions and ideals determined the policies of the state and gave the sovereign people the guidance which they needed for the full realization of their great opportunities.

#### THE PERICLEAN DEMOCRACY

All magistrates except the generals and the chief financial officials were now chosen by lot from the three upper classes, and were mere instruments of the ecclesia. The chief obstacle to complete democracy was the inability of the poorer citizens to devote their time to political affairs. By 450 this difficulty was met by the institution of pay for various state services, an innovation which was made possible by the revenues from tributary states of the empire. The 6000 jurors in the heliæa, which devoted much of its time to imperial affairs, were paid two obols<sup>2</sup> a day for the actual sessions of the court in which they served. Since men too old for active work delighted in jury duty, as Aristophanes showed in his comedy of the law courts, *The Wasps*, payment for jury service became a convenient type of old age pension. The 500 members of the council, and the magistrates who were chosen by lot, were paid a drachma a day. Soldiers and sailors

<sup>2</sup> Exact equivalents cannot be given for ancient currency; intrinsically the *drachma*, the standard Athenian coin, which contained six *obols*, was worth about 18 cents; actually it was the standard wage for skilled craftsmen in the fifth century B.C., as two or three obols were for laborers. Various conditions reduced the amount of money needed for a reasonably good standard of living, so that comparison with the modern wage scale is misleading, and money equivalences are meaningless.

in active service received three obols in addition to rations, and the poor were enabled to attend dramatic performances at the state festivals by a grant of two obols from the Theoric Fund. Citizens who had performed special services for the state, including victors at the games, were given free meals with the councillors in the prytaneum; disabled men and soldiers' orphans were also maintained at the public expense. In addition to all these, there were hundreds of salaried posts in the empire. Thus a goodly proportion of the citizens received incomes from the state treasury.

None of these payments corresponded to the salaries paid by modern governments, for they were not considered as compensation for professional services, but as allowances which would enable the poor to participate fully in the government. Athens thus abandoned the traditional right of the state to exact services from its members without compensation. The principle of the liturgy was now applied only to wealthy citizens who were called on to help finance the festivals, gymnasia, and navy for the common benefit.

Under the new régime the residents of the city naturally dominated the ecclesia. The privileges of citizenship were now so considerable that the desire to limit them to a closed group naturally developed. In contrast with Cleisthenes' precedent for extending the citizenship to resident aliens, Pericles had a law passed, probably in 450 B.C., which limited the franchise to those who could prove free Athenian parentage. (Reading List 54)

#### THE FIRST PELOPONNESIAN WAR: 460-445 B.C.

In spite of the number of men required for the war with Persia, Pericles undertook a series of alliances and conquests which extended the Athenian hegemony in Greece from Thessaly to Argos and from Eubœa to Naupactus, Achæa, and the chief islands of the Ionian Sea. This was a greater territory than that of the Peloponnesian League in area, population, and resources, and with the maritime empire brought a large part of the Hellenic world into the Athenian system. The allies of Athens practically surrounded the territory of Corinth, and thus menaced the western trade on which Corinthian prosperity depended. This continental empire was definitely established within a period of eight years.

Spartan efforts to restore the Bœotian League as a check to Athenian expansion failed, in spite of the defeat of the Athenians at Tanagra. Athens established democracies in Bœotia, and extended her system of alliances through Phocis and Locri. The Long Walls from Athens to Peiræus, which were built at this time, were paralleled by the fortification of Megara and its harbors under Athenian direction. Athenian intervention on behalf of Argos was unsuccessful, but this setback was more than compensated by the capture of Ægina, which was made tributary in 456 B.C.

The disaster in Egypt in 454 B.C. was a serious blow; the annual losses in war were dangerously great, while the expense of constant campaigns on

land and sea proved a serious drain even on the great resources of the empire. In 455 the offensive against Corinth failed, and active warfare was at a standstill for the next three years. The turning point came in 451 B.C., when Cimon returned from exile and assumed the rôle of mediator between Athens and Sparta. The two states signed a five years' truce on condition that the Athenian alliance with Argos be dissolved. Sparta and Argos then renounced their old conflict and signed a treaty of peace for thirty years.

It was clear that part of Pericles' program must be abandoned; as we have seen, the victory at Salamis in Cyprus enabled him to make a favorable agreement with Persia through an embassy to Susa in 448 B.C. In the meantime, however, Thebes had become a refuge for exiled oligarchs who plotted to break down the Athenian power; by 447 they gathered sufficient strength to defeat the Athenians at Coronea and restore the Boeotian League under Theban leadership. When Eubœa and Megara revolted, and the Spartans marched against Attica at the expiration of the truce, Pericles had no choice but to make peace.

The Thirty Years' Peace was signed in 445 B.C. Athens gave up all her continental holdings except Naupactus, but Ægina continued to be a tributary member of the league, and Eubœa was soon brought under closer control than before. A definite equilibrium in Greek affairs was established by the mutual agreement between the Athenian and Peloponnesian Leagues. Neither was to receive states which revolted from the other, but neutrals might join whichever they wished without interference, and all disputes were to be submitted to arbitration.

The loss of her continental holdings did not weaken the naval power of Athens. The islands and coast cities were weary of war, and the extant tribute lists show that the real turning point in the history of the league came at about 450 when all the allies which had hitherto furnished ships, with the exception of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, voluntarily substituted money payments, thus accepting the status of tributary subjects. The peace with Persia shortly after this did not lead to any reduction of the tribute, and a large surplus accumulated in the treasury at Athens. Part of the imperial revenue was now used for the local administration and for the great building program which was at last to make the Acropolis and the city worthy of the imperial power which centred there.

#### THE INTERVAL OF PEACE: 445-431 B.C.

The fourteen years from the signing of the Thirty Years' Peace to the outbreak of another war between Athens and the Peloponnesian League gave opportunity for the extension of the commercial prosperity of Athens and the empire, and the transformation of the city into the chief centre of the arts, in a word, for the Periclean Age. But resentment of Athenian

imperialism came to a head, and the propaganda against Athens as destroyer of Hellenic liberties resulted in the great series of conflicts known as the Peloponnesian War.

Early in the period of peace, Pericles undertook a practical application of current political ideals when he founded a panhellenic colony at Thurii in the territory of Sybaris in Italy. The colony was laid out as a model city by Hippodamas of Miletus on the checkerboard plan which he had used at Peiræus. The laws were selected from the best Greek codes by Protagoras the Sophist, with the help of other experts, and free public schools were provided. The Sicilian philosopher Empedocles, the historian Herodotus, and other noted men were interested in this model state. But the project so nobly conceived soon failed, for difficulties arose with Tarentum and Sybaris, and an oligarchy supplanted the original constitution.

In 441 a serious crisis arose in the empire with the revolt of Samos, the greatest naval ally of Athens. The Samians vainly sought help from Persia and Sparta; after an eight months' siege by the Athenian navy, they were forced by starvation to surrender. They were required to give up their ships and to repay the expenses of the blockade by ceding land and paying a heavy indemnity, and to establish a democratic constitution. Athenian interests were meanwhile consolidated in the north by the founding of Amphipolis at the old site of the "Nine Ways" and by Pontic colonies and commercial treaties with the Bosporan kingdom.

#### THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND PELOPONNESIAN WAR

Thucydides began to write his account of the hostilities between the Peloponnesians and Athens "at the very outset of the war, in the belief that it would be great and memorable above all the wars of the past."<sup>3</sup> His history is the first thorough analysis of a great conflict in the light of the motives and characters of those who took part in it. Later historians censured his choice of a subject, for the ruin of his country's power seemed no fit theme for a history which was to be "a possession forever." (Reading List 50)

We may accept Thucydides' verdict that the essential motive of the war was the growing conviction of Sparta and her allies that the imperial power of Athens was hostile to their interests and threatened to destroy the autonomy on which the Hellenic political system rested. Only Sparta could furnish the leadership necessary for a successful war against Athens, but Sparta was fully aware of the magnitude of such an undertaking; she had most to lose from exposing her small army to the hazards of a long conflict, and nothing to gain from the division of imperial spoils, so long as she held to her traditional régime. Corinth, on the other hand, saw her

<sup>3</sup> Thucydides, *History* I, 1.

commercial power being dwarfed by that of Athens, and had good cause to believe that Athens planned aggrandizement in the west at her expense. Thebes could not hope to extend her own authority beyond Bœotia, while her neighbors could seek help from Athens, and the old adherence of Platæa to Athens was a constant irritation.

While her empire remained intact, Athens could only be conquered by a naval force, but the empire, as Cleon was to remind the ecclesia after the war began, was "a despotism exercised over unwilling subjects." The tribute, which was theoretically exacted for war with Persia, was being used to enforce Athenian control of the allies and subjects, and to beautify the city of Athens. The cleruchies, which had been greatly increased in numbers, were constant reminders of Athenian domination, the oligarchs resented Athenian support of democracies, the Athenians encroached more and more on local jurisdiction, and the prosperity fostered by the commercial union seemed a slight boon by contrast with the great wealth of the imperial city. The Greeks who thought that Athens planned to enslave all Hellas must have expected that her resentful subjects would readily fight for their liberation. Yet most of the subjects who had complained of Athenian tyranny unexpectedly remained loyal when the outbreak of war forced them to take a definite stand.

In 435 the old hostility between Corcyra and Corinth broke out in open war, and Athenian aid to the rebellious colony in 433 B.C. added a specific grievance to Corinthian jealousy of her sea power. The interests of the two cities also conflicted in Chalcidice, where the tribute had recently been more than doubled, and where the Macedonian king Perdiccas was intriguing against Athens. Potidæa, a Corinthian colony which regularly received its magistrates from the mother-city, was ordered to dismiss the Corinthians and dismantle its southern walls. Aid from Corinth enabled her to refuse, and in September, 432 B.C., an Athenian blockade began that lasted for two years. During the summer, Pericles issued a decree excluding the Megarians from the markets of the empire; this decree, which spelled ruin to a state that depended entirely on Ægean and northern trade, would force Megara to become a subject of Athens unless she could count on aid from the Peloponnesian League.

Late in September the council of the league met at Sparta and declared that Athens had broken the peace. Argos and Achæa remained neutral but the rest of the Peloponnesus, with Bœotia, Phocis, and Locri, joined in the coalition against Athens, whose chief allies outside the empire were Corcyra and a few other northwestern states. In the spring of 431 a Theban attack on Platæa provided the overt act that led to the actual declaration of war. A Peloponnesian army occupied Attica for several weeks, while an Athenian fleet conducted a counter offensive by raids in the Peloponnesus.

## THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WAR: 431-421 B.C.

Pericles had determined on a policy which utilized Athenian naval strength to the full, but which required great sacrifices on the part of the people of Attica. In a pitched battle, the Athenian army was sure to be defeated by the superior Peloponnesian troops, and Athens could not hope for military assistance from Platæa, which was exposed to Theban attack, or from her naval allies in the west. But the chief strength of the Peloponnesian fleet was the Corinthian contingent, which had recently been defeated by Corcyra. Pericles consequently abandoned Attica to the yearly invasions of the enemy, and each spring gathered the country population with their movable possessions within the area enclosed by the walls of Athens and the Peiræus. Had the Greeks ever learned efficient siege tactics, the course of their conflicts would have been very different. The water supply was adequate, and ample food was assured so long as ships came safely from the north. Meanwhile the fleet could blockade Potidæa, ravage the Peloponnesian coast, and operate with the northwestern allies to cut off Corinthian commerce.

The resulting war of attrition lasted a little over ten years, in spite of the deadly pestilence which raged in Athens during 430 B.C. and recurred in later years. Pericles died in 429 B.C.; he had no worthy successor. Demosthenes was a fine general, but a poor politician; Cleon, the tanner, was a shrewd and unscrupulous demagogue, who grasped at power in ecclesia and empire with none of Pericles' broader vision of its obligations; Nicias was a well-meaning conservative, respected and superstitious, a good disciplinarian, but utterly unable to act decisively in a crisis.

The war gave free rein to enmities between the cities and to factional strife within them. Platæa was ruthlessly destroyed, while Athens was powerless to help. When news came in 428 B.C. that Mitylene and all the cities of Lesbos had revolted, Cleon persuaded the Athenians to order all the men to be put to death and the non-combatants sold as slaves; they repented in time to substitute terms of ordinary severity, but the first vote showed the temper of the times. In a revolution of unprecedented savagery at Corcyra, the oligarchs were brutally massacred, and in many other cities bitter factional strife broke out, the oligarchs depending on Spartan, and the democrats on Athenian help.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of her vast resources, Athens was forced in 428 B.C. to levy a property-tax for the first time in the history of the democracy. In 425 B.C. when the cessation of the plague permitted restoration of normal intercourse, a new assessment raised the imperial tribute to over 1460 talents.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For an analysis of the civil violence of the period see Thucydides III, 82.

<sup>5</sup> The talent was equivalent in gold to about \$1,080 (gold standard), but had much greater purchasing power than this amount would have at present. It contained 60 minas or 6000 drachmas.

In the same year the operations of Demosthenes and Cleon at Pylos on the west coast of Messenia resulted in the capture of a Laconian force which included 120 Spartiates, and the establishment of a fort which offered means of escape to the helots. Cythera and other stations were also fortified as vantage points against the Peloponnesians. Sparta soon began negotiations for peace in order to recover her prisoners, but Cleon sought further gains by aggressive campaigns which succeeded in Megara, but failed in Bœotia. In the meantime Brasidas, an unusually resourceful and ambitious Spartan, carried the war into the north, seized Amphipolis, and encouraged widespread rebellion among the northern allies of Athens. Athens did not succeed in recovering Amphipolis, but the death of Brasidas and Cleon in a battle near the city in 422 B.C. removed the chief opponents of peace. Since the Athenians were heartily weary of the war and their annual confinement in the city, they empowered Nicias to treat for peace.

#### THE PEACE OF NICIAS: 421 B.C.

In 421 Sparta and Athens signed a treaty for fifty years on the general basis of return of prisoners and territory seized during the war. But several exceptions were made in favor of Athens contrary to the interests of Corinth, Megara, and Bœotia, and the provisions about the northern cities involved serious difficulties. The Peloponnesian League was temporarily broken down by the refusal of the allies to sign the peace. Sparta and Athens now made a formal alliance with one another.

The influence of Nicias was soon overshadowed by that of Alcibiades, the brilliant ward of Pericles, and the ablest and most unscrupulous of Athenian demagogues, who could conceive and execute the most daring plans, but would submit to no curb or authority. Under his leadership, Athens joined an alliance which Argos had formed against Sparta at the expiration of their 'Thirty Years' Truce. When the Spartan victory at Mantinea in 418 B.C. broke up the coalition, Athens was left isolated, and the Peloponnesian League was restored. In 416 Alcibiades persuaded the ecclesia to sanction a wanton outrage, the most extreme application of imperial despotism. The Dorian island of Melos, which had steadfastly refused to join the Athenian alliance, was taken by force, the men were killed, the women and children sold into slavery, and the land was assigned to Athenian colonists.

#### THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

Attica was free from invasion for seven years; commerce flourished throughout the empire, the building projects of the Periclean Age were revived, and there was even some reduction in the tribute. This rapid recovery from the ravages of war inspired fresh confidence in the glorious

destiny of the empire, and a request from Selinus, a Sicilian city, for help against Segesta and Syracuse offered a brilliant opportunity for imperial aggrandizement. A few ships had been sent to Sicily in 427 B.C., when Gorgias of Leontini charmed the Athenians with his studied rhetoric, but the link between Sicily and Greece had been broken by a congress at Gela in 424 B.C. in which Hermocrates formulated a "Monroe doctrine" for the Greeks of the west. The aggressions of Syracuse, however, soon broke up this pan-Sicilian movement.

Nicias urged caution in view of the strength of Syracuse and the unstable political situation in Greece, but Alcibiades and the envoys fired the imagination of the people, who spent their time drawing maps of Sicily and talking of its wealth. The fleet dispatched in 415 B.C. was out of all proportion to the needs or desires of Selinus. An expedition of 134 warships, many small boats, and over 27,000 men could not be intended for anything less than the annexation of Sicily. This might well have been accomplished under able management, whether such a conquest could have been lasting or not. In any case, the initial errors were fatal; the Sicilian allies feared so large a force and gave little cooperation, and the ecclesia had given joint command to Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, three men who could not possibly agree.

As soon as the fleet had sailed, Alcibiades' enemies accused him of complicity in the mutilation of the carved stone pillars, or herms, which guarded the streets and doorways of Athens; the superstition of the people was aroused, and they summoned Alcibiades to stand trial for impiety. Instead of returning to Athens, he sailed to Sparta. The Athenians proceeded to besiege Syracuse, but Lamachus was killed in battle and the Spartan Gylippus, who was sent to help Syracuse, was a far abler leader than Nicias, whose acts were guided by omens, rather than by strategic considerations. Thucydides' masterly description of the war which followed reveals Nicias' fatal indecision. Aware of his weakness, he asked for recall or reenforcements; the ecclesia chose the worse course and in the summer of 413 B.C. sent additional ships under Demosthenes. A night attack on the city was repulsed with heavy losses; the chance of safe withdrawal was lost because of an eclipse of the moon, the most fatal omen in Nicias' career. Gylippus attacked the fleet and drove the ships ashore, bottling them up in the harbor; escape by sea was cut off, and the desperate attempt at retreat by land to the allied cities in western Sicily failed. The generals were executed, and the survivors were sold into slavery: "army and fleet utterly perished, and of the many that went forth few returned home."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Thucydides VII, 87.

## THE FALL OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

The transfer of the war to Sicily ended in catastrophe; its renewal in the east was now inevitable, and many of the Ægean states deserted to the Spartan side. At Alcibiades' suggestion, the Spartan king Agis had invaded Attica in the early spring and fortified Decelea on the road from the north to the city; during the rest of the war, the Spartans occupied this post. The silver mines of Laurium could not be worked, it became more difficult to provision the city, and the country people could no longer return to their homes after the short summer campaign was over. The losses in Sicily had seriously impaired the naval strength of Athens, but her recuperative powers were great. A committee of ten was appointed to supersede the council for the sake of increased efficiency, and a 5% tax on exports and imports in all markets of the empire, including Peiræus, was substituted for the imperial tribute. Archelaus of Macedon reversed his predecessor's policy and supplied timbers for the new ships.

But Sparta now realized that only naval action could defeat Athens; this war was to be fought in the eastern Ægean and the Hellespontine district. By the treaty of Miletus, Sparta obtained Persian subsidies for naval construction, a concession which could only be granted in return for the acknowledgment of Persian sovereignty over the Greeks of Asia Minor. Alcibiades, who had left Sparta for the court of the Persian satrap Tissaphernes, recognized that the fleet stationed at Samos was the real strength of Athens. In 411 when the losses in the north and east had become serious, he persuaded the officers of the fleet that an oligarchic government at Athens could divert the satrap's support from Sparta, and so secure victory.

The oligarchic clubs at Athens had profited by the failures of the democracy. Hitherto they had been divided, the moderates under Tharmenes dreaming of a return to the mythical pre-Solonian constitution, while the extremists wished a close oligarchy on a realistic basis. Both groups were lured by the false promises of Alcibiades, and many democrats joined them in the hope of victory. All political functions were now vested in a council of 400, though a more liberal franchise was promised to satisfy the moderates. The 400 accomplished nothing but a reign of terror. Imperial losses were heavy, and the Persians continued to subsidize the Spartan fleet. The sailors refused to recognize the oligarchy and declared themselves the legitimate government of Athens. With a curious inconsistency they chose Alcibiades as general. The revolt of Eubœa gave the Peloponnesians their first real opportunity to blockade Athens, but the Spartans again proved the most convenient enemies that Athens could have had, and missed their chance through inaction.

News of Alcibiades' succession of naval victories strengthened the democratic cause, and the extension of the franchise to the members of the three upper classes failed to save the oligarchy, which perished through its own incompetence. The full democracy was restored in 410 after Alcibiades inflicted a crushing defeat on the Peloponnesian navy at Cyzicus. Sparta offered to make peace on fair terms, but Athens was overconfident, and refused. The recovery of Byzantium eliminated danger of famine, and the worst suffering in the city was met by a dole of two obols a day for those who could not work, and employment on public buildings for those who could.

While Alcibiades was at Athens, Sparta sent one of her rare geniuses, Lysander, to command the fleet. He defeated an incompetent Athenian commander at Notium, and persuaded Cyrus, the younger son of Darius II, who was now governor of Asia Minor, to increase the subsidies which the former satrap had given. In 406 B.C. Athens won her last great victory at Arginusæ; again Spartan offers of peace were rejected. In the next year, Lysander captured the entire fleet at Ægospotami without a battle. There was no hope of recovery:

It was night when the *Paralus* reached Athens with the evil tidings, on receipt of which a bitter wail of woe broke forth. From Peiræus, following the line of the Long Walls up to the heart of the city it swept and swelled, as each man to his neighbor passed on the news. On that night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those that were lost, but lamentation for the dead was merged in even deeper sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils that they were about to suffer, the like of which they had themselves inflicted on the men of Melos . . . and on many another Hellenic city.<sup>7</sup>

That winter Athens for the first time knew the horrors of a blockade, since Lysander held the sea. Even so the people refused to accept the first terms offered. At the meeting of the league in the spring, Thebes and Corinth insisted that Athens be destroyed, but Sparta refused. Fear and starvation made the terms seem generous; all exiles were to be recalled, and Athens became a subject ally of Sparta with no possessions except Attica, and a fleet limited to twelve ships. Sparta was now guardian of the liberties of Hellas. (Reading List 55)

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<sup>7</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica* II, 2, 3: quoted from Dakyns, *Works of Xenophon*, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

## XIV

### THE SCHOOL OF HELLAS

*Shining and violet crowned, renowned in song,  
Bulwark of Hellas, glorious Athens, the divine city.*

—Pindar

THE GOLDEN AGE of Hellenic civilization was the work of men of genius from various Greek cities in a world conditioned by the imperialistic democracy of Athens. The Greek view of life was most fully attained in Athens itself, which continued to be the school of Hellas for centuries after the end of its imperial power. For us, the Periclean Age is embodied in its literary and artistic masterpieces and in the new direction it gave to philosophy and science. To Pericles, however, these were merely part of the institutions through which the Athenians made every land and sea open a pathway for their valor, and attracted to their single city the fruits of the whole earth.

#### ECONOMIC LIFE IN FIFTH CENTURY GREECE

We know little of conditions in other Greek states at this period, but it is clear that they shared very unequally in the progress of the new age. Sparta deliberately held to her old customs, and passed decrees to protect her citizens from external influences by expelling aliens from her territory. Many Greeks continued to live in self-contained agricultural communities which depended on their own products for sustenance, and on domestic crafts for clothing, tools, and household furnishings, and rarely had occasion to trade with other states. Even the farmers who raised oil, wine, and wool for the cities and for foreign markets kept to the old methods and the old implements without seeking to increase production and diminish their labor by new inventions. Grain was still cultivated by the two-field system, which left half the land fallow in alternate years, and was generally adequate for the needs of the country districts and the smaller towns. Athens, Corinth, Megara, and Ægina were the chief places which depended on foreign grain. Aside from the hereditary serfdom which prevailed in Thessaly, Messenia, Laconia, and Crete, farming remained a free man's occupation and the extensive use of slaves in city homes and industries had little effect on farm conditions. The distinction between townsman and rustic was greater than in earlier days.

The chief cities now reaped the full benefits of the colonial expansion, except when the hazards of war interfered with commerce. Merchant ships were larger and swifter than before, and had no cause to fear the attacks of pirates so long as Athens ruled the seas. Even the opponents of Athenian imperialism attributed the new variety and luxury of daily life to the control of the sea by which "the choice things of Sicily and Italy, of Cyprus and Egypt and Lydia, of Pontus or Peloponnese . . . are all swept, as it were, into the centre, and all owing to their maritime empire."<sup>1</sup>

This great extension of commerce required new institutions, some of which were to be more fully developed in the fourth century B.C. than in the fifth. The population of commercial towns became more diversified, though political activities rested entirely with the homogeneous citizen body. Many men from other Greek states, and some foreigners, settled in the larger cities for the sake of commerce or industry. Since Greek citizenship was hereditary and was only rarely granted to aliens who had rendered distinguished service, these men were classed as *metics*, "men who have changed their residence," and formed a free non-citizen group.

Privately owned slaves were used for the heavy labor of the docks and ships, in industry, and in domestic service in well-to-do families, in addition to the public slaves used for labor in the mines and for police duty. Slaves were generally barbarians purchased from dealers, until the ruthless practices which prevailed during the Peloponnesian War abrogated for a time the principle that Greeks should not enslave each other. Individual slaves for industrial work and gangs of slaves to be leased out for heavy labor were a profitable investment. Another investment which was to be more common in the fourth century B.C. was the purchase of an interest in a merchant venture: the merchant often preferred not to risk his whole capital in a single voyage, even if he had sufficient funds to finance it himself.

The diversity of coinage in a world of autonomous city-states with individual mints made money-changing the essential activity of the banker. His services were also needed, however, to negotiate loans, to arrange for letters of credit, and to receive deposits of money. The records of commercial lawsuits in the early fourth century B.C. show that a single banking house might have very wide connections throughout the Greek world. But banking, commerce, and industry remained small enterprises, conducted by individuals with a few assistants, however large the total of their activity became. The retail dealer bought goods for his small shop directly from the farmer who produced them and the merchant who imported them. The master craftsman usually had only three or four workmen under him. Shops which employed thirty or forty men were rare until the end of the century. State regulations were intended to safeguard the consumer, not to

<sup>1</sup> The "Old Oligarch," *Polity of the Athenians*, ch. 2: this and later citations are taken from Dakyns, *Works of Xenophon*, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

benefit the business man, and business remained subordinate to the political functions of the city. But the market dues and tariffs on imports and exports formed the chief revenues of commercial cities, supplemented by taxes on metics and slaves, court-fees and fines, and by income from state property, with booty and indemnities, if the gods of war were favorable. In Athens, as we have seen, the cost of the Periclean program was met chiefly by the imperial tributes. (Reading List 56)

#### THE REBUILDING OF ATHENS

The architects of the Periclean Age set the standard of perfection for the Greek temple in harmony of line and proportion, refinement of detail, and coordination of structure and ornament. The public buildings constructed for secular use in the fourth century B.C. surpassed those of the fifth, and little is known of domestic architecture before the middle of the fourth century B.C. It has become customary of late to stress the mean and sordid character of the streets and houses of Athens; certainly little attention was paid to the external appearance of private houses, which were crowded together on narrow, irregular streets. The new art of city-planning which Pericles used in the Peiræus was not applied in the hasty rebuilding of Athens itself. But literary references suggest pleasant and fairly spacious domestic arrangements in the homes of substantial citizens, while the graceful and harmonious forms of Athenian pottery and of the furniture shown in vase-paintings are convincing evidence of the truth of Pericles' claim: "At home the style of our life is refined. . . . We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes." For the poorer classes the case was different, but then as now the Greeks lived more in the streets and market places than at home, and the public buildings and civic festivals satisfied their love of beauty.

The religious and civic duty of rebuilding the ruined temples was postponed during the decade after Platæa by the urgent need for fortifications. Cimon and his circle contributed lavishly from their private means to restore the city. They made the grove of the Academy into a public park with pleasant walks and a gymnasium, planted plane-trees in the *Agora*, or market place, and provided additional shelter by constructing the Painted Stoa, adorned with mural paintings by Polygnotus. Near the *Agora*, a fine Doric temple was built which is commonly called the Theseum, but was probably dedicated to Hephæstus, the patron god of craftsmen. Public and private business centered in the *Agora*, and in later times, when the city had shrunk to a mere village, this site continued to be thickly occupied.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Recently, since Athens has become the capital of the modern state of Greece, the government has had the site of the *Agora* cleared and has assigned the task of excavating and studying it to the American School at Athens. Through these excavations many important additions are being made to our knowledge of the centre of Athenian life and of the history that was made there.

In the same section of the city were the council house and the *prytaneum*, where the presiding committee of the council met, and where honored citizens and the wards of the city shared the meals provided by the state. A platform for speakers at the ecclesia was constructed on the Pnyx Hill. Between the Pnyx and the Acropolis was the rocky mount of the Areopagus, where the old council met as a court to try cases of homicide.

### THE ACROPOLIS

The new buildings of the Acropolis were carefully planned; the rough hilltop was filled in with the debris of ruined buildings and statues broken by the Persians and was fittingly paved. The foundations of a new temple of Athena had been laid before the war, but the building was postponed until the middle of the century. When Pericles took up the long-delayed task, his architects changed the old plans and built a larger structure than their predecessors had planned. This temple, the Parthenon, was built of Attic marble from Mount Pentelicus, which has weathered to a golden brown. The severity of the earlier Doric style was modified by subtle refinements which increase its harmony without lessening the strength and apparent simplicity of the whole (Plate 42a). For over nine hundred years the Parthenon was dedicated to the patron goddess of Athens, and for a thousand years thereafter to her Christian successor, the Virgin Mary. When the Turks took Athens in A.D. 1456, they turned the temple into a mosque. In 1687, the building suffered its first serious injuries during the Venetian bombardment, but it still dominates the modern city, less ruined by the changing fortunes of conquest and religion than many Greek temples have been by earthquake and neglect.

The Parthenon was decorated by many artists under the direction of Phidias. His chief works, the bronze figure of Athena Promachos that stood on the Acropolis, the gold and ivory statue of the goddess in the Parthenon itself, and the great statue of Zeus in the temple at Olympia were destroyed by men who coveted their precious materials and cared nothing for the work of the artist. The extant copies are far removed from the genius of the most famous Athenian sculptor. But the legendary combats of prehistoric days carved on the metopes still prove the skill of Phidias' workmen. The pediments have suffered more severely, but the surviving figures and broken fragments show the skill of the artists who planned and executed the scenes of the birth of Athena and her contest with Poseidon for the guardianship of her city, though the loss of the central figures leaves us nothing to compare with the divine majesty of the Apollo at Olympia. The great frieze about the outer wall of the cella still presents the stately pageant of Athenian men and women bearing the customary offerings to their goddess at the Panathenaic Festival (Plate 43a), and of the gods who survey the scene with propitious favor. How much of this was the work of

Phidias we cannot say, but it is the perfect expression in stone of the ideals which Pericles undertook to incorporate in the life of the city.

The exquisite little temple of Athena Niké, the victorious goddess, which crowned the bastion in front of the Parthenon, was built in the Ionic style. A stately entrance was planned at the western approach to the Acropolis: the central structure of this Propylæa was a wall, pierced by five doorways, with a central portico of Doric columns facing the city and the Acropolis, and Ionic columns in the inner chamber. The side-wings with their mural paintings, and porticoes to give welcome shade, were left unfinished, for the priests of the older shrines would not countenance their removal for the sake of new buildings. The great beauty of the Erechtheum, built late in the century on an irregular plan determined by the ancient sanctuaries which it enclosed, lies in the graceful Ionic columns of the north porch, and in its delicate moldings (Plate 42b). By these buildings the Acropolis was transformed into the enduring monument of the religion, art, and imperial glories of Athens, despite the protests of Pericles' enemies at his use of the tribute moneys to "deck the city out like a wanton." The greater part of the treasures dedicated to the gods was taken to pay the expenses of the war, but even in the impoverished years which followed the fall of the empire, the store of precious offerings was soon renewed. (Reading List 31)

#### GREEK ART IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

The progress of sculpture kept pace with that of architecture. Both arts illustrate the cultural unity of Hellas. The architects of the Parthenon are credited with work in other Greek centres also, and the Dorian Polyclitus was scarcely less famous at Athens than the Athenian Phidias. Aside from temple sculpture, we are almost entirely dependent on copies, coins, and ancient descriptions for our knowledge of the work of fifth century artists, and in many cases the identification of the copies rests on inadequate evidence. The Apollo (Frontispiece), and a few other figures from the shattered pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, are the work of consummate artists whose conceptions had a dignity and grandeur akin to those of the later Parthenon marbles. Two bronze statues of the first half of the century, the charioteer dedicated at Delphi by a Syracusan tyrant (Plate 36) and the Poseidon recently restored to us from the sea, help us to picture the original aspect of other bronzes which are known only through marble copies. Phidias was famed as the sculptor of the gods (Plate 37); his Peloponnesian contemporary Polyclitus was known chiefly as the sculptor of men, though his gold and ivory statue of Hera at Argos was justly renowned. His favorite subject was the athlete just grown from boy to man, the age which the Greeks cherished with the greatest tenderness. The old stiffness of pose and expression is gone, and the famous

Polyclitan stance combines tension and repose in an attitude suited to the rigidity of the bronze and yet instinct with life. Polyclitus sought to achieve the perfect proportions of the ideal human figure, and wrote a book on the canon which he embodied in his most famous statue, the Doryphorus or Spear-bearer. (Reading List 32)

The work of Greek painters can be but dimly apprehended through descriptions and through their influence on vase-painters and on Etruscan painting. The porticoes and other public buildings were adorned with great mural paintings, but Alcibiades was severely criticized for having his own house so decorated. The greatest work of the Attic vase-painters was accomplished before the middle of the fifth century B.C., for theirs was the first Greek art to reach and pass its prime. (Reading List 33)

### CONTRASTING VIEWS OF THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

The Athenian of the Periclean Age was first and foremost a citizen of the democracy; to this his other interests and duties were subordinate. His creed, as formulated by Pericles in an oration delivered in honor of the men who died in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, is preserved for us in *Thucydides' History*. Whether the historian reproduced the exact tenor of the statesman's address or not, does not affect the essential truth of his statement of the Periclean ideal. The dead had died for Athens, and the speech was intended to honor them by reminding the survivors what it meant to be an Athenian. The state is administered, Pericles said, by the whole body of citizens, whose private business does not distract them from public affairs, nor their poverty debar them from political activity:

We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy . . . For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too . . . Athens is the school of Hellas, and the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace . . . And we shall not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages.<sup>3</sup>

A strong minority opposed the Periclean interpretation of the democracy during his lifetime, though their opposition was seldom effective. We may understand both the strength and the weakness of his program better in the light of the Peloponnesian War, and of certain opinions expressed during its course. The one of Pericles' political heirs who had the greatest

<sup>3</sup> The funeral oration of Pericles is given in *Thucydides, History II, 34-46*; citations from *Thucydides* in this section are quoted from Jowett's translation, by permission of the Oxford University Press.

influence with the people was also the most violent of demagogues. Cleon embraced and ably carried on the imperialistic policy of Pericles, but stripped it of all idealism and rejected the idea that the people should judge the policies of their leaders. For, he said:

A state in which the laws are poor but unalterable is stronger than one in which they are good but powerless, and ignorance combined with self-restraint is more useful than undisciplined cleverness. In general, the duller men make better citizens than the more astute.<sup>4</sup>

Here is the very negation of the Periclean democracy, and the threat of its transformation into dictatorship through the surrender of the popular judgment to the will of a persuasive demagogue in the interest of ruthless imperialism.

The treatise on the *Polity of the Athenians*, an example of the propagandist literature which was circulated among the oligarchic clubs, reflects a different attitude. Its author acknowledges both the interdependence of democracy and imperialism and the origins of Athenian wealth and power in the empire which had been acquired and maintained by the efforts of the lower classes. At the beginning of his tract he writes: "It is the People who man the fleet, and put around the city her girdle of power." But for this very reason he rejects imperialism, for he believes that sound political judgment is to be found only in the "better class":

The man who, not being himself one of the People, prefers to live in a state democratically governed rather than in an oligarchical state may be said to smooth his own path towards iniquity . . . It is the worst element which in every state favors the democracy, on the principle that like favors like.<sup>5</sup>

On the eve of revolution, Aristophanes produced the *Lysistrata*, a comedy in which the heroine undertook to supply the leadership which no able man was at hand to assume. Though much of the play is given over to licentious buffoonery, the poet was never more serious than in Lysistrata's proposal to strengthen the democracy by renouncing its political factions and grasping greed, and sharing its privileges with metics, subjects, and allies for the sake of common action to resolve the "weary Hellenic entanglement."<sup>6</sup> Athens would thus have become the school of Hellas in a very different sense from that which Pericles intended. The Demos applauded Aristophanes in the theatre and followed its accustomed leaders in the ecclesia.

<sup>4</sup> Thucydides III, 37, a part of Cleon's speech on the revolt in Mitylene. Compare the historian's statement (II, 65) that Athens, "though nominally a democracy, gradually became in actual fact a government controlled by its chief citizen."

<sup>5</sup> *Polity of the Athenians*, chs. 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> *Lysistrata*, lines 574-586.

## POLITICAL LIFE

Conspicuous features in Athenian civic life were the *ecclesia*, which met almost once a week, the *heliæa* which had daily sessions except on holidays, and the public festivals, which were more numerous in Athens than in any other Greek city. *Demos* reigned in the *ecclesia*, yet not more than a tenth of the citizens were likely to attend a routine meeting. Early in the fourth century pay was instituted for attendance at the *ecclesia* in the hope of increasing the number who came.

Aristophanes pictures the bustle and confusion of the meeting, the types of business which came before it, and the readiness of the people to follow the advice of a persuasive speaker. The varied functions of the *ecclesia* gave the citizens excellent training for their service in the council, the *heliæa*, and in official posts at home and throughout the empire, while on the other hand many of those who were present at any meeting had already gained political experience from such offices. According to current estimates, there were between 50,000 and 60,000 Athenians of voting age in 431 B.C. and the average man devoted at least two years of his life to the service of the state. Under such conditions, alert citizens became at least intelligent amateurs of statecraft, and there was ample opportunity for real acquaintance with the character and policies of political leaders. State payments for political and naval services and for work on the public buildings gave the poorer Athenians an immediate interest in financial and foreign policy, in which, however, their decisions were more likely to be determined by personal advantage than by objective reasoning. Individuals could best sway the *ecclesia* by persuasive speech, and it is not surprising that the word *demagogue*, once simply "a leader of the people," came to connote an unscrupulous politician.

Political clubs had flourished at Athens since the sixth century B.C. Under the radical democracy, oligarchical clubs served as a means of forcing legislation through the *ecclesia* by carefully prepared speeches, *cliques*, *filibustering*, bribery, and personal pressure, and of securing favorable verdicts in court. Their members were bound by strict vows of loyalty, and they sometimes resorted to personal violence and even to assassination in times of partisan strife.

The right of every citizen to address the *ecclesia*, even on subjects remote from the business proposed by the council, was a cherished prerogative. In the case of opponents of the government, however, this freedom of speech was somewhat curtailed by the gravity of the charge of "deceiving the people." Men convicted of civil offenses not serious enough to warrant complete disfranchisement were sometimes penalized by being *disbarred* from speaking in the *ecclesia* and from bringing criminal action in the courts.

The litigious character of the average Athenian made service in the

heliæa popular, and the man who had never brought a case into court was unusual. Here again power rested with the amateur, for the citizen brought and defended his suits himself,<sup>7</sup> perhaps with the aid of a more eloquent friend. There was no public prosecutor, and the members of the jury, empanelled in groups of 201 or more to prevent bribery, performed the functions of judges as well. In the heliæa, as in the ecclesia, specialists were often consulted, not, however, as experts in legal technicalities, but to give evidence on the practical aspects of the case.

The Old Oligarch made a sharp distinction between the People, that is, the poorer classes in the city, and the farming population. Obviously, a farmer could not so easily leave his work for a day to attend the ecclesia as the day-laborer in the city might do, nor could he undertake continuous service in council, court, or office without imperilling his livelihood, unless he had a grown son to do his work. But the countryman had most to lose when Attica was invaded, and in the *Acharnians*, produced in 425 B.C., Aristophanes represented the charcoal burners of Acharnæ as making a separate peace before Demos was ready to defy Cleon and end the war.

#### LITURGIES

The third group of citizens had heavy obligations both in peace and war. The system of liturgies was a serious expense to the wealthy, though it also gave them opportunity to gain the good will of their fellow-citizens. Liturgies were especially burdensome in time of war when many ships had to be outfitted. The other regular liturgies were associated with the state festivals and provided for training and costuming the thousands who sang and danced in lyric choruses and in tragedies and comedies, for training entrants in athletic contests and maintaining the public gymnasia, and for feasting the members of the tribes. The city liturgies were paralleled by those of the demes. Many who performed liturgies were justly proud of their services to the state, though the Old Oligarch characteristically wrote:

To sing and run and dance and man the vessels is well enough, but only in order that the People may be the gainer, while the rich are made poorer.<sup>8</sup>

The rich were also expected to maintain horses for cavalry service. Substantial citizens, whose property fell below the amount which would make them eligible for the liturgies, were expected to have their sons trained for hoplite service and to pay a war tax in case of special need. In all these

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Aristophanes, *Birds*, lines 39-41: "Grasshoppers chirp on the boughs for a few weeks, but Athenians chirp over their lawsuits all their lives."

<sup>8</sup> *Polity of the Athenians*, I. See Lysias, *Oration* 21, 1-6, for an account of one man's liturgies, and note the choregic monument of Lysicrates as evidence of his pride in the victory of the choruses that he had trained.

cases, the possession of money was recognized as removing a man from the class liable to the manual labor of rowing in the navy and enabling him to substitute money contributions and more dignified service. In a sense, the liturgies were survivals of class privilege, regulated in the interest of the democracy.

### METICS

The importance of the Peiræus as a port of exchange led greater numbers of aliens to settle in Athens than in other Greek cities. These non-citizens, who were called *metics*, ranged from day-laborers to wealthy merchants, and their number included emancipated slaves. It has been estimated that in 431 B.C. there was a metic population, including women and children, of from 35,000 to 40,000. As non-citizens, the metics were debarred from political functions and from ownership of real estate and were required to register and to pay a poll tax. Civil security was assured by the service of a citizen patron, who might defend his client's interests in the courts and was responsible for his good conduct in the state. Metics performed military or naval service and were liable to liturgies and such other assessments as their property warranted. They had special functions in the Panathenaic festival. Passive, and in rarer cases active citizenship, might be granted in return for extraordinary services.

### SLAVES

The same conditions which attracted so many aliens to Athens in the fifth century B.C. increased the number of slaves, perhaps to about 100,000 in a total population of some 300,000. Many of the privately owned slaves engaged in industry independently, subject to fixed payments to their owners. In the building accounts of the Erechtheum, metics and slaves together outnumbered the citizen workmen, and were paid on an equal basis. The life of slaves employed in the mines was very hard, but those in domestic service and in industry were often difficult to distinguish from free citizens, and the Oligarch complained of their lack of proper respect for men of breeding.

### THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Athenian life was essentially masculine. Women attended most of the state festivals and took part in some of them, but the wives of citizens had no share in the activities of the Agora or in the symposia which were their husbands' favorite entertainment. The prominence in masculine society of boy favorites and of courtesans, who were usually of alien birth, suggests that wives had a minor place in Athenian life. As Pericles reminded the women in his audience, the highest praise for a woman was not to be

spoken of for praise or for blame among men. Yet the wife of a substantial citizen had almost as much to do as the poor man's wife; she managed the household, trained and nursed the slaves, and educated her daughters and her sons until they reached school age. The dramatists have bequeathed us a wide variety of feminine portraits from the noblest of Sophocles' heroines to the clever wives in Aristophanes' comedies who were expert at managing their stupid husbands and concealing their love affairs. It is difficult to believe that these and the fine family groups of the Attic tombstones (Plate 45) are artistic fictions remote from normal life, or to reconcile the women pictured in the vase-paintings with the idea of "semi-oriental seclusion."

Aristophanes did not hesitate to produce comedies based on the thesis that if men mismanaged the state too long, the women would take control, and Plato a few years later was to organize his ideal *Republic* on the principle of the equality of the sexes. But Sophocles was probably truer to his times when he represented Antigone as clinging to the old obligations of the family, against Cleon's insistence on the prior claims of the state. To most Athenians the distinction was clear; the home was woman's place, as the Agora was man's. Man was a political animal, but woman was not. According to Thucydides she was not even a rational creature, and must therefore be excluded, with the gods, from any serious history of human affairs. Among the poorer families in the crowded quarters of the city there was naturally much less distinction between men's and women's activities, and women found employment in the markets and the potters' establishments and perhaps in other industries, or eked out the family income by the age-old craft of spinning. (Reading List 54)

### THE CITY FESTIVALS

Pericles mentioned the "many games and festivals throughout the year" among the relaxations of Athenian life: they were said to be twice as numerous as in any other Greek state, and were roughly equivalent to our Sundays and holidays. Festivals reflected the past history of the people and their present activities; their character and sequence were determined by the religious traditions of family and state, the farmer's calendar, village customs, and the history of the city-state itself. Athletic, musical, and dramatic contests and the pageantry of processions afforded full opportunity for individual talent and for group activities. Since over 2000 men and boys took part annually in lyric and dramatic choruses, every audience included many past performers. One of Pericles' famous buildings was the Odeon, a roofed hall for musical contests. Dramas were performed in the open theatre of Dionysus at the foot of the Acropolis with the audience seated on the rising ground above the orchestra.

## ATHENIAN TRAGEDY

The tragedies and comedies performed in honor of Dionysus were the signal glory of Athens as compared with other cities and of the Periclean Age in contrast with later periods. The few that survive are sufficient in themselves to refute the charge that the democracy reduced its citizens to a common level of mediocrity. Of the many tragedies which were produced in the fifth century B.C., only a few of those written by the three chief dramatists remain. These few show the value of the ancient tales of the house of Atreus, Œdipus, the defeated Trojans, and others in the Hellenic tradition, as vehicles through which the poet could show the universal significance of a single tragic action. It was no slight experience to attend the theatre for three successive days, on each of which a dramatist presented three tragedies, with a final satyr play which recalled the simpler festivals of earlier days, and to watch from sunrise to sunset the new analysis of life and character in the familiar plots, presented by means of dialogue, choral song and dance, acting and music, in the stately costumes of an earlier time.

Sophocles won his first victory in 368 B.C., twelve years before the death of Æschylus. The central theme of his tragedies was the tragic issue of a single fault in a character nobly conceived, and the interaction of conflicting wills and loyalties through which the old traditions were harmonized with the moral and ethical judgments of his own time. He contributed much to dramatic technique and even more to the beauty of Greek thought and language, and, like the sculptors, portrayed real men and women in ideal form. Sophocles belonged in spirit to the generation of Pericles, and Euripides to that of the Peloponnesian War, though the two were rivals for many years before both died in 406 B.C.

Euripides used the traditional plots as vehicles for the study of modern emotional and intellectual conflicts; rationalism, realism, and romance meet in his tragedies. He is the most dangerous of poets to quote apart from the context, and the wide range of his thought is more obvious than the exact nature of his convictions. He shocked his contemporaries as much by dressing tragic heroes in rags to suit his version of their story, as by his vivid portrayals of passionate women and his open skepticism about accepted religious and moral tenets, but his plays were produced, discussed, and memorized year after year, and were more frequently performed in later times than those of Æschylus and Sophocles. Aristophanes, who had parodied Euripides for twenty years, based *The Frogs*, which he produced the year after Euripides' death, on the ardent longing of Dionysus to restore his favorite tragedian to Athens. Some of the Athenian prisoners in Syracuse after the failure of the Sicilian expedition gained their freedom by reciting Euripides' latest tragedy.

## THE COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES

Aristophanes was born early in the Periclean Age, and wrote most of his comedies during the Peloponnesian War. He combined the traditional license of comedy with keen observation and criticism of contemporary issues and men. He was an Athenian of Athenians, and even the war and the anger of Cleon could not check his freedom of speech or bar his plays from the stage. His comedies embodied many wholesome truths, which were made more palatable by the exaggerated form in which they were presented, and many of the audience shared his conviction that self-seeking, factional strife, and lust for power should yield to harmony, prosperity, and peace. When the empire was gone, the Athenians became more sensitive, and political themes were superseded in Aristophanes' later plays by social and romantic fantasy. (Reading List 52)

## THE NEW LEARNING

One of Aristophanes' aims was to conserve the best of the old customs in a changing society; he was most eloquent in his plea for the old education, which was based on the works of the poets, music, wholesome exercise, respectful manners, and deference to authority. The new learning, to which he himself owed so much, needed the check of the old standards.

The change became apparent early in the Periclean Age. Philosophers in various centres still continued the Ionian traditions. One of them, Anaxagoras, taught Pericles and others his theory of a world composed of composite particles united and separated by the controlling power of Intelligence, an infinite and self-determined force. The Atomists, on the other hand, held that mind and matter alike were composed of atoms moved by a natural force which was not directed by any external agency. Both theories were adopted and developed by later philosophers, but from the middle of the fifth century more attention was paid to the theory of knowledge and its application to the problems of man as individual and as citizen than to inquiry into the nature of the world.

Professionalism was developing along many lines. Hippodamas not only planned cities scientifically, but wrote a handbook on the subject. Hippocrates of Cos recorded his clinical observation of individual patients, the natural course of diseases, and the effects of different treatments, and compiled a treatise on the influence of "Airs, Waters, and Places" on health and racial character. His scientific methods freed medicine, as practiced by reputable physicians, from the influence of magic and superstition. Diet, fresh air, and exercise superseded traditional cures of more doubtful validity, and his influence on medical ethics is still honored by the use of the "Hippocratic Oath." The sculptor Polyclitus explained his canon in a written treatise, and other arts, including cooking, were reduced to formula.

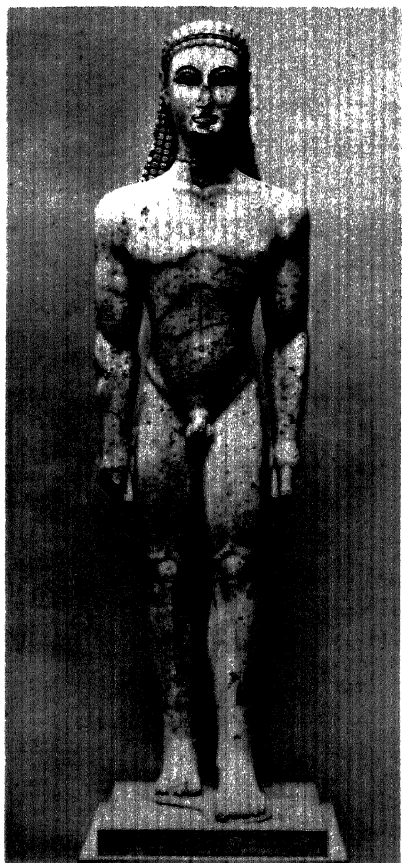
The historians represent different stages in the general change. While some chroniclers were still following the old models, Herodotus made of history an art which combined broad synthesis with clear detail and vivid narrative, and was also moved by the critical spirit to discard or question many established traditions. It remained for Thucydides to treat history as a science without sacrificing its artistic values, and to analyze the interrelation of events and the characters of men on a rational basis which combined concrete fact with universal principles. Unlike Herodotus, he eliminated "gods and women" from his history. (Reading Lists 48, 50)

### THE SOPHISTS

The name *sophist* was originally applied to any expert who claimed special qualifications in one or more fields, but came to be used primarily for those who taught the art of rhetoric and the application of rational method and persuasive speech to political and moral problems. Protagoras of Abdera, who founded the study of grammar, was a philosopher who dealt with the theory of knowledge and the distinction between knowledge and belief. He held that full knowledge was unattainable within the limitations of mortal life, while the range of inquiry on the basis of human intelligence and action was unlimited.

At the other end of the scale were those sophists who had more ingenuity than philosophy, who profited by the new practice of collecting substantial fees for their instruction, and catered to the greed of unscrupulous pupils whom they taught "to make the worst appear the better reason." Athenian interest in the sophistic movement was quickened by the brilliant discourses of Gorgias of Leontini, whose art was said "to temper the soul for manliness and virtue." In the political life of Athens, the art of rhetoric had a very practical application and all who had the necessary brains, money, and interest flocked to the sophists for instruction. In the next generation, the chief statesmen were orators trained in the sophistic tradition. Naturally, more of the oligarchs than of the people could afford advanced study.

Aristophanes' *Clouds* is as much a satire on the common misunderstanding of sophism, as on the sophists themselves. Many men distrusted the application of set rules to their normal activities, and being unaccustomed to formal education beyond an elementary stage, feared the subversive influence of discussion of political and social institutions by young men who were heedless of custom and precedent. Sophism was more widely discussed than philosophy had ever been, and both its skepticism in religious matters and its presentation of physical theories long current among informed men were garbled and attacked by men who had never before heard their traditional ideas questioned.



a: Attic Kouros, c. 600 B.C.

*Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

# PLATE 33



b: Attic Koré, c. 500 B.C.

National Museum, Athens

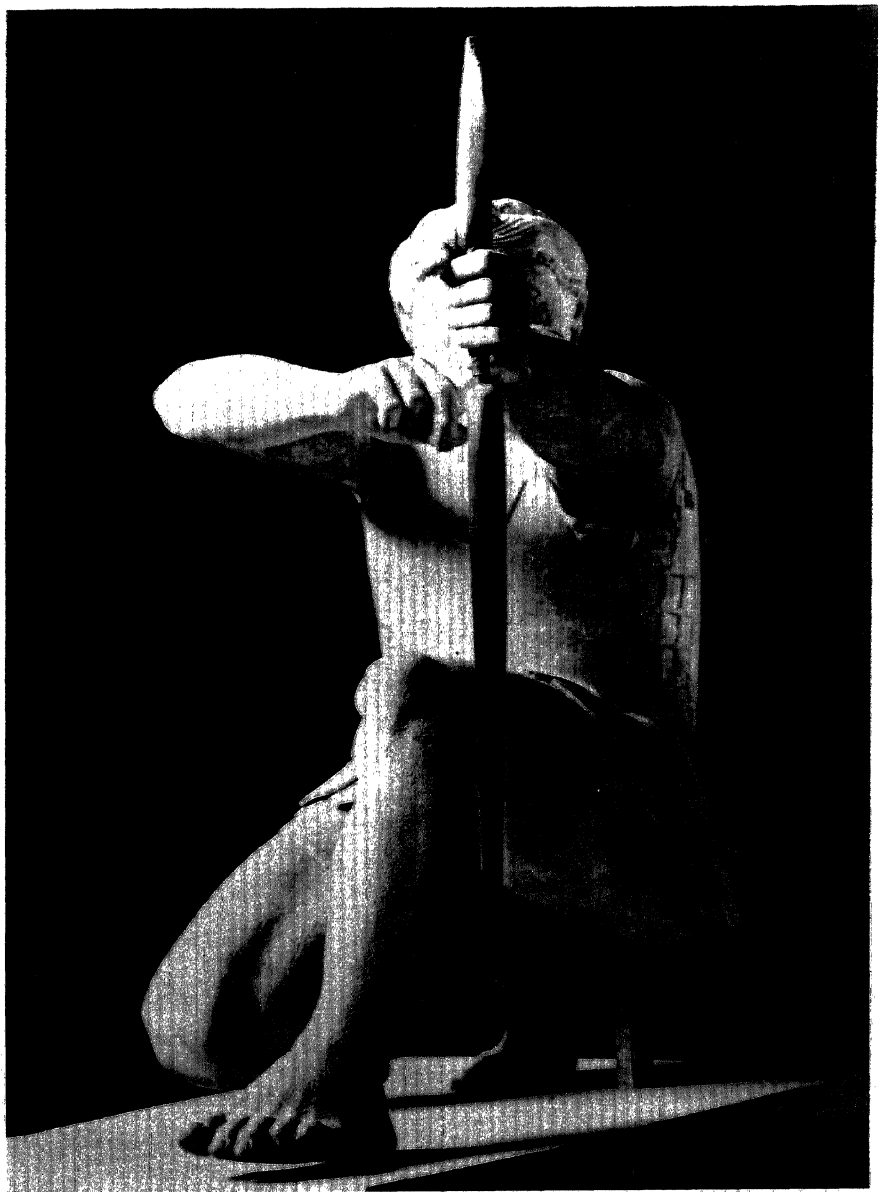
*Photograph by Courtesy of the Metropolitan  
Museum of Art*



Dying Warrior from an archaic grave stele  
National Museum, Athens

*Photograph by Clarence Kennedy*

PLATE 34



Heracles from the east pediment of the Temple at Ægina, early 5th century B.C.

*Photograph by Clarence Kennedy*

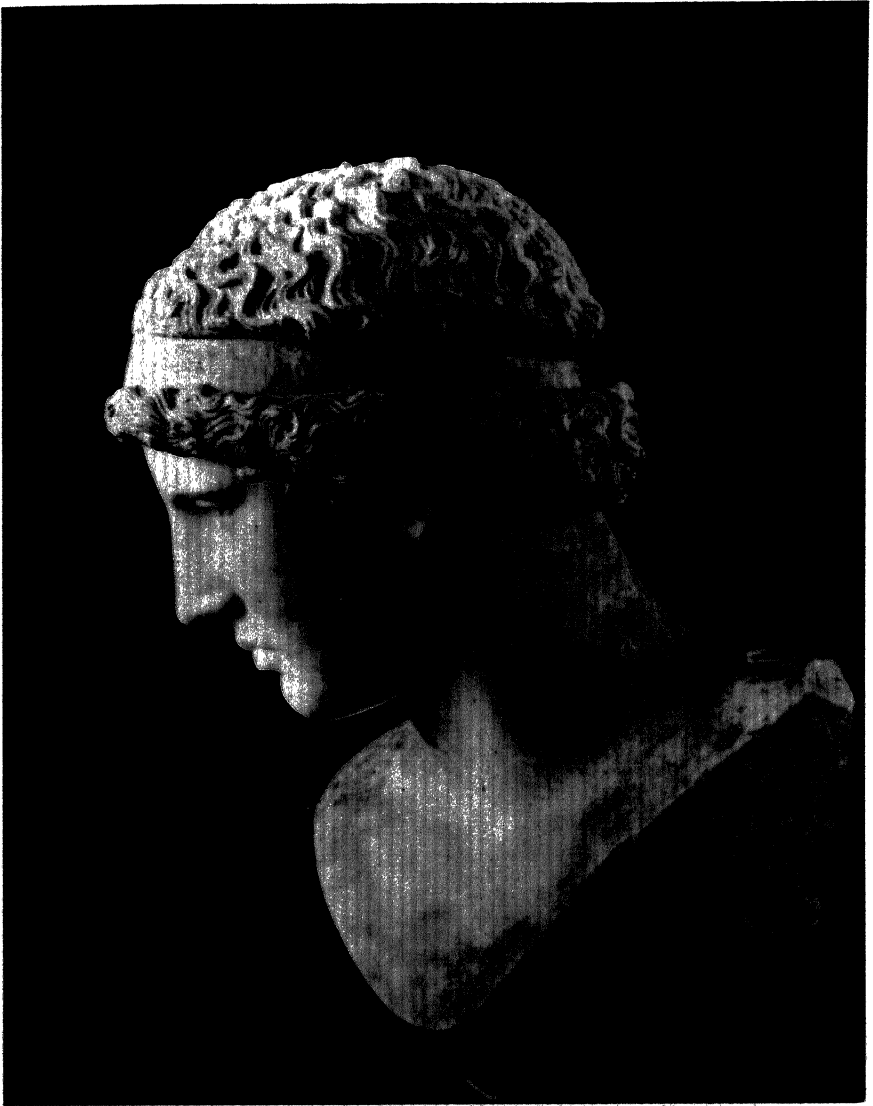
PLATE 35



Head of Bronze Charioteer, Delphi, c. 480 B.C.

*Photograph by Clarence Kennedy*

PLATE 36



Athena, Marble Copy of a 5th century statue, possibly the Lemnian Athena of Phidias

Museum, Bologna

*Photograph by Clarence Kennedy*

PLATE 37



a: Geometric Vase, Athens, 8th century  
B.C., funeral and warriors

*Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*



c: Athenian Black-figured Amphora  
signed by Amasis, 6th century B.C.



b: Corinthian Jar, 8th century B.C.

d: Athenian Black-figured Amphora, Birth of Athena

(b, c, d) *Courtesy of the Museum of  
Fine Arts, Boston*



## PLATE 38

GREEK POTTERY



Museum, Munich

# PLATE 39



Paintings from a Red-figured Cup by Euphronius of Athens, c. 490 B.C.: soldiers leading away the cattle of Geryon for Heracles, and a young Athenian knight



## PLATE 40

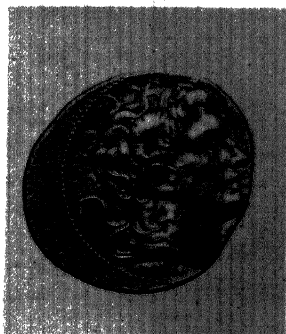
### GREEK COINS

*Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

a: Athens, early 5th century; obverse, head of Athena; reverse, owl and olive-branch



b: *Demareteion*, Syracuse, 480 B.C. (enlarged): obverse, head of goddess with dolphins; reverse, quadriga crowned by Victory



c: Coin of Lysimachus, early 3rd century: obverse, head of Alexander the Great



d: Bactrian coin, early 2nd century: obverse, portrait of Demetrius of Bactria

## SOCRATES

The Athenian Socrates was identified with the sophists by his spirit of rational inquiry and his insistence that the individual intellect was the only true guide of life. But he differed from them in his rejection of systems and of formal instruction, and in his steadfast denial of his own wisdom. He was primarily concerned with the problem of virtue, which in Athens led inevitably to consideration of the citizen's relation to the state. Convinced that no one would consciously do wrong, he considered ignorance the sole cause of error and injustice, and thought that it could be overcome by accurate definition of the ideas on which actions depend. But instead of formulating these definitions and lecturing on them, he catechized his fellow-citizens, until they discarded the conventional clichés with which they first answered, whether they arrived at a satisfactory conclusion or not.

The condemnation of Socrates in 399 B.C. for "introducing strange gods and corrupting the young men" has been much discussed. Whatever the immediate incentive of the accusation was, it was associated with the antagonism of the restored democracy to the intellectual movements connected with the oligarchy, and reflects the hostility of certain types of citizen to "the new learning." The *Apology* of Socrates, as his pupil Plato recorded it, was not a defense against the accusation, but an *apologia pro vita sua* by a man whose chief delight was to debate daily concerning virtue. (Reading List 57)

## XV

### THE GREEK HEGEMONIES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

*For although the natural ills that beset mankind are many, we ourselves have added to them by wars and civil strife against one another, so that some have been unjustly put to death in their own cities, others driven into exile with their wives and children, and many have been compelled for the sake of their daily bread to die fighting against their own people for the sake of the enemy.* —Isocrates

THE PERIOD FROM the surrender of Athens to the battle of Chæronea in 338 B.C. was one of constant warfare and civil strife. For over thirty years Sparta and Syracuse dominated Hellas. Thereafter the Roman expansion in Italy became the most significant factor in the west, while successive hegemonies in Greece were opposed by alliances and federations. Several attempts were made to restore Hellenic unity through peace conferences in which the Great King acted as arbiter of Greek affairs. Notable advances were made in the art of war, and Greek generals and soldiers served in the armies of Persia, Carthage, and other states. The cities of Greece also came to depend on mercenary forces except in times of special danger. The age produced some great statesmen and many corrupt politicians.

At worst, the cities were torn by violent factional strife; at best, the citizens were more active in claiming benefits from the state than in rendering services to it, and the commonwealth was subordinated to individual interests. Private wealth and luxury increased, the cost of living rose, and poverty and unemployment were serious problems in spite of improvements in commerce, industry, and agriculture. The development of political theory, together with outstanding achievements in oratory, the fine arts, and philosophy entitles the fourth century B.C. to high rank in the history of civilization. Before the end of the century, Greece and Persia were united by Alexander, whose empire extended from the Adriatic to the Indus.

#### DIONYSIUS OF SYRACUSE

While the strength of Syracuse was still weakened by the war with Athens, Carthage resumed aggression in Sicily and overran the greater part of the island, destroying Selinus and Himera and capturing Acragas. In 405 Dionysius, a shrewd opportunist, a skilful strategist, and for 38

years a ruthless tyrant, convinced the Syracusans that he alone could save them from the Punic danger. Appointed sole general with absolute power, he continued the forms of democracy under an undisguised tyranny. A few years later he was styled ruler of Sicily, and Greek writers considered his empire parallel with that of Persia. He coordinated the different branches of the service into a most efficient army, and made extensive use of Greek, Italian, and Gallic mercenaries. To the oriental siege craft of the Punic army, he opposed catapults, movable towers, and other engines invented by his scientists. His policy toward Carthage was calculated to maintain the belief that his tyranny was the one sure defense for Sicily, without destroying the need for that defense; for to eliminate Carthage from the island by a sweeping victory would have undermined his power.

When Dionysius had gained control of the Greek and Sicel cities of the island, he crossed to Italy, where he did not hesitate to use the Lucanians and other Italian tribes against the Greeks. He founded colonies on both coasts of the Adriatic, which he evidently intended to use as a basis for northern trade. The Gauls who had recently invaded the Po Valley made an alliance with him, and he thus profited by the decline of the Etruscan power in this rich district, while his control of Magna Græcia was a serious blow to the merchants of Corinth.

Throughout his reign Dionysius was an ally of Sparta, who had abandoned her old policy of hostility to tyrants, and he sent ships and men to aid in her wars. Elsewhere in Greece he was hated and feared for his enslaving of Sicily and Italy and his use of barbarian mercenaries against his countrymen. Many stories were told of his shrewd devices for raising funds, his cruel torture of Greek mercenaries captured in battle, and his peopling of Sicily with barbarians at the expense of the Greeks. The philosopher Plato had cause to regret his stay at the court of a tyrant who thought only in terms of power and cared nothing for justice.

At the death of Dionysius, an attempt was made to train his son Dionysius II as a philosopher, but even the teachings of Plato failed to achieve this ideal. Civil wars offered fresh opportunity for Carthaginian aggression, and to avert the danger of Punic conquest, the Syracusans sent to Corinth for a general. Timoleon, who came in 344 B.C. in answer to their request, turned the scale against both Carthage and tyranny. He was both an efficient general and a wise and unselfish statesman. He restored order and security among the Greeks of Sicily, rebuilt the ruined cities, and peopled them with colonists from many parts of the Greek world. Liberal democracy was thus reestablished, and the island enjoyed a brief interval of peace and freedom, which continued for a time after the death of Timoleon.

The Greek cities of Italy found no savior; weakened by the aggressions of Dionysius, they suffered increasingly from Italian attacks and were forced to appeal to their eastern kinsmen for armed assistance. No later power

recognized, as Dionysius had done, the value of the Adriatic in connection with Mediterranean commerce. The former pathway for trade with the valleys of the Danube and the Po became the haunt of Illyrian pirates. The substitution of Gallic control for that of the Etruscans cut off the Po Valley from the Mediterranean sphere. (Reading List 38)

#### PERSIA

The restoration of Persian sovereignty over the Asiatic Greeks, the one substantial achievement of Darius II, was won at the slight cost of subsidies to Sparta in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War. But Lysander controlled the Hellespont, and Sparta soon found occasion for active aggression against her former ally. The succession of Artaxerxes to his father's throne was contested by his younger brother, Cyrus, who was satrap of the western provinces. Cyrus rebelled against his brother, relying on his personal popularity, his mother's influence, and the efficiency of his Greek mercenaries. The latter included some 10,000 hoplites as well as light-armed peltasts and Cretan archers. Many were veterans of the Peloponnesian War, and Sparta sanctioned their enlistment under Cyrus. Since the satraps and native rulers on Cyrus' line of march offered no serious resistance, the issue depended on the conflict at Cunaxa, about 80 miles north of Babylon, where the superiority of the Greek soldiers was proved by a victory which was rendered indecisive by the death of Cyrus. The Athenian Xenophon recorded in his *Anabasis* the dangers and adventures of the campaign and of the return through hostile territory, the first march of a Greek army through the heart of the Persian Empire, and a striking prelude to Alexander's campaigns 70 years later.

In 396 the Spartan king Agesilaus adopted a policy of aggressive imperialism, and invaded Asia Minor with a powerful army to free the Greeks from Persian control, regardless of the former agreement between Persia and Sparta. But a rebellion against Spartan tyranny, stimulated in part by Persian bribery, broke out in Greece, so that Agesilaus was forced to abandon his project and return to take command in the Corinthian War. In the meantime Evagoras, the Greek ruler of Cyprus, furthered his own interests and those of his Persian overlord by attacks on the Peloponnesian navy. In 394 the Athenian admiral Conon, who had entered the service of Evagoras after the disaster of Ægospotami, won a decisive victory off Cnidus, and thus broke down the naval power of Sparta.

The Ionian cities, after the despotic authority of Lysander and Agesilaus, willingly submitted to the Persian satrap Tissaphernes, who gave them generous terms. No further attempt was made to liberate them, and in 386 B.C. the Greek states which accepted the King's Peace formally acknowledged Artaxerxes' claim to sovereignty over the Greeks of Asia Minor. Greek knowledge of the lands and resources of the Great King was greatly

increased during the next 50 years by the activities of merchants and mercenaries, and the courts of the western satraps and of local rulers subject to Persia assumed a superficially Hellenic aspect. The temple of Artemis at Sardis was rebuilt by Ionian architects and the work of four Greek sculptors adorned the famous tomb of Mausolus of Caria. Twenty years after the King's Peace, many satraps of Asia Minor, Syria, and Phœnicia revolted against the king. Egypt for a brief period resumed her old rôle and supported their rebellion. A few years later Artaxerxes Ochus invaded Egypt with an army composed, like that of the Pharaoh Nectanebus, of Greek soldiers under Greek officers. In 343 Egypt was formally re-annexed to Persia.

The contrast between the military efficiency and limited resources of Greece, and the military weakness and great wealth of Persia, inspired dreams of conquest which the Athenian orator Isocrates endeavored to utilize in the interest of Hellenic unity. He urged the Greeks to put aside their domestic conflicts and unite in a great expedition to conquer and colonize the east.

#### THE RULE OF LYSANDER

The alliance against Athens under Spartan command had ended the Athenian Empire. The avowed purpose of the war logically required that the former subjects of Athens should regain their autonomy, but in 404 B.C. Lysander assumed sole power over them and toured the Ægean to enforce his authority, establishing oligarchies under boards of ten citizens who took their orders from him. These *decarchies*, reenforced by garrisons under Spartan officers, roused such bitter opposition that Sparta soon renounced Lysander's policy and permitted the restoration of the "ancestral constitutions" in order to retain her control. Thebes and Corinth were both alienated by Sparta's monopoly of power.

While a decarchy with a Spartan garrison controlled the Peiræus, Athens itself was dominated by thirty oligarchs whose reign of terror gained them the name of the "Thirty Tyrants." Nominally 3000 property holders enjoyed the franchise, but actually the Thirty were supreme, though the council sometimes asserted its authority. A Spartan garrison was established on the Acropolis at their request. Freedom of discussion was curtailed, the teaching of oratory was forbidden, only the 3000 were entitled to trial, and opponents of the oligarchy were summarily executed, while many were condemned for their property alone. Many graphic incidents of this reign of terror are preserved in the extant speeches of the orator Lysias. Since the promises of a more moderate government were not fulfilled, Athenian refugees in Thebes plotted a counter-revolution under the able leadership of Thrasybulus.

## THE RESTORATION OF THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

Before the end of the year Thrasybulus gathered a group of patriots near the Boeotian frontier, and began active hostilities. Soon his army, increased by the reports of his initial success, occupied the Peiræus. In February, 403 B.C., the Thirty were overthrown, and during the summer the democratic government was restored with Spartan consent. The defenseless position of the city made the good will of Sparta essential. The urgent necessity of restoring agriculture, industry, and commerce enabled the moderates to secure amnesty for all except the Thirty. Oligarchs unwilling to make their peace with the democracy were guaranteed security and independence at Eleusis, but in 401 B.C. the state was again united. The harmony with which the difficult problems of property rights entailed by the recent confiscations were settled augured well for the restored democracy, and Athens was freer from civil violence in the fourth century B.C. than most Greek cities. In the archonship of Eucleides in 403 to 402 B.C., the laws were revised to form a flexible constitution with careful safeguards against corruption. Provision was made for an annual review of past legislation and present needs, and a committee chosen from the *heliæa* was instituted with full authority to carry out such revision as was decreed by the ecclesia. In spite of the institution of pay for attendance at the ecclesia, the propertied classes had far more influence than in the Periclean Age, for many Athenians formerly supported by the empire were now hard put to earn a living by civilian labor and had less to gain by political activity. Without the imperial revenues, the financial difficulties of the state were grave, especially as the mines of Laurium were less productive than in the fifth century B.C.

## THE SPARTAN HEGEMONY

In Sparta the spoils of victory brought a flood of gold that vitiated the old institutions, but made the Spartans less willing than ever to share their prerogatives with their subordinates. The number of Spartiates, already dangerously small, was further reduced by the concentration of property in the hands of a few families and the disfranchisement of those whose income fell below the amount needed for their expenses as citizens. In 398 an attempt was made to break down the exclusive power of the Spartans in favor of the inferiors, helots, and *periœci*, while the despotic authority of Lysander, who even accepted divine honors in Samos and elsewhere, threatened tyranny. Both dangers were averted, but the program of Agesilaus, who came to the throne in 399 B.C., was inconsistent with the old customs and the traditional policies of the Peloponnesian League.

Resentment of Spartan aggression in Elis, Thessaly, and central Greece aroused active opposition in Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, which was in-

creased by the persuasions of statesmen in the pay of Persia. Agesilaus had to be recalled from Asia to invade Bœotia. In spite of a victory at Coronea in 394 B.C. he was unable to hold central Greece, and the later actions of the war centred about Corinth. When Conon returned after his victory at Cnidus with Persian money for rebuilding the walls of Athens, a number of the islands renewed their old alliances. Athens now joined the coalition against Sparta. Her general Iphicrates with his light-armed troops, trained in mercenary service in Thrace, gave valuable aid to the allies and demonstrated that the Spartan hoplites were no longer invincible.

Corinth was so weakened by the decline of her commercial fortunes that she sought safety by political union with Argos. Since none of the allies had adequate resources, the war on land degenerated into a series of minor skirmishes and raids for the sake of booty. At sea the Athenian fleet had considerable success, until Antalcidas reestablished Spartan relations with Susa and strengthened his navy by the help of Persia and of ships sent by Dionysius. The naval war sorely taxed the treasury, and memories of the famine after Ægospotami were revived by Antalcidas' blockade of the Hellespont.

The need for peace became so imperative that less than a hundred years after Plataea the Greek envoys met at Sardis to submit Hellenic affairs to arbitration by the Great King. During the winter of 387 to 386 B.C., the individual cities signed the King's Peace, and thus finally acknowledged Persian authority over the Ionians. The treaty required that all other Greeks should enjoy full autonomy except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which were recognized as an integral part of the Athenian territory. Sparta, whose envoy Antalcidas negotiated the peace, was empowered to enforce its provisions with the backing of the King's threat to proceed by arms, ships, or money against any who might infringe it. Since all alliances except the Peloponnesian League were adjudged contrary to the peace, the Bœotian Confederacy, the union of Argos and Corinth, the maritime alliance of Athens, the civic union of Mantinea, which was the centre of Arcadian disaffection, and even the league which the Chalcidic cities had formed for defense against Macedonia, were dissolved at the command of Sparta. By 379 Spartan authority was absolute:

Thebes and the rest of the Bœotian states lay absolutely at her feet: Corinth had become her most faithful ally; Argos . . . was humbled to the dust; Athens was isolated, and lastly, those of her own allies who displayed a hostile feeling towards her had been punished, so that to all outward appearance the foundations of her empire were at length absolutely well and truly laid.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica* V, 3, 27, quoted from Dakyns, *Works of Xenophon*, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

In such fashion was the autonomy of the city-states of Greece enforced. But the Athenian Xenophon, for all his admiration of Laconian institutions, interpreted the fall of the Spartan power as a divine punishment for the impiety of the general who seized the citadel of Thebes and of the government that sustained this wanton outrage. The tragedy had reached its climax, and nemesis was soon to follow in the person of two Theban generals, Pelopidas, whose brilliant coup freed his city from Spartan control, and Epaminondas, who devoted the next few years to creating a superb military force which in 371 B.C. inflicted a crushing defeat on the Spartan army at Leuctra.

### POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Financial difficulties and the increasing tendency to treat the state as a means for satisfying individual needs and ambitions caused much unrest in the Greek cities. Megara, formerly so disturbed by factional strife, now enjoyed a stable democracy, however, and increased her industrial and commercial prosperity by holding aloof from war. The general bitterness of political feeling elsewhere is indicated by Aristotle's statement that in many places the oligarchs took an oath to be hostile to the Demos and do it all possible injury.<sup>2</sup> Oligarchy and democracy were often mere factional battle cries which did not imply any clearly conceived domestic program, but democrats favored complete local autonomy, while oligarchs were ready to make concessions to a more powerful state and even to submit to its direct authority in order to secure their own leadership. The age produced a few great statesmen and many self-seeking politicians. The sycophant who made a profession of false flattery and of informing against his fellow-citizens for his share of the fines imposed on them was an unsavory character too frequently encountered.

The sophistic schools were widely patronized and set high standards for Greek oratory, but were still viewed with suspicion as hotbeds of subversive ideas. The chief political theorists took little or no part in practical politics under these conditions. (Reading List 58)

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In democracies the poor claimed doles and free entertainment as their right.<sup>3</sup> Oligarchs used "bread and circuses" to keep the people satisfied. Such outlays, however, together with the expense of wars conducted chiefly by means of mercenary troops, presented serious budgetary problems, and the states resorted to many devices to secure funds. The usual indirect

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<sup>2</sup> *Politics* VIII, 7, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* VII, 3, 4: "The more the poor receive the more they demand, for this sort of aid is like pouring water into a leaky jar."

taxes were increased, direct taxes were levied even in time of peace, the burden of liturgies and "voluntary" contributions became heavier, monopolies were sold, coinage was debased, though Athens forswore this course and was rewarded by the general acceptance of her "owls" at their face value, and properties were confiscated on inadequate pretexts. In spite of these constant exactions, businessmen prospered. Sometimes a state averted bankruptcy by loans from citizens who had managed their personal affairs better than those of the city.

Private wealth and luxury created a demand for the finer products of domestic industry and foreign importation. Industry was still conducted by small shops, but with increasing specialization. One shoemaker cut out the leather, another stitched it. One shop made shoes for men and another for women, and four different establishments united in the making of a single elaborate lampstand. Extant speeches illustrate the wide ramifications of banking houses like that of the metic Pasion at Athens, to provide for the increasing credit requirements of distant trade, though the Greeks never fully developed the science of banking. Although Athens no longer had an imperial monopoly of trade, the situation and facilities of Peiræus, the products of Attica, especially Pentelic marble, the reputation of her currency, and her close relations with the Bosporan kingdom helped to restore her commercial leadership, and to make her a valuable ally.

Prices rose steadily, and though wages sometimes kept pace with them, the competition of slave and free labor increased, poverty and unemployment became serious factors, and there were fewer public projects to provide work. Communistic theories flourished, but were seldom put into practice. Schemes for redistribution of wealth had been current since the early revolutions, and at Athens the jurors in the fourth century B.C. still took the ancient pledge not to support the cancellation of debts or the redistribution of lands and houses.<sup>4</sup> The diminishing birthrate tended to stabilize the population and the widespread demand for mercenary soldiers took many men from Greece, but the need of an outlet through colonization was still felt, as Isocrates' proposal for the conquest and settlement of Asia Minor indicates.

While many farmers kept to their old ways, the new science affected agriculture in the more progressive districts. Treatises on farming and botany were written, and mineral fertilizers, the three-field system, and a limited use of crop rotation helped to increase the farmer's output. Agriculture was still recognized as the basic activity of the people, and suffered neither from the charges of corruption levelled against the newer sources of income, nor the aversion with which well-born men and their imitators regarded other forms of manual labor. Plato's ideal state was essentially

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<sup>4</sup> The chief clauses of this oath are given in Glotz, *The Greek City* (Knopf, 1930), 755.

a farming community in which crafts and commerce were reduced to a minimum by simple standards of living and the principle of self-sufficiency. The actual states of the fourth century B.C., however, rejected Plato's ideal of isolation for increasing cosmopolitanism, and his communism for the pursuit of individual profit. Athens, now more Hellenic than Attic, became more truly the school of Hellas. Many foreign gods were worshipped in the city and at Peiræus. The Attic speech became the standard Greek usage. (Reading List 56)

### LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

Homer seemed old-fashioned and irrational to many of the new generation, and Euripidean rationalism dominated the tragedies of the fourth century B.C., which won no lasting reputation. Comedy now dealt with subjects of general human interest rather than local politics. Romantic plots and burlesques of mythological characters, especially the gluttonous Heracles, were popular, and such plays were appropriate for production in any Greek city. The *Panegyric* of Isocrates emphasized the supremacy of Athenian orators in "power of thought and speech," a boast fully justified by his own orations and those of Lysias, Demosthenes, and others. The individualism of the age is illustrated also in historical writing. Though only fragments remain of the greater histories of Ephorus and Theopompus, the works of Xenophon, mediocre as they are in contrast with Herodotus and Thucydides, were much influenced by the teachings of Socrates, and show a keen interest in biographical detail.

The lesser philosophic schools founded by disciples of Socrates approached the problem of individual conduct from different angles. The Cynics distrusted all material goods as transitory and as harmful to the individual soul, and renounced ordinary social life for an extravagant asceticism, while they pursued the common aim of justice and peace among men, regardless of the restrictions of the city-state and the usual barriers between Greek and "barbarian." The Cyrenaics, on the other hand, sought the Good in the pleasures of the senses. The two sects agreed in making personal choice and not the customs of the state the criterion for individual life. (Reading Lists 51, 57)

### SCULPTURE

Three of the arts most popular at this period, music, choral poetry, and painting, have left very little evidence for our study. Fine painted pottery was generally superseded by vessels of more precious materials, though the south Italian cities produced handsome vases in a florid style which gives some indications of new techniques in composition and perspective, but lacks the restraint and purity of line characteristic of best Attic work.

The Athenian sculptor Praxiteles illustrates the versatility of his age; his favorite subjects were the youthful divinities, Aphrodite, Eros, Apollo, and Hermes, whom he portrayed with slender and graceful proportions and a more relaxed pose than the Polyclitan type. His representation of Aphrodite by an undraped figure may have been a revival of an earlier cult type, but it was peculiarly adapted to his genius, and the Aphrodite of Cnidus would have won wide fame even without the controversy aroused by the use of a human model for the goddess. The Aphrodite of Cnidus is now known only through later copies, and a fine Hellenistic statue of the goddess by an unknown artist, the Aphrodite of Cyrene, suggests better than these what grace and loveliness Praxiteles' masterpiece must have had (Plate 46).

The cult statue of Demeter at Cnidus, by an unidentified sculptor, has all the dignity and repose that a fifth century B.C. artist would have given it, together with the intensity of feeling characteristic of the fourth century B.C. (Plate 44). Among the treasures of original Greek sculpture are the many Attic tombstones, the work of minor artists, but instinct with beauty. Their themes are chosen not from death but from life, the spirited charge of a youthful horseman, or the family grouped in farewell about the one who is about to leave them, as if an ordinary journey were in prospect (Plate 45).

Praxiteles' contemporary, Scopas of Paros, was best known for his vivid portrayal of deep emotion and passion; his great monument was the Doric temple at Tegea, with the Arcadian legend of the Calydonian boar hunt as the theme of its sculpture. Only battered fragments of this work survive, but copies of the figure of Meleager confirm the judgment of his contemporaries. The Greeks and Amazons of the frieze from the tomb of the Carian king Mausolus, in which Scopas cooperated with other sculptors, move swiftly in the heat of battle, while the dominant lines of the composition concentrate attention on the life and ardor of the individual figures (Plate 43b).

The Peloponnesian Lysippus, the favorite artist of Alexander of Macedon and the most prolific and versatile of Greek sculptors, was famous for his statues of athletes and their prototype Heracles. (Reading List 32)

#### ARCHITECTURE

Few important temples were built after the great activity of the fifth century B.C., but the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi was now rebuilt for the sixth time by contributions from all the Greeks, and the ruined temples of Ionia were magnificently restored, especially those of Apollo at Didyma and Artemis at Ephesus. The precinct of Asclepius at Epidaurus became a luxurious health resort for wealthy patrons, and was richly equipped with dormitories, shrines, stadium, and the most perfectly proportioned of Greek

theatres. Elsewhere, also, permanent stone theatres were constructed, but the stage buildings were so much remodelled in later times that their character in the fourth century B.C. is disputed. The theatres served not only for dramatic performances but for public meetings, and when the Arcadians constructed Megalepolis, "the big city," as the capital, they connected its theatre with the meeting-hall for the council of the league. The walls of Messene, also built during the Theban supremacy, show how far the art of fortification had now developed. (Reading List 31)

### THE SECOND ATHENIAN CONFEDERACY

A decade after the King's Peace, the Chalcidic, Bœotian, and Athenian leagues were renewed, the two latter in direct opposition to the Spartan supremacy, and the former, as of old, for defense against Macedonian aggression, which greatly increased after the accession of Philip II in 359 B.C. The definition of Athenian claims to Hellenic leadership in the *Panegyric* of Isocrates in 380 B.C. was followed three years later by the creation of a defensive league "to force the Lacedæmonians to allow the Greeks to enjoy peace in freedom and independence."

The second Athenian Confederacy was thus founded on hostility between the Greeks instead of the union of Greeks against barbarians; its membership was more restricted than that of the first, since the Ionians were no longer free and many of the islands did not join. On the other hand, the independent rights of the allies were carefully safeguarded. The council of the league was to meet at Athens with no Athenians present, and its decisions were to have equal weight with those of the ecclesia. Athenians were forbidden to own land in the territory of the allies, and contributions were to be exacted only as actual need arose; this was necessary in view of the general resentment of Athenian use of the imperial tributes in the Periclean Age, but imposed a heavy burden on Athens. In a crisis there was no time to collect contributions from the allies before ships could be built and manned. Whether a confederacy so organized could have become the basis of a lasting hegemony is doubtful; it actually survived 25 years.

A few years after the league was organized, Thebes built a fleet expressly to break down the maritime power of Athens, relying on the disaffection of the allies, whose liberties were already being infringed. The Athenian Timotheus, however, brilliantly retrieved the situation and made Athens the strongest state in Greece by destroying the shortlived naval power of Thebes.

A few years later more serious trouble arose when Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, provoked by the increasing imperialism of Athens, and encouraged by the support of Mausolus of Caria, revolted from the Confederacy. Other states joined in this Social War of the allies against Athens, and the

peace made in 355 B.C. left Athens few supporters except Eubœa, recently recovered from Thebes, and some Thracian colonies, with the neighboring islands.

#### THE POLICIES OF EUBULUS

The war with Thebes and fruitless campaigns against Philip of Macedon, whose aggressions in Chalcidice could not be checked by the small forces which Athens sent to the north, increased the financial exhaustion of the city, and made possible the ascendancy of Eubulus, who in 354 B.C. was elected treasurer of the Theoric Fund for a term of several years. His reorganization of the financial and military administration was far more practical than that proposed in a contemporary pamphlet on *Ways and Means of Increasing the Revenues*, which gives a valuable picture of existing conditions, but offers an unsound program based on the assumption of unlimited natural resources. Eubulus' major purpose was to secure adequate defense and prevent aggressive war. He paid up the public debt, put the fleet, docks, and walls in sound condition, and planned the budget to meet the legitimate needs of the state in time of peace, with a substantial surplus for public festivals and the customary doles. In one sense this use of the surplus was a concession to the greed of the people, who were compared by a contemporary to shareholders demanding a distribution of profits,<sup>5</sup> but it was an effective check on their readiness to vote for a war that would consume funds otherwise devoted to their pleasure. Conditions had greatly changed since the famous controversy of Themistocles and Aristides over the surplus revenues from Laurium. Thanks to the wisdom of Eubulus, however, Athens was in sound condition by the middle of the century.

#### JASON OF PHERÆ

While Epaminondas and Pelopidas were training the picked forces of the Theban Sacred Band and perfecting the Bœotian phalanx, Jason, the wealthy ruler of Pheræ, gained control of Thessaly by means of a mercenary army and made an alliance with Macedon. From 374 B.C. until Jason's assassination in the year 370 Thessaly was the decisive factor in Greek affairs.

The superb Thessalian cavalry gave Jason considerable advantage in conflicts on land and he created a fleet which threatened the sea power of Athens. His display of munificence and power at the Delphic festival was interpreted as a prelude to the formation of a Greek union under his hegemony for war with Persia. In the meantime, his alliance with the

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<sup>5</sup> *Æschines, Against Ctesiphon, 251.*

Bœotian League threatened the security of Athens, who made overtures to the Peloponnesian League in the interest of peace.

### THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

The Peace of Callias, formulated at Sparta in 371, was a renewal of the King's Peace, and provided for general Greek autonomy and the recall of all troops and garrisons. Sparta, however, agreed to recognize the Athenian maritime alliance as a union of autonomous allies on an equal basis with the Peloponnesian League. In one sense the Bœotian League had an even better claim to recognition, for it grew out of the geographical and historical unity of Bœotia, and its constitution, adopted in the middle of the fifth century B.C., provided for complete representation of the several cities in the federal council and the army in proportion to their military strength. There was no question, however, that Thebes was now sovereign in the League, and her growing strength menaced both Athens and the Peloponnesians. Epaminondas' right to take the oath on behalf of all Bœotia was denied and, at the instance of Agesilaus, Thebes was excluded from the peace. The Spartan army in Phocis was ordered to invade Bœotia instead of returning home, and was defeated at Leuctra by a smaller Bœotian force. Even more than Epaminondas' military innovations, the joint action of cavalry and infantry and the mass attack of a powerful wedge of troops, his concentration on an immediate repulse of the strong right-wing of the enemy won Thebes the victory and made the long-established hoplite tactics of Sparta obsolete.

Thereafter Thebes took the initiative and used her influence to destroy Spartan ascendancy in the Peloponnesus. The Mantineans rebuilt their city, and Arcadia formed a federal union with a new city, Megalepolis, as its capital. In 370 B.C. the decisive blow was struck. The Messenians established their independence with Theban help, and together with their countrymen who had sought freedom elsewhere and with Laconian helots and perœci, built the fortified city of Messene at their old stronghold of Mount Ithome. Like Attica, Messenia was a single city-state, with its administration centred at Messene. The constitution was well planned and the state prospered. The loss of the land and helots of Messenia made it impossible for Sparta to undertake any considerable enterprise so long as she attempted to maintain her old economic and social system.

Epaminondas extended the authority of Thebes in central Greece and Thessaly and exacted hostages from Macedonia, among whom was the future king Philip II. These aggressions and the abortive attempt to establish a navy led Athens to form an alliance with Sparta, in which Elis, Mantinea, and the northern Arcadians joined. In 362 the Thebans invaded Arcadia, and the battle fought near Mantinea seemed likely to repeat

their triumph at Leuctra. But Epaminondas was killed, and both sides erected trophies of victory. A *status quo* peace was concluded which Sparta refused to sign since it confirmed Messenian independence. The Theban supremacy had destroyed the power of Sparta without providing any successor to her leadership. Epaminondas was a military but not a political genius; the power of Thebes declined after his death, and with it the strength and influence of the Boeotian League.

#### THE PHOCIAN SUPREMACY

After the dissolution of the Athenian naval confederacy seven years later, no purely Greek state exercised extensive power outside its own borders. A brief attempt at hegemony was made in 355 B.C. by the Phocians, whose part in Hellenic affairs had hitherto been a minor one. Accused of sacrilege by the Amphictyonic Council, they resisted its authority and seized the treasures at Delphi, the gifts of countless Greeks and barbarians to the god Apollo, to provide funds to hire mercenaries for this Sacred War. For a brief period, they gained wide power in Thessaly and central Greece, but their strength depended entirely on a few able generals and the resources of Apollo. The Phocian supremacy is significant chiefly as an example of reckless desire for power and for the opportunity it gave to Philip of Macedon, whose intervention against the Phocians was sought by some of the Thessalians. Thereafter the fortunes of Greece were conditioned by Philip's ambitions. (Reading List 58)

#### GREEK POLITICAL THEORY: PLATO AND ISOCRATES

The history of the Greek states in the fourth century B.C. is an unhappy tale which shows only too clearly their inability to live in harmony with each other or to unite against foreign aggression. Yet the essential unity of Greece was never more clearly grasped than by the chief thinkers of the time, who laid the foundations for the study of political science and of the common obligations and interests of man.

The distressing conditions of the age naturally led to intensive study of the Socratic problem how the individual, using reason as the guide of his political and ethical judgments, could best order his life in the community. The contrast between actual politics and ideal political activity led to the search for a form of government which might serve as the basis for lasting order and prosperity. In spite of the current corruption in Sparta, her comparative freedom from factional strife made the Spartan government seem to many the best model to follow.

The fullest study of the ideal state was Plato's *Republic*, a Socratic dialogue which sought to define civic and individual justice. In the self-sufficient agricultural community pictured in the *Republic*, specialization

of functions went even further than at Sparta, for the men who were assigned to manual labor had to provide not only for the military class but for the philosophers who governed the state, and were expected to achieve the highest good for the individual and the social organism together. The much-discussed communism of the Platonic state was a natural outgrowth of the principle that all the citizens, men and women alike, could be assigned to the three classes of workers, soldiers and philosophers according to their individual abilities, and that when they were educated for their several rôles their desires and ambitions would be determined by their functions. Individual rivalry would thus be eliminated and the Good, determined by reason, would be substituted for material and personal aims. Hegemony and imperialism had no place in such a scheme, but even so Plato could not plan a state in the Greek world without an army.

The scope of the *Republic*, as of the philosophy to which it belongs, is far too great for summary here, but we may note its effective application to political problems of the validity of justice, truth, and the other virtues as eternal *ideas* or forms contrasted with their imperfect approximations in civic life. The great cycle of successive purifications and rebirths which the soul must undergo before its final attainment of the Good made the life of the citizen and the state a transitory phenomenon which was significant only as it affected the soul. But Plato was too much an Athenian in his conscious appreciation of the life about him to forswear it as the Cynics did, and both the *Republic* and his later studies of a more practicable government have a close bearing on current conditions and on the political thought of lesser men.

The orator Isocrates stood midway between the philosopher and the practical politician. His advocacy of Hellenic unity has already been mentioned. He believed wholeheartedly in the greatness of Hellas and in the rôle of Athens as its proper leader, though he openly condemned the selfish views and practices of Greek politicians. He bitterly opposed imperialism, and recognized that the true greatness of Athens must depend on her absolute integrity and her good name among the Hellenes. "Athens," he wrote, "can win a true hegemony and maintain it if the Hellenes are convinced that our power is to be the instrument, not of their slavery, but of their salvation."<sup>6</sup>

Isocrates drew from past Hellenic history his examples of the ruinous effect on the Greeks of selfish motives and interstate rivalry, and his arguments for the attainment of true unity by "the most necessary and righteous war which we wage in alliance with the Hellenes against the barbarians, who are by nature our foes and are eternally plotting against us."<sup>7</sup> After the Social War destroyed the possibility of Athenian leadership in the

<sup>6</sup> Isocrates, *On the Peace*, 133.

<sup>7</sup> *Panathenaicus*, 163.

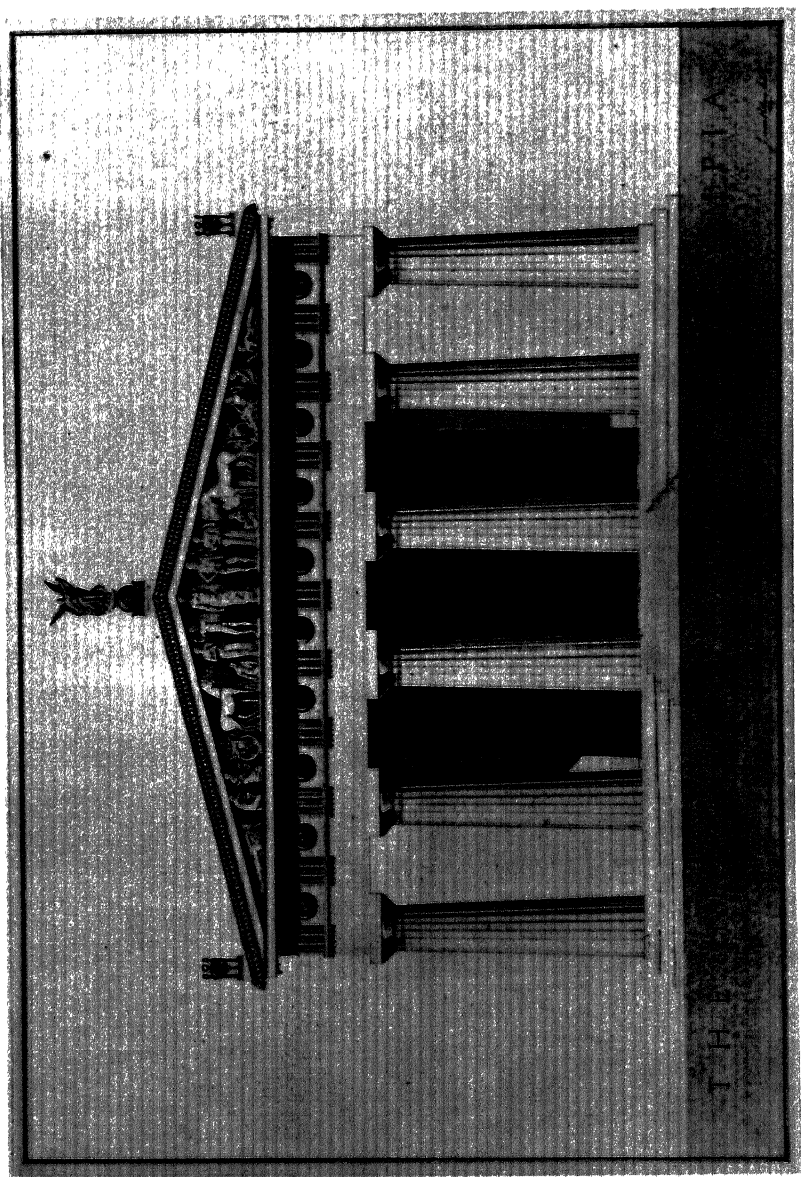
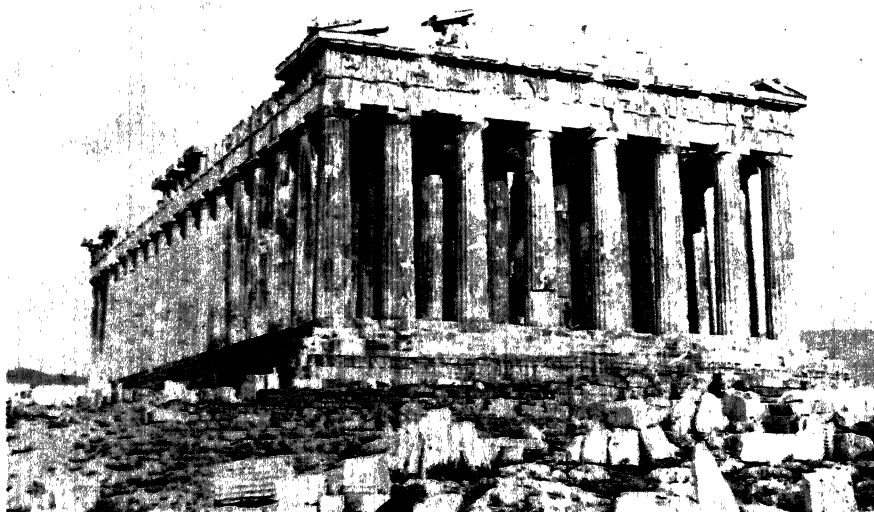


PLATE 41

Doric Temple of Zeus at Olympia, completed c. 456 B.C., east elevation  
*Reconstruction by James K. Smith*



a: The Parthenon, completed 438 B.C.

*Photograph by Walter Agard*



b: The Erechtheum, north side, completed c. 406 B.C.

*Photograph by Clarence Kennedy*

## PLATE 42



a: The Parthenon Frieze, east side: maidens and marshals in the Panathenaic Procession

Louvre



b: Frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus: Battle of Greeks and Amazons

British Museum

## PLATE 43

*Photographs by Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*



The Demeter of Cnidos  
*Courtesy of the British Museum*

PLATE 44



Grave Stele of Lysistrate Panathenais, 4th century B.C.

*Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

PLATE 45



The Aphrodite of Cyrene

National Museum, Rome

*Photograph Alinari*

PLATE 46



a: Mosaic copied from a painting of the Battle of Issus

Naples Museum

*Photograph Alinari*



b: Relief from the 'Alexander Sarcophagus,' Alexander and Persian warriors

Museum, Istanbul

*Photograph by Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

## PLATE 47



Gaul and his Wife, copy of a Pergamene Group, 3rd century B.C.

National Museum, Rome

*Photograph Alinari*

PLATE 48

project which he hoped would end Hellenic conflicts by offering a new field for concerted effort, Isocrates turned to Philip and urged him to undertake the great enterprise. The tyranny and the failure of the Greek hegemonies led others also to look to Macedon for aid and to accept Philip as a Greek leader of the Greeks. (Reading List 59)

## XVI

### THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE

*For our times have experienced the most unexpected reversals of fortune. We have lived no ordinary lives but were born to be a source of amazement to those who come after.* —Æschines

MACEDONIA LAY BETWEEN the Greek and barbarian worlds and partook of the character of both. The royal family had sufficient Greek blood to be accepted as competitors in the panhellenic games, but how closely the people as a whole were related to the Greeks is uncertain. After Pisistratus established friendship with a Macedonian king, the court became increasingly Hellenized and by the end of the fifth century B.C. was a favorite resort of Greek artists and poets. But the country which Philip II ruled in 359 B.C. was a territorial union of tribes connected by the king's authority, rather than a nation. The only active function of the general assembly was that of trying capital cases, and political life in the Greek sense was unknown.

The Macedonians were hardy peasants, hunters, and fighters, who still practiced the blood-feud and were unacquainted with industry and commerce. Their cavalry was superb, their infantry poorly equipped and untrained; they had no navy and no secure control of the narrow strip of Macedonian coast. The royal succession was seldom peaceful: assassination was frequent, and few kings gained undisputed authority without crushing their rivals. Philip himself ruled for several years as regent for an infant nephew before he claimed the royal title in his own right. The attempts of earlier kings to extend their territory resulted in few permanent gains; some of the neighboring tribes were made tributary, and more were subjected for brief periods, to gain their freedom when a favorable opportunity offered, often with the aid of independent neighbors. Macedonia was brought into contact with Athens by Athenian interests in Chalcidice, while in the early fourth century B.C. Thessalian ambitions exposed the southern frontier to the aggressions of Jason and of Thebes in turn. Philip, whose boyhood as a hostage in Thebes made him better acquainted with Greek society and government than his predecessors, needed to weld his tribal subjects into a united nation, to create an efficient army, and to gain firm control over the Illyrians, Pæonians, and Thracians, before he could turn his attention to establishing Macedonian authority in the Hellenic world. His accomplishment of these aims was the essential foundation for the world power of his famous son.

## THE EARLY YEARS OF PHILIP'S REIGN

At the outset Philip gained temporary security by buying off the Pæonians and Thracians, crushed the pretenders to the throne, and won Athenian friendship at the price of his claims to Amphipolis. He then remodelled the army as an instrument of conquest and nationalization, and soon formed a professional force with a national spirit. Territorial organization yielded to classification according to skill and rank. The mounted companions of the king formed the royal bodyguard, next to whom were the crack infantry forces known as the Silver Shields. Philip's phalanx was widely spaced to allow free use of the long Macedonian pikes, and depended for its effectiveness on skilful manipulation of weapons, and on simultaneous frontal attacks by the infantry and flank attacks by the cavalry.

To equip and maintain such an army required greater resources than Macedonia afforded, and made the acquisition of the Thracian gold mines important. After victorious campaigns against the Illyrians and Pæonians on the northern frontier, Philip seized Mount Pangæus and secured access to the mines, which yielded him 1000 talents annually, by a colony at Philippi, and by the seizure of Amphipolis. This meant war with Athens, who formed futile alliances with Philip's northern enemies, but the revolts in the Athenian Confederacy diverted her attention to the eastern colonies and the aggressions of Mausolus of Caria. Philip was therefore able to gain control of the Thermaic Gulf by capturing Pydna and Potidæa and to begin building a fleet. Macedonia had abundant timber, but could not furnish such oarsmen as those of Athens, and the new navy did not reach large proportions. Philip characteristically prevented the Chalcidians from uniting with Athens against him by ceding Potidæa to Olynthus, the chief city of the Chalcidic League. His success was due both to his readiness to make concessions with a view to future gains, and to the misplaced confidence of the Greeks. Up to this time the Chalcidic and Thracian cities and Athens were the only Greek states directly affected by Philip's power.

## THE SACRED WAR AND THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES

Thebes, still cherishing her dream of power, was the prime instigator of the events which made Philip the arbiter of Greek affairs; her chief instrument, the Amphictyonic Council for the protection of Delphi, was not important in Greek politics at any other time. The Thebans persuaded the Amphictyons to pass decrees against the Phocians as an excuse to occupy their territory, but by 353 B.C. Phocis controlled western Bœotia and twice defeated Philip in Thessaly where rival factions had appealed to both powers. The Phocian alliances with Athens, Sparta, and the Achæans threatened for a time to turn this Sacred War into a Hellenic conflict, but in 352 B.C. Philip forced the Phocians out of Thessaly.

Since the chief Thracian ruler was now tributary to Macedonia, the double threat to the Athenian grain trade and to the security of central Greece forced Eubulus to forsake his policy of non-intervention and dispatch troops to Thermopylæ. Philip wisely decided not to imperil his growing power in Greece by a war without the religious pretext which the Phocian issue had given him, and withdrew to Chalcidice, while Demosthenes constantly urged the Athenians to check his subjection of their allies. Philip's lavish bribery of leading Olynthians to prevent them from resisting his aggressions in Chalcidice is proved by the remains of the city, where the bathtubs and other luxuries, which Demosthenes described as bought with Macedonian gold, have recently been discovered. The Athenians were slow to act, since they were faced by dangers closer to home and regularly underestimated Philip's strength, so that they neither maintained a safe neutrality, nor furnished the forces needed for effective action. In 348 Philip abandoned bribery for conquest, sacked and destroyed Olynthus, and gained full control of Chalcidice. Some of the Chalcidians were deported to the interior of Macedonia to found centres of Hellenism there.

The great increase of the Macedonian coastline made peace with the chief naval power of Greece desirable. The proposed Greek union against Macedonia was frustrated by the decision of Thebes to ask Philip's help against the Phocians. Athens lacked the resources and the popular will for a serious conflict; even Demosthenes now favored an interval of peace during which to build up military strength and anti-Macedonian sentiment. An embassy dispatched at the motion of Philocrates, and under his leadership, arranged for an alliance on the basis of the actual possessions of the two powers when the treaty should be finally ratified. This secured Amphipolis and Chalcidice to Philip and reduced the Athenian holdings on the northern coast to the Thracian Chersonese, which was essential for trade with the Black Sea region. Philip's shrewd handling of the negotiations, and the failure of the envoys to safeguard their Phocian allies, aroused bitter feeling in Athens which increased the influence of Demosthenes' party. From 346 B.C., when the Peace of Philocrates was signed, the property tax was annually levied to finance preparations for war.

Philip was now free to act in central Greece. He forced the Phocians to separate into small villages, and debarred them from Delphi and from all military activity until full reparation should be made to the treasury of Apollo; the god was now under the protection of Macedon. Philip received the Phocian votes in the Amphictyonic Council and was invited to preside at the Pythian Games. His chief ambitions were now realized; his army was an effective source of national pride, his sovereignty extended from Thrace to Thermopylæ, and his military and financial resources were greater than those of any Greek state. Since the death of Mausolus in 353 the only naval power in the Ægean superior to his own was that of Athens.

## PHILIP AND DEMOSTHENES: 346-338 B.C.

The time for half measures was long past, and it was imperative that the Athenians should either support the peace party led by Eubulus, Æschines, Philocrates, and the "incorruptible" Phocion, and rely on their naval strength and Philip's known admiration for Athens to secure Hellas against aggression, or sacrifice all other considerations to active resistance before Philip became too strong. Prudence dictated the former course, but the patriotic traditions of the city, constantly recalled by the oratory of Demosthenes, stood in the way. While Athens wavered, the Thessalians legalized Philip's sovereignty over them by electing him archon, and Sparta's enemies in the Peloponnesus were won over by his promises of help. The death of the king of Epirus, his father-in-law, gave Philip an opportunity to establish his overlordship in western Greece, and the Ætolians became his allies, while their neighbors sought the support of Athens.

The last hope of resistance to Philip in the north was destroyed by his reduction of Thrace to the status of a subject province. The peace was now broken, and a naval war began. Philip's first serious setback came with the failure of his siege of Perinthus and Byzantium on the Propontis. Philip surpassed even Dionysius in the efficiency of his siege engines, but the two cities were nobly fortified by nature and art, and were helped not only by the Athenian fleet, but by Artaxerxes, who wished to keep the Macedonians farther from his frontiers.

THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE  
HELLENIC LEAGUE

At this juncture Amphictyonic policies resulted in a new Sacred War which gave Philip an excuse to return and fortify Elatea, on the road from Thermopylæ to Thebes and Athens. Both states would be at his mercy if either were subdued, and the Thebans had long resented Philip's influence in central Greece. They now refused his demand for aid in the march on Attica, and accepted the alliance offered by Demosthenes. Interstate hostilities and private interests were at last forgotten in a concerted effort by the two chief cities of Greece and their few allies to secure the autonomy of Hellas. The two armies were numerically equal, but the Macedonian was superior in generalship and training, and won a decisive victory at Chæronea in the late summer of 338 B.C.

Philip had nothing to gain by further war in Greece, since all but Sparta now acknowledged his hegemony and accepted his summons to an Hellenic Congress at Corinth. Thebes was punished for her disloyalty by the dissolution of the Bœotian Confederacy, a Macedonian garrison in the citadel, and an oligarchy of Philip's supporters, a far milder treatment than she had proposed for Athens less than a century earlier. Athens was spared the

horrors of invasion; she had to forfeit the Chersonese and dissolve her confederacy, but her navy was left intact and the islands most necessary for her trade, Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, Samos, and Delos, remained in her possession. Harsher terms would have been inconsistent with the rôle which Philip now assumed as hegemon of the Hellenic League of independent cities, and so long as Athens remained loyal, her fleet, her industries, and her commerce would be useful complements to the military strength of Macedonia.

Philip completed his individual arrangements with the Greek cities before the general congress met. In the Peloponnesus he transferred some lands on the Spartan frontier to the neighboring states and reorganized the Arcadian League. The Hellenic Congress held later in the year at Corinth organized an offensive and defensive alliance under Philip's hegemony. The existing constitutions were to be retained, interstate disputes were to be referred to the Council as a Hellenic court, and freedom of the seas was promised. The small states bade fair to profit by the internal peace and unity thus afforded. Members of the league were forbidden to enroll in the service of any foreign power hostile to Philip.

At the second meeting of the Congress, the ambitions of Macedonia and the old dream of the Greeks were united in the proposal to invade the territory of the Great King and conquer Asia Minor. Whether Philip was influenced by Isocrates is uncertain, but the considerations that the Athenian orator had urged were of vital importance to him. Hellenic unity and prosperity seemed most likely to be furthered by substituting this great war for local conflicts, and opening up fresh areas for colonial and commercial enterprise would enhance the value of Macedonian acquisitions, while no other conquest would win so much glory for the leader.

While preparations were under way in the summer of 336 B.C., Philip was murdered. Few monarchies have so increased their power in a short period as Macedonia in the 23 years of Philip's reign. Like the Median and Persian empires, Macedonia linked the older political units of the Mediterranean world with tribal districts which now for the first time came within its sphere.

Greek patriots exalted Chæronea as the last stand of Greek freedom against Macedonian despotism, and Demosthenes was never more honored than after the failure of the action which he had so long and ardently sponsored. The motives of the alliance against Philip were more clearly remembered than the reasons for its futility. Appraisal of Demosthenes' achievement is necessarily subjective and depends on the relative values assigned to ardent patriotism and to prudent statesmanship, to the maintenance of an ideal and to the recognition of actual conditions. Of his genius as patriot and orator, there can be no doubt; his style and sentiments have inspired many of the best public speeches made from the stirring conflicts of

the Roman Republic to those of nineteenth-century England and America. (Reading List 60)

### ARISTOTLE'S VIEW OF THE CITY-STATE

Those who live in a cold climate and in Europe are full of spirit but wanting in intelligence and skill; and therefore they retain comparative freedom, but have no political organization, and are incapable of ruling over others. Whereas the natives of Asia are intelligent and inventive, but they are wanting in spirit, and therefore they are always in a state of subjection and slavery. But the Hellenic race, which is situated between them, is likewise intermediate in character, being high-spirited and intelligent. Hence it continues free, and is the best governed of any nation, and if it could be formed into one state, would be able to rule the world.<sup>1</sup>

Aristotle's estimate of Hellenic character was not dictated by mere sentiment. Born at Stagira, a Greek colony in Chalcidice, he studied and taught in Plato's Academy, and lived for some time in Asia Minor and for a longer period at the Macedonian court, where he was tutor to the young Alexander. Early in his pupil's reign he returned to Athens to found his own philosophic school in the grove of the Lyceum, whose broad walks gave his disciples their name of "Peripatetic" philosophers. Though he was profoundly influenced by the teachings of Plato he differed from him in many respects, and notably in his conviction that full reality is vested in the concrete world of actual experience, not in the universal idea. Hence he undertook to study all aspects of life, collecting and classifying examples, testing received opinions in the light of experience, and formulating general laws by the intuitive interpretation of these materials. To this method we owe the classification of the various branches of philosophy and the basic terminology of science and criticism. By thus fixing the genera and species of scientific study, Aristotle completed one aspect of the work of the sophists, and outlined so wide a field for study in the centuries during which he was to be the "Master of those who know," that only the restrictions imposed by lesser minds and the unprecedented expansion of science in the modern world could make his encyclopedic system an inadequate basis for intellectual pursuits.

The study of natural sciences, literary criticism, and formal logic culminated in that of political theory, which Aristotle conceived as the chief of all sciences, since the highest good of the individual could only be attained in relation to that of the state. Political theory was thus, as in the teachings of Socrates and Plato, identical with ethics.

Aristotle's writings in this field included many monographs on the governments of Greek cities, of which that on the *Constitution of Athens*

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* VII, 6, quoted from Jowett's translation, by permission of The Oxford University Press.

is preserved, four books on *Customs*, apparently those of barbarians who had no state in the Aristotelian sense, and other lost treatises, which furnished the basis for the broad synthesis of the *Politics*. The *Politics* is neither detached from contemporary political experience nor subject to its pettier limitations. It is a general definition of the functions of the city-state as seen by its chief interpreter, in the period of transition from autonomy to the Hellenistic monarchies.

Aristotle thought that the Greeks, if united, could govern the world, but he did not think it desirable that they should do so. The function of the city was to provide the natural centre for human life, in which the perfection of the citizen could be attained; his ideal, therefore, was like that of Plato, the small, complete and self-sufficient state. He ascribed to the undue growth of cities the abuses of democracy in his own time, which he accepted as an unpleasant necessity imposed by current conditions. The ideal government might be that of the one, the few, or the many, but its aim must be the common good of the citizens. This, however, could not be achieved by Platonic communism, for the capacities and characters of men differed greatly, and the state must provide the good life for each according to his ability to enjoy it, recognizing the essential rights of private property and the family. Slavery was justified by the principle that some men were slaves by nature, incapable of political freedom, and valuable only as adjuncts to the civic life of the free; the slavery of Greeks was contrary to nature. As in Plato's state, education was of great importance and, if properly conducted, should enable every citizen to attain his full powers, though it could not produce the general equality which was assumed in the Periclean theory. The rule of the strong man, if his strength were used with wisdom and mercy for the general good, was not considered inconsistent with the principles of the city-state. It was conceivable that the city-state should continue its normal functions within the wider sphere of an empire, provided that the ruler followed Aristotle's advice to Alexander, that he should be only leader of the Greeks though he was master of the barbarians. The achievement of such an end, however, would depend also on the good will of the citizens. (Reading List 59)

#### THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER

Alexander (Plate 40c) was barely twenty years old when Philip was assassinated at the instance of his queen Olympias; his succession to the hereditary throne of Macedonia was endangered by the rivalry of his half-brothers and other members of the royal family, while his authority over Philip's other territories was threatened by revolts. His capacity was severely tested before he could resume plans for the war with Persia. Born in 356 B.C., he had grown up under the influence of Philip's increasing power; he inherited both his father's admiration for Hellenism, especially as it was

embodied in the culture of Athens, and the legalized hegemony over the Greeks which Philip had established. His first move after disposing of possible rivals to the throne was to establish his authority in Thessaly and summon a meeting of the Greeks at Corinth, which made the Hellenic League a permanent organization under his leadership and that of his successors.

The annexation of the coasts of Thrace had aroused the less civilized tribes of the interior whom Philip had not completely subdued. Alexander's campaign against them in 335 B.C., conducted with remarkable daring and ingenuity, enabled him to extend his power to the Danube, and thus gain a definite and defensible frontier. The new boundary was secured by a swift expedition across the river against the Getæ, whose panic-stricken flight led their southern neighbors to submit without conflict.

### THE GREEK REVOLT

The Persians vainly attempted to bribe the Greek cities to revolt against Alexander and thus prevent the invasion of Asia Minor. But reports of the young king's death in the Thracian war inspired active rebellion, which was heralded by attacks on the garrisons that Philip had placed at the Theban acropolis, Chalcis, and Corinth. Alexander's amazingly swift march into Bœotia caused prompt submission except at Thebes, whose recalcitrance was an act of defiance not only against Alexander but against the Hellenic League. With the concurrence and probably at the instigation of the Bœotians and Phocians, who had so often suffered from Theban domination in the past, Thebes was destroyed and its land was divided among the neighboring cities. The women and children were sold into slavery and refugees were outlawed from the league. Though Alexander had no illusions about the nature of the enforced submission of the other Greeks, he wisely limited reprisals to the destruction of Thebes, and even pardoned Demosthenes and other instigators of the rising. In spite of the revolt, he planned the conquest of Asia as a panhellenic enterprise, though the Greek contingents had a less important part in it than in Philip's project.

### THE ANNEXATION OF ASIA MINOR

Philip had left a remarkably efficient army, trained by constant campaigns and commanded by excellent officers, notable among whom were Antipater, Alexander's regent in Macedonia and Greece, and Parmenio, his chief aide in the conquest of western Asia. But the fleet, even with Athenian help, was inferior to the navies which Persia controlled. The treasury, in spite of the Thracian mines, was scarcely adequate for the increased expenses of the administration, even without a great foreign war. Macedonia was to have much the rôle in Alexander's empire that Persia had had

in that of Cyrus and Darius, as a reservoir of soldiers and officials and a national centre for the ruling stock. The efficiency of the Macedonian troops, the skill of their officers, and above all the genius of their king, must be his chief reliance in the war with the fabulously great and wealthy power of Persia. Persia had come to depend on Greek mercenary troops, and the bulk of the native levies which could be raised would be of little service against the phalanx. Artaxerxes Ochus, who had shown his ability a few years earlier in the suppression of the western revolts and the reconquest of Egypt, was assassinated in 338 B.C.; Darius III, the last of the Achæmenid rulers, was less able.

No attempt was made to prevent Alexander from crossing to Asia in the spring of 334 B.C. After he had commemorated the first great Hellenic expedition to Asia by a sacrifice at the tomb of Achilles, Alexander won a decisive victory over the Persians at the Granicus River. Darius evacuated Asia Minor in order to gather a greater force for the next conflict. The cities of the eastern coast opened their gates to the victor, except for Miletus and Halicarnassus, where Persian garrisons composed of Greek mercenaries enforced resistance, but were eventually captured. It is not certain whether the Asiatic cities were admitted to the Hellenic League as the islanders had been, or were put under the direct authority of Alexander, but in either case they ceased to be tributary to Persia, and formed democratic governments in place of the pro-Persian oligarchies.

Lydia submitted without opposition and the chief western satrapy of Persia was assigned to a Macedonian official. Caria was left to the civil administration of a native princess, who adopted Alexander as her son, but the military command was given to a Macedonian. The necessity of leaving garrisons in the newly acquired territory was offset by the revenues gained. The Athenian fleet which accompanied the army along the coast was disbanded except for 20 ships needed for communications; its presence might provoke attacks from the Persian navy, and its support was an undue strain on the treasury. The peoples of southern Asia Minor yielded without serious resistance except for the Pisidian mountaineers, against whom a difficult campaign was fought. In the autumn of 333 the army assembled at Gordium, the old capital of the Phrygian Midas, to await reinforcements. Here the general conviction of Alexander's great destiny was increased by the famous incident of the cutting of the Gordian knot.

Without attempting to conquer the central and northern provinces of Asia Minor, the army now marched toward Syria. The Persian guards at the Cilician Gates fled without a conflict, and Alexander and Darius met once more on the plain of Issus, a field too narrow for effective use of the unwieldy Persian army. The great host was utterly routed and Darius fled to Mesopotamia, abandoning Syria and Egypt. Had Alexander intended merely to annex Asia Minor, he need have gone no farther, but the strength

of the Persian fleet and the close contacts between Greece and Egypt would have been a source of future danger, since the newly acquired territory was exposed to attack both by land and sea. Whatever Alexander's original plans had been, his correspondence with Darius makes it plain that he now intended to conquer the Persian Empire. The recent suppression of the revolts of the eastern satraps had bred bitterness against Persia; of the Phœnician cities only Tyre refused to admit Alexander, in the hope of maintaining her neutrality as her strong position had enabled her to do on several past occasions. The ships of Sidon, Cyprus, Rhodes, and other districts which now owed allegiance to the conqueror returned from their raids in the Ægean and entered his service. In spite of the naval blockade which was thus made possible, all the resources of the Macedonian engineers were taxed by the investment of the city. The fall of Tyre at the end of two months removed the last obstacle to Alexander's power in the western Semitic lands and added to his spear-won territory the land so often contested by the ancient empires.

Egypt, which had been subject to Persia for ten years since her last successful revolt, welcomed the new ruler. It was only necessary for him to accept the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; he seems to have been enthroned at Memphis as Pharaoh under the protection of Horus. The naval powers formerly subject to Persia were now under Alexander's control, and for the first time all the coasts and islands of the eastern Mediterranean were subject to one man's power. Alexander's appreciation of the commercial value of this new unity was shown by the foundation of his first and greatest colony, Alexandria, at the western end of the Delta. The site was well chosen, and the city became the greatest Mediterranean port, superseding both Naucratis and the Phœnician cities in commercial importance.

### THE JOURNEY TO SIWAH

Before he marched eastward for the final conflict with Darius, Alexander made the difficult journey to the oracle of Amon in the oasis of Siwah. The purpose of this visit has been much disputed. He had already been accepted by the Egyptians as Pharaoh, and therefore as the son of Amon. The oracle of Amon, whom the Greeks identified with Zeus, was more famous in the outer world than in Egypt. Despite the rationalism of the age, the gods still spoke to men; the Sacred War had linked Philip's career with the Pythian Apollo and his son was now associated with the second great oracle of the ancient world. We know that Alexander was addressed as the son of Zeus Amon by the priest who interpreted the god's responses. He did not tell his companions what questions he asked or what answers were given, but treasured them as of great moment. Whether he sought assurance about his conquest of Persia, or felt that his acceptance by the world-famous oracle would strengthen the position won by his victories, or

was moved by an inner conviction of the real presence of the god, there can be no doubt that he considered the visit to Siwah essential, and was well pleased with its results. Several years later, when his divinity was first proclaimed to the Greeks, the tale of Siwah was recalled as evidence of his superhuman nature.

#### GAUGAMELA AND THE END OF THE ACHÆMENID DYNASTY

After the government of Egypt was reorganized under two native governors for the civil administration, with Macedonians in charge of military and financial affairs, the army marched at last toward Babylon. Darius, with a new and even greater host, was encamped on a plain near the ancient site of Nineveh; the old capital had been ruined almost 300 years before, and the battle, which established a European dynasty where the Assyrians had ruled, took its name from the neighboring town of Gaugamela. The army of Darius included not only the Persian bodyguard, the Greek mercenaries who still fought for the king, and Mesopotamian levies, but Scythians and many tribes from the Caucasus and the Iranian plateau, with Indian allies who brought war elephants. Here were many troops which had known no imperial sovereignty but that of the Medes and Persians whose empire was now at stake. The battle took place on October 1, 331 B.C., and raged with varying fortune until a cavalry charge led by Alexander himself broke the Persian centre and sent Darius again in headlong flight (Plate 47). When the conflict ended after heavy fighting in the wings, the king escaped into the mountains, to be murdered in a later flight by the satrap of Bactria, to whom his former sovereign had become a useless impediment.

The gates of Babylon were opened to Alexander as they had been 200 years before to the first of the Achæmenids, and Alexander, like Cyrus, protected the native religion and rebuilt the temples, and was given the ancient title of "king of the four quarters of the globe." The chief countries west of the Tigris now accepted him as the successor of Darius, but the Iranian lands to the east did not yet acknowledge his authority. The eastern satraps, especially Bessus of Bactria and Spitamenes of Sogdiana, prepared to defend their independence and establish their own dynasties. No single victory in this district could be expected to gain more than local authority. The purpose of the original Hellenic enterprise was completed by the capture of Susa, Pasargadæ, and Persepolis with their royal treasures, and the burning of Persepolis signalized the victory of Hellas to Greeks and Persians alike. Alexander's authority in Greece continued to be formally that of hegemon of the Hellenic League, but the Greek soldiers who remained in the east did so as members of his army and not as representatives of the Greek federation; his later conquests were to be his alone.

## THE EASTERN CAMPAIGNS

Not only the eastern satraps but the native population opposed Alexander's march, and two years were spent in hard guerrilla warfare in alien lands of which the Greeks had scarcely heard, almost destitute of cities, and inhabited by Iranian highlanders, of whose kinship through their common Indo-European ancestry the Greeks knew nothing. Alexander wisely kept Persians who knew the country and its customs in charge of the civil administration, assigning Macedonians to financial and military posts, and added Iranian contingents to his army. His interest in Persian civilization steadily increased. He founded numerous small colonies of veterans, which served both to secure his communications and to guard the newly acquired territory, and as open markets. Many of these settlements were to be effective centres of commercial expansion and Hellenism in later times. The expedition was now devoted to exploration and scientific research almost as much as to conquest. The army was attended by an increasing throng of Greeks and natives who ministered to the needs of Alexander, his Bactrian wife, Roxane, whom he married in 327 B.C., and his men.

In 327 B.C. Alexander undertook to conquer northwestern India, which had once been held by Darius the Great, but was now ruled by many local princes. Some of these allied themselves with the invader, others opposed his march. Chief among the latter was Porus, a great foe who was fittingly rewarded by the conqueror. Alexander restored his kingdom and treated him as a free ally, while lesser princes were made vassals under a Macedonian satrap. Greek geographers thought that the Indus River was the eastern edge of the world; news of the rich lands which stretched eastward from the Indus to the Ganges fired Alexander's curiosity and ambition, but for the first time his army mutinied and would go no farther.

A fleet was built for the voyage down the Indus, which was interrupted by numerous conflicts with hostile tribes. After many months, the mouth of the river was reached, and Alexander dispatched Nearchus with ships to explore the sea route to the Euphrates, while the army undertook the equally hazardous march by land through the parched wastes of Gedrosia in order to provide the necessary stores of food for the ships and to explore and subjugate the sparsely peopled desert. The works of Hellenistic scholars testify to the interest of Aristotle's pupil in geographical, biological, and mineralogical studies, which made Alexander's journey to the Indus and back notable among scientific expeditions. The eastern campaigns occupied almost half Alexander's brief reign. Only an exhausted remnant of his host returned to Susa in 324 B.C. The project of an expedition to complete the work of Nearchus by exploring the coasts of Arabia from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea was postponed in the interest of imperial organization, though great harbor works were begun at Babylon.

## MACEDONIANS AND PERSIANS

The most serious immediate problem was that of reconciling Alexander's wish to use Persians with Macedonians in the administration and the army, and to adopt such Persian customs as seemed most valuable, with the hostility of his officers and soldiers to barbarian customs. The attempt to introduce the Persian custom of prostration before the king had to be abandoned. To Alexander, it seemed desirable to adopt this etiquette of *proskynesis* by which orientals regularly acknowledged royal authority, but the Greeks considered this a servile act which no free man would perform for any but a god. The conflict of aggressive Hellenism with Alexander's innovations led to active resistance on several occasions. For a time Alexander's will seemed likely to produce a fusion of Persians and Macedonians; in 324 many officers and soldiers followed his example and married oriental wives in a great mass ceremony. The Macedonian troops were forced to accept Persian detachments trained and equipped in European fashion, and at a feast held at Opis on the Tigris, Greek and Magian priests together presided over the sacrifices, and Macedonians, Persians, and the most distinguished men of other nations drank a common libation and acclaimed Alexander's prayer for the union of hearts and minds, and the commonwealth of Greeks and Persians. Whether Alexander hoped to extend this unity to create a true brotherhood of mankind is a disputed point, but the prayer at Opis, even in its more limited application, marked a notable point in world history, since it made a philosophical principle a cardinal point in the political theory of a great ruler.

## ALEXANDER AND THE GREEKS

How far Alexander's policies may have been dominated by his personal conviction of a divine destiny we do not know, but in 324 B.C., when he requested the Greek states to accord him worship as a god, he had long seemed more than human to many of his contemporaries. We cannot tell how far political motives determined his demand for worship, which set the living conqueror on an equal plane with Heracles and the other chief heroes of the past, but the divinity of the ruler, thus introduced into the European world, was to be a potent political instrument in later ages.

Even a god could not solve the problems of so large an empire in the few months which remained. In a dozen years Alexander had conquered the east and had laid the foundations for its administration, but neither the Macedonian nor the Persian officials were fully equal to their tasks in the changing world. The case of Harpalus, who abused his financial responsibilities at Babylon by riotous living and fled to Greece with huge sums embezzled from the treasury, is best known to us, but it was not an isolated instance.

The Greeks found Antipater's regime strict and less consistent with complete autonomy than the constitution of their league required. Local political troubles were settled by the establishment of pro-Macedonian oligarchies. The intrigues of the Spartan king Agis with Persia led to the defeat of Sparta by Antipater and her forced entry into the League. Peace in the eastern Mediterranean and the establishment of a uniform silver currency on the Attic standard facilitated commerce between Greece and the east, though the old Babylonian silver standard was retained in oriental markets throughout the Hellenistic Age. Alexander's gifts and the sums sent home by his army greatly increased the circulation of the precious metals throughout Greece and Macedonia, with consequent shifts in commodity prices.

The internal history of Athens at this time is, as usual, better known than that of other Greek cities. Reconstruction after the Macedonian wars was ably handled by Lycurgus, a worthy successor of Eubulus, who put Athenian finances on a sound peacetime basis, with the mines of Laurium once more in full operation. He built numerous public works, including the stadium for the Panathenaic Games, the theatre of Dionysus, and a great naval storehouse at the Peiræus. The fleet was enlarged and the defense of the city was further strengthened by extending the customary military service of the young men of the upper classes, who now spent two years in cavalry training and in frontier guard duty.

#### ALEXANDER IN HISTORY AND TRADITION

Alexander died at Babylon in June, 323 B.C. In thirteen years he had changed the course of the world's history more than any single man before him had done, with the possible exception of Cyrus, and among his successors only the names of Cæsar and Napoleon are usually coupled with his. The contemporary accounts of his reign, now lost except for quotations by later writers, ranged from the official court journals to the panegyrics and heroizing fictions intended for popular consumption. Alexander furnished the text for bitter attacks on imperialism, which represented him as "the very flood of miseries and the fiercest hurricane that ever smote the East."<sup>2</sup> But historical tradition was not alone in preserving his memory. Thousands of story-tellers from the Mediterranean to the far Pacific have told in verse and prose the legend of Iskander, who conquered the whole world, barred the Caspian Gates against the savage peoples outside the pale of civilization, explored the heights of the air and the depths of the sea, and journeyed beyond the earth to the Land of Darkness in quest of the Waters of Life, where for the first time his restless ambition was sated. Like other oriental narratives, the legend of Alexander was eagerly adopted by

<sup>2</sup> Orosius, *History Against the Pagans* III, 7, 5.

European writers, and the Macedonian conqueror became the pattern of chivalry in the Alexander Romance so widely read in the later Middle Ages. The Alexander of legend and romance expanded the world of the imagination for later generations no less than the historical Alexander enlarged the geographical horizon for men of his own times. (Reading List 60)

## XVII

### THE CELTIC EXPANSION AND THE ROMAN DOMINATION OF ITALY

*The Romans have attained the same end in their commonwealth, not by a process of abstract reasoning but through divers conflicts and crises: gaining strength through disaster . . . they have succeeded in framing the finest political system of our times.* —Polybius

THE HISTORY OF ITALY in the fourth century B.C., as in the fifth, was chiefly that of the resistance of the settled city-states of the plains to the aggressive expansion of the mountain tribes. By 265 these conflicts resulted in the extension of Roman authority throughout peninsular Italy and the development of the Roman administration to meet its new obligations. The civil problems of Rome often yielded to military necessity, but the Hortensian Law of 287 B.C. established the principle of popular sovereignty. The position that Rome now occupied was unique in the history of the ancient world. No other city-state exercised such wide authority on a stable basis. During the same period the Celtic tribes completed their expansion, which may be conveniently summarized at this point, for the sack of Rome by the Gauls is the first incident in Celtic history which was recorded by contemporary writers, and their occupation of the Po Valley was an important factor in the development of Italy.

#### THE CELTIC EXPANSION

During the second millennium the Celts lived in the upper valley of the Danube; in the course of the next few centuries, they developed a distinctive culture along the middle Rhine where the pressure of related German tribes led to the great series of Celtic migrations from the sixth to the third centuries B.C. Before the end of the third century the Celts were more widely distributed than any other group of related Indo-European speaking tribes; this period is, therefore, one of great importance in the history of the Indo-European migrations.

The Celts were a vigorous and prolific people who migrated with their families, herds, and domestic possessions, to seek lands for settlements and opportunity for conquest and plunder. They were excellently armed with long swords, daggers, and curved knives of bronze, helmets, and large

shields. Their weapons and armor, like their chariots and horse-trappings and their heavy brooches, rings, and collars of gold or bronze, were richly ornamented. Before the end of the seventh century they began to settle the land west of the Rhine, which took its ancient name of Gaul from the Roman name for the Celtic peoples; their settlements in Spain were closely associated with those in Gaul.

They were an adaptable people who readily took to agricultural life in the fertile plains for which they had left their forests and marshes. The tribe was the essential unit of their military and social organization, which prevented both national unification and the development of political life in the classical sense, though tribal centres became prosperous towns where industrial activity developed under the influence of trade with Marseilles. From Massiliot merchants they obtained Greek wine, pottery, and other imported goods. They adopted many Greek habits without losing their native characteristics, and the Greek designs used by their artists were gradually stylized to form essentially Celtic motifs which persisted throughout their independent cultural history. The course of the Celtic invasions of the British Isles is uncertain, but it was probably accomplished before the end of the third century B.C.

#### THE GAULS IN ITALY

It was probably shortly before the end of the fifth century B.C. that Celtic tribes, whom the Romans called Gauls, crossed the Alps into Italy and wrested control of the Po Valley from the Etruscans. The last Etruscan stronghold in the district was Felsina, which continued its independent existence as a prosperous centre of trade and industry until about 350 B.C., for the Gauls could not take strongly fortified cities. Venetia remained free of Celtic settlements, but successive bands of invaders overran all the rest of northern Italy and much of the Adriatic coast. The alliance of the Gauls with Dionysius of Syracuse, and his use of Gallic mercenaries, have already been noted. In northern Italy, as in Gaul, the invaders readily adopted a settled life and prospered through agriculture; Milan, the chief city of the district in later times, was a Gallic foundation, but in general the cities dwindled in importance during the Gallic period.

No permanent settlements were made in western Italy, but the famous attack on Rome in 390 B.C. was one of a series of raids for the sake of plunder and booty which continued for many years. The first appearance of the Gauls with their huge bodies, their long red hair, great shields and swords, their furious onset and loud battle cries, inspired terror, though longer acquaintance proved that the invaders lacked staying power and could not endure the dust, thirst, and heat of southern campaigns.

The Etruscans could not check the Gallic advance, and the defenders of Rome were defeated at the Allia, a small river not far from the city. The

fortifications of Rome had long since been outgrown and neglected, and offered no hope of defense. The people fled to the neighboring hills, and only the Capitoline was defended, while the enemy plundered the rest of the city. After a seven months' siege of the Capitol the Gallic chiefs agreed to withdraw in consideration of ransom. Strong walls were built before the Gauls returned to central Italy, and 800 years passed before Rome was again entered by a foreign army. Though the sack of the city seemed a fatal setback to the Roman power, the common danger contributed to the unification of Italy.

### THE CELTS IN THE EAST

The restlessness of the Illyrians during the reign of Philip II was partly due to the Celtic invasions east of the Adriatic; in 335 the Celts in this district sent envoys to Alexander who swore an oath which the Irish Gaels still used a thousand years later, to keep faith with him unless the sky should fall and crush them. Fifty years passed and Alexander's empire was divided by the rivalries of his successors before the Celts entered Macedonian territory. In 279 they invaded Greece, collected tribute in Thessaly, overcame the Athenians, Bœotians, and the Ætolians who guarded Thermopylæ, and moved on into central Greece to plunder the treasures of Delphi. Marvelous tales were told of Apollo's protection of his shrine, and the victories by which the Ætolians for the first time established their place in Greek affairs were scarcely less miraculous in view of the terror that the Gauls inspired.

Other bands overran Macedon and spread desolation through the country, until they were routed in 277 B.C. A third group conquered the Thracians; their numbers were increased by the survivors of the defeats in Greece and Macedonia, and throughout the third century they held the natives in bondage and maintained a robber-state which blackmailed the Greek cities of the coast. They forced Byzantium to pay a tribute twice as high as that paid to Athens at the height of her commercial prosperity. At the end of the century the Thracians successfully rebelled against them. Dacia, north of the Danube, was also occupied in the years that followed, and the eastern Gauls mingled with the neighboring Scythians.

Other Celtic tribes crossed to Phrygia, where they ravaged the country and collected tribute from the cities, which at first were too paralyzed by fear to offer any real resistance. The task of defense was left to individuals who enlisted private troops against the barbarians who "outraged the gods and mistreated the Hellenes." The ruler of Pergamum refused to pay tribute, and at last succeeded in defeating the invaders and forcing them into Cappadocia, where they formed the tribal state of Galatia. Like their Gothic kinsmen centuries later, they confiscated a portion of the land for their own use, made the native population pay rent for the rest, and exacted tribute from the townspeople and neighboring states. The Galatian tax

became an important item in the budget of the Anatolian cities. Galatia was a barbarian enclave in the Hellenistic world, and was little influenced by the civilization of its neighbors, though the Gauls served as mercenaries under many Hellenistic kings.

The widespread movements of the Celtic tribes had little connection with one another except that of their common origin, and no unified power sprang from their scattered conquests. In the east their influence was chiefly destructive, though the Celtic wars furthered the growth of centralized power in Pergamum and Macedonia. The Gallic occupation of the Po Valley was a serious blow to the declining power of the Etruscans, and was an important factor in Italian affairs for many years. In western Europe, the Celts created a distinctive culture which was to have its greatest influence in the Middle Ages after the fall of Rome. For a long time the Roman Empire included all the Celtic lands except Ireland and Scotland. (Reading List 61)

#### THE ROMANS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

The defense of Latium in the fifth century B.C. greatly increased both the military strength of Rome and her authority over her Latin allies. In spite of internal dissensions, the city itself grew and a considerable number of men from other Latin towns settled there. At the same time the formation of Latin colonies along the eastern frontiers of Latium forecast the later policy of colonization for control of outlying territories, which gave rise to the popular proverb, "The Roman conquers by settling."

The burden of war rested heavily on the poorer landholders, since ownership of land entailed the obligation to military service, and small farms were unproductive when the farmer was called on for successive campaigns. Slavery for debt was still legal, and even loss of land without loss of freedom was an extreme hardship in a state where industry was so poorly developed. Consequently the farmers led in the demand for reform of the laws of debt, freer access to public land, and extension of political rights. Union to avert external danger, however, repeatedly postponed the internal crisis, and some alleviation resulted from the institution of pay for soldiers in active service, though this innovation required the levy of a property tax in time of war.

The patrician monopoly of military commands was broken in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. by the occasional substitution of a group of military tribunes with consular powers for the two consuls. This new office provided generals with full imperium for campaigns on several fronts, and utilized the services of able plebeian officers on an equality with the patricians.

At the close of the century, Rome undertook to conquer Veii, a strong Etruscan city which had long contested her control of the left bank of the

Tiber and had limited Roman authority on the right bank to the Janiculum hill, a mere outpost for defense of the Tiber crossing. Veii was built on a plateau with sheer cliffs that needed little artificial fortification, and was ably defended; the long siege gave the Roman army severe training in the art of war. The victory in 396 B.C. meant rich booty for the soldiers and the state, ample land for allotment to citizens and for the public domain, control of land and river routes to Etruria and the mountains, and the opening of southern Etruria to Roman influence. During the next five years several Etruscan cities became allies of Rome. This was a turning-point in Roman policy, for the war with Veii was an independent enterprise in which the Latin League had no part. The senate commemorated the new position of Rome by dedicating a portion of the spoils to Apollo at Delphi; the Greek cult of Apollo had been formally adopted at Rome a few years earlier. The Greeks of Marseilles, in whose treasury the Roman offering to Apollo is said to have been deposited, showed their friendship a few years later, according to tradition, by loaning the gold needed for the Gallic ransom.

The defeat at the Allia and the Gallic sack of the city shortly after the conquest of Veii encouraged the Etruscans and Volscians to renew their attacks, and led the Latins to hope that the threat of Roman supremacy might yet be averted. But the Roman recovery was rapid; the city was rebuilt with strong fortifications of cut stone which included a larger area than the earlier ramparts. The immediate danger was repelled by successful campaigns during the next decade, and new military tactics were adopted to overcome the weaknesses discovered at the Allia. Light-armed slingers and javelin-throwers were trained for preliminary skirmishes, the place of soldiers in the ranks was determined by their ability and experience, and swordsmanship was more important than before. The improvement on which the later superiority of the Roman armies chiefly depended was the division of the legion into small groups, called *maniples*, trained to act as units and to fight in open or close formation as conditions demanded. The ability and resourcefulness of the centurions, most of whom were soldiers risen from the ranks, was a considerable source of strength in the new organization. During the Samnite wars, further improvements were made in tactics, weapons, and armor, and thereafter the chief weaknesses in the Roman army were the lack of adequate cavalry and of consecutive command.

Between 380 and 360 B.C. the struggle for plebeian rights came to a head. The details of the reforms initiated by the tribunes Licinius and Sextius and ratified in 367 B.C. have been obscured by confusion with later conflicts, but it seems clear that they lightened the burden of debt, though their proposals were far less radical than those of Solon and other Greek reformers. They broke down the control of the public land by a group

of wealthy men and recovered a considerable area for small holders, and they opened the consulship to the plebeians. Military tribunes were no longer to be substituted for consuls. The wars of the fourth century B.C. provided additional lands for individual allotments and for the public domain, which was leased out to citizens, and since the opening of the chief office in the state to plebeians naturally gave them access to other magistracies also, the Sexto-Licinian Laws furthered the growth of democracy.

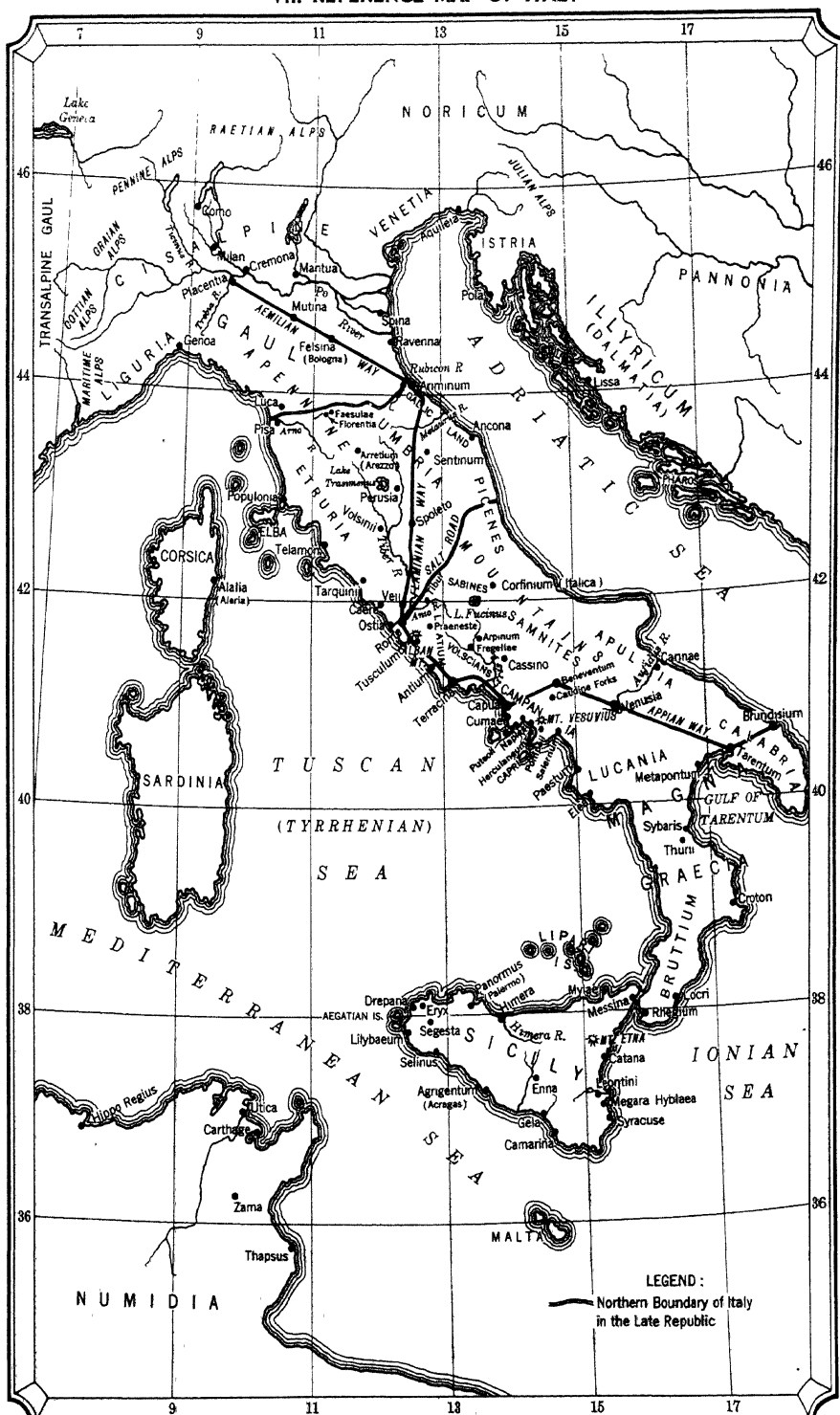
At this time also, the office of city praetor was instituted to supervise civil jurisdiction. The plebeian assembly of the tribes still lacked independent authority in the state, and the centuriate assembly, though its legislative and judicial influence were increasing, was under the control of the senate, but the Roman government was more liberal than that of most Latin cities. The number of patricians had seriously declined, and plebeian membership in the senate increased, especially after the breakdown of the patrician monopoly of magistracies; political rights came to be based on property, as in the centuriate assembly, rather than on birth.

At about 360 revolts among the Latin allies led to the reorganization of the Latin League and definite recognition of Roman authority; further victories over Etruscan cities and the foundation of new colonies in outlying territories strengthened the Roman control of the western plains. The treaty made with Carthage at about 348 B.C. recognized Rome's right to bar Punic ships from the Latin coast, and also showed the senate's lack of interest in commerce. In 354 the renewal of Gallic incursions led to a treaty of alliance between Rome and some of the Samnite tribes. Thus by the middle of the century Rome was far stronger than she had been in 390. (Reading List 43)

#### THE SAMNITE EXPANSION

During the first half of the fourth century the Samnites of the southern Apennines conquered the Lucanians and Bruttians, seriously reduced the power of the Greek cities, and occupied the greater part of southern Italy. After the death of Dionysius of Syracuse, who had encouraged the Samnites in order to secure his own power among the Greek cities, Tarentum became the centre of Greek opposition to Samnite encroachments, and depended increasingly on aid from abroad. In the last 40 years of the century, two kings came from Sparta and one from Epirus to assist her against her Italian neighbors. Other cities were completely under Samnite authority. The expansion of the Samnites was due chiefly to the constant increase of their population and the scanty resources of their mountain homes. Their gains were made by the intermittent action of separate groups without a strong central organization, and wars between Samnite communities were not infrequent. As the Samnites adopted the sedentary life of the plains, they were much influenced by the civilization

# VII. REFERENCE MAP OF ITALY





of the people among whom they lived. The commerce and industry of Campania, notable for the Etruscan development of metal working, continued to flourish, and Capua became the head of a loose federation of cities with a mixed Samnite, Greek, and Etruscan population. The contrast between these industrial and agricultural people and the related stocks that continued to live in the mountains was considerable. The Samnite mountaineers, whose adventurous military spirit, love of plunder, and growing population still led to frequent forays, became the common enemies of the communities of the plains, though political factions and opposition to the Roman power contributed to the strength of pro-Samnite parties in the cities.

#### THE ROMAN SUPREMACY IN CENTRAL ITALY: THE LATIN REVOLT

In 343 B.C. the senate acceded to the request of Capua for an alliance against the Samnites who were then raiding Campania. The allies were victorious, and in 341 B.C. the Samnite treaty, which Rome had broken by this first war, was renewed. The war was a brief incident and discreditable to Roman diplomacy, but it united Capua and Rome, and brought to a head the discontent of the Latin cities, located between the two allies. The Latin Revolt which broke out in 340 B.C. was a vigorous last stand of the members of the league against the increasing power of Rome, but neither complete independence nor equal alliance was now possible, and the superiority of the Roman army reduced the Latins to submission within two years. The Romans aimed at constructive organization rather than revenge for disloyalty. Separate agreements with the individual cities on the basis of their importance, location, and attitude toward Rome were substituted for the former league. Ten cities, including Præneste and Tibur, were accepted as equal allies who were bound to furnish troops in time of war; several others were given full Roman citizenship though they kept their local administration. Other cities, including the Latin colonies, had passive or partial citizenship; they kept their local governments, and their members had full private rights at Rome, but were not eligible to vote or hold office. Similar "Latin rights" were later extended to many municipalities in Italy and the provinces. In addition, Roman colonies were founded to protect strategic points, especially on the coast. In these the Roman garrison, which usually consisted of about 300 soldiers, formed the citizen-body. This flexible system was a workable compromise between autocracy and independence which respected local autonomy and led to the gradual extension of full citizenship throughout Latium. It recognized the services of the Latin cities in the past and future growth of the Roman power, and at the same time prevented any future union against Rome by providing that the cities should have no treaties with one another, and that while their members had

the right to trade and acquire property at Rome and to intermarry with Romans, they should not exercise these rights in other Latin cities.

### THE SAMNITE WARS

The settlement of the Latin Revolt and the extension of similar arrangements to Capua and a few other Campanian cities aroused alarm among the Samnites, whose opportunity for expansion was seriously limited by the new union. Various incidents, among them the foundation of colonies on the roads from the Samnite country to the coast, led to a general coalition of the mountain tribes in central and southern Italy. The Samnite decision to block the extension of the Roman power seems to have been dictated primarily by their need of land. The closing of the western plains to further encroachments from the mountains would be fatal to their national interests, and the imminent danger presented by Roman influence in Campania led to a stronger union than the Italian tribes had formed before. The outbreak of war in 327 B.C. inaugurated a series of conflicts in which the Etruscan cities, the Umbrians, and the Gauls all joined, and with which the later war with Tarentum was closely connected; the major issues were settled by 272 B.C., and in 265 B.C. Rome controlled all Italy south of the Rubicon River, which divided her land on the Adriatic coast from the independent Gauls of the Po Valley.

The Romans could gain no decisive advantage without carrying the war into the mountains. Here the legions and their commanders, accustomed to fighting on the plains, were seriously hampered both by the new tactics required and by their ignorance of local topography. In 321 a large force of Roman and allied troops was captured at the Caudine Pass in the mountains of Apulia. The lands which were surrendered in the enforced peace that followed were regained a few years later, but the "Caudine Forks" became the classic disaster in Roman tradition, often cited in support of the proverb that the Romans gained power equally through their defeats and their victories. In 311 the Etruscan cities, incited by the Samnites and by the ambitions of their leading men, joined in the war against Rome. It was not until they had been reduced to submission that a final invasion of the Samnite territory could be made. The peace of 304 B.C. could only mean a temporary cessation of hostilities, for the Samnites were exhausted but not conquered; but Rome had gained allies and experience during the war, and might expect greater success when the conflict was renewed, especially since the Etruscans were seriously weakened by their losses and by the subsequent insurrections against the oligarchs who had sponsored the war.

The outbreak of the Third Samnite War in 298 B.C. was determined by Rome's decision to aid the Lucanians against the Samnites, and thus brought Rome into closer contact with the district over which Tarentum claimed a protectorate. Since no one could now fail to realize that the victory of Rome

in this war would mean the extension of her supremacy throughout Italy, the Samnite federation was transformed into a general league of the independent peoples of Italy, including several Gallic tribes. The value of Rome's generosity to the Latins was now demonstrated by their support. The decisive victory was won at Sentinum in northern Umbria in 295 B.C., a dramatic battle which won a prominent place in Roman legend for Decius Mus, the plebeian consul who rode alone into the enemy's lines in order to bind the gods by his self-immolation to give their decision in favor of Rome. The northern allies now made peace, and Roman successes in the Samnite country, which was thus isolated, brought the war to a close in 290 B.C. Intermittent risings broke out in the north for the next quarter-century, but the essential work of conquest was complete.

#### THE ROMAN ORGANIZATION OF ITALY

The cost to Rome of the war with the many cities and tribes allied against her at the height of the Third Samnite War was compensated by the complete pacification of Italy within a comparatively brief period. The unique character of the system established was due in large measure to the Roman genius for organization. Rome did not exploit Italy for the sake of revenue, nor subject its local governments to direct control, though considerable areas were added to the Roman public domain by the Italian wars. The chief motives of Roman expansion in Italy seem to have been to protect the existing lands of the state against aggression and to secure peace and order throughout the Roman sphere of influence. The scheme adopted in the settlement of the Latin Revolt was therefore extended to the individual tribes and cities of Italy, which were bound to Rome by separate treaties.

The essential features of the system were the municipalities and colonies, which were equally important in the extension of the Roman power outside Italy. A municipal town had local autonomy under its own laws and magistrates; its members had full private rights in Rome either with or without active citizenship. Most of the Sabine and Campanian cities, with those of southern Etruria, became municipalities with partial citizen rights. The Latins now had active citizenship, and in 268 B.C. the Sabines also were given the full franchise. The soldiers from the municipalities served in the legions, and Roman citizens, wherever they lived, paid the property tax in time of war. Roman law was administered by prefects who acted as deputies for the prætor. Central Italy thus became an extension of the Roman state, though the right to vote and hold office at Rome was naturally of little practical use to most of the new citizens.

The colonies brought the remoter parts of Italy into closer association with the city, provided for landless men, and spread Roman customs and the Latin language throughout the peninsula. Whether a given colony

was a Roman garrison established in a city, or a larger agricultural settlement with Latin rights, was determined largely by local conditions.

The Samnites and other Italian tribes north and south of the central territory were given alliances on various terms; they paid no direct taxes, and comparatively little land was confiscated for the Roman domain. Their chief obligations were to furnish men for the auxiliary troops and to live at peace with their neighbors. They profited by the general security and order in Italy, and although they had no voice in decisions regarding the wars in which they took part, they shared in the booty and had the protection of the full military strength of Italy. The Samnites found compensation for the closing of the plains of central and southern Italy to their aggression in freedom from the encroachments of the Gauls and in the new lands opened up in the northern part of the peninsula.

The northern Etruscan cities were also made allies; though their political organization was adapted to the municipal system, they were alien in speech and customs, not trustworthy in their allegiance, and remote from Rome. The chief land annexed as a result of the Samnite wars was a strip of Gallic territory along the Adriatic; the Picenes of this district were taken into the municipal organization as passive citizens in 264 B.C. As a further protection to the northern allies, some of the Gauls were made tributary.

The first of the great Roman roads, the Appian Way which ran from Rome to Capua, and was later extended through Beneventum to Brundisium on the lower Adriatic coast, was begun during the Second Samnite War. The later extension of the system of roads and bridges not only facilitated military and civil communication, but directly stimulated commerce.

The contrast between the Roman administration of Italy through municipalities, colonies, and treaties, and the territorial aggrandizement of the Hellenistic monarchies in the same period, helps to explain both the inability of the Greeks to understand and abide by the Roman settlements of eastern affairs in the second century B.C. and the long duration of the authority of Rome over the Mediterranean world, though the principles laid down by the senate in the fourth and third centuries B.C. were too often neglected. It would be false to assume that the senate deliberately rejected imperialism; instead, they framed a system suited to the needs of the state on the basis most likely to insure its peaceful continuance, and their wisdom was justified by the steady growth of Italian unity and the services of the allies, both in the defense of Italy against Hannibal and in the foreign wars of the second century. (Reading List 62)

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

The final step in the establishment of the full authority of the Roman people was taken in 287 B.C., when the passage of the Hortensian Law put the plebiscites of the tribal assembly on an equal basis with legislation by

the centuriate assembly, and enabled the plebeians to pass laws binding on the whole state. Various enactments at earlier times increased the legislative power of the centuriate assembly and freed it from the control of the senate; others gave partial recognition to the acts of the tribal assembly. Thus the Hortensian Law legalized an established practice. Any of the ten tribunes could summon a meeting of the tribal assembly, while only a prætor or consul could convoke the centuriate comitia. In the latter an elaborate procedure was requisite which never developed in the plebeian gathering, and the fact that the number of the tribes never exceeded 35 made the voting process simpler than in the 193 units of the other assembly. Since political distinctions between patricians and plebeians had ceased to exist, the tribal comitia was more commonly used for legislation thereafter than the centuriate, and the lesser magistrates were elected by it; both assemblies now included the whole citizen body.

An essential difference between the Roman and Greek practice must be noted; the free discussion which characterized the Athenian ecclesia, for example, was relegated in Rome to informal political meetings usually held prior to the sessions of the comitia, while the latter met to vote on the questions put before it by the presiding magistrate or to elect candidates for office. Addresses could be made to the assembly only with the consent of the presiding magistrate. The centuriate assembly, because of its military origin and organization, met in the Campus Martius where troops were drilled, whereas the tribal assembly commonly met near the senate house, adjoining the Forum. It was not unusual for senatorial decisions on matters of public interest to be discussed before the waiting citizens at informal meetings directly after the senate adjourned, and to be at once referred to the tribal assembly for action. The people could thus at will override senatorial authority, but in most cases only the citizens who lived in Rome took part in the voting. The development of radical democracy was prevented by the influence of the upper classes, especially in the country tribes, and by the complicated problems of administration and the long series of foreign wars which required a more consistent policy and more intimate knowledge of domestic and foreign affairs than a general assembly could hope to achieve. The senate thus continued to determine Roman policies, but its decisions were subject to the vote of the people.

All magistracies were now open to the plebeians, and the normal succession of offices was established in practice. The lowest of the regular magistracies was the quæstorship, a financial office subordinate to the consuls and the prætors; the number of quæstors was increased from time to time according to the needs of the administration. The ædiles were now regular magistrates in charge of the markets and public buildings, and of the city festivals which became important during the third century B.C.; four ædiles were elected annually, and ex-quæstors usually held either the

ædileship or the tribunate before they became candidates for the prætorship. The judicial functions of the prætors gave them excellent training for the wider powers of the consulship, and since the aspirant to office normally served in the army before his political career began, the consuls were men of wide experience and proved ability, with whose work the intelligent citizen was familiar. Public offices were still limited to a single year's term, but might be prolonged for an additional year when necessary to provide for consecutive command. The censors, who were elected only once in five years, were usually chosen from among the former consuls. The frequent meetings of the senate and the additional services expected of the leading office-holders in the intervals between their magistracies made a political career the chief occupation of all who undertook it successfully. Since neither magistrates nor senate received compensation from the state, only men of considerable means could ordinarily afford it, even before the expense of getting office was increased by the practice of bribery.

#### THE CITY OF ROME

This concentration on public affairs may be one explanation of the late development of literature and art at Rome; it was not until 241 B.C. that this "bellicose people" first made dramatic performances a feature of the state festivals, and their written literature dates from the same period. The Samnites apparently surpassed the Romans of the early republic both in poetry and painting, and the chief Latin towns were far more luxurious and more noted for the arts than Rome. Later Romans interpreted the simplicity of Roman life in the early period as due to the freedom of their ancestors from the corrupting influence of gold, and praised but did not imitate their frugality. The farm and forum apparently satisfied the average Roman for some time to come; the city had no architectural charm, and its temples were poor affairs of gray stone with little ornamentation. A crude copper coinage met the monetary needs of the Roman farmers until the Samnite wars; then silver coins minted at Capua were introduced, and finally in 269 B.C. the silver denarius was coined at Rome itself, and became the standard currency for the Roman federation. Appius Claudius, in his censorship late in the fourth century B.C., recognized the physical needs of the growing city, and set the precedent of using state revenues for extensive public works. The Appian aqueduct, which brought fresh water from the Alban hills to supplement the inadequate wells and springs of the crowded Aventine, and the Appian Way, which led to Capua and southern Italy, were the first of a long series which, like these, bore the names of the magistrates responsible for their construction. Hereafter supervision of the public contracts was added to the censors' duties as a part of their general responsibility for the well-being of the state. (Reading Lists 43, 28)

## THE WAR WITH PYRRHUS

At the close of the fourth century B.C., the Sicilian Greeks suffered from the combined ravages of tyranny, civil war, and Carthaginian attacks. The civil disorders which began soon after the death of Timoleon enabled Agathocles, an ambitious and unscrupulous upstart who delighted in wanton massacre, to rule as tyrant over Syracuse (316-289 B.C.), and to attempt control of the whole island. When his campaign in Sicily failed, he carried the war into Africa where, with the help of Libyan allies, he established a garrison and ravaged the country. At last, however, his allies deserted him, and he was defeated and forced to return to Sicily. Half the island was ceded to Carthage, but some of the Sicilian cities looked on their former enemy as a deliverer from the Syracusan terror. During his later years, Agathocles took the title of king in Hellenistic style, made an alliance with Macedon, and married his daughter to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. His intervention in Italian affairs was fruitless, and his dream of empire resulted chiefly in piracy in the Adriatic. His death left Sicily ruined and disunited, exposed to Carthaginian attacks and the prey of his unscrupulous mercenaries who seized Messina and made it a robber-state. (Reading List 38)

In 282 B.C., a few years after the death of Agathocles, the Tarentines, who had jealously watched the growth of Roman influence in southern Italy and resented the readiness of other Greek cities to seek Roman aid in preference to their protectorate, seized occasion for war with Rome, and secured the aid of Pyrrhus of Epirus, who hoped by western conquests to increase his power in the Hellenistic world. The senate was reluctant to undertake another war, but the people knew less of Pyrrhus' strength, and were fired by the insults of Tarentum and the hope of plunder.

The Romans were regularly defeated in the field by Pyrrhus, who was an excellent strategist; the legions withstood the onset of the Greek phalanx well, but the elephants that Pyrrhus had brought to Italy spread panic among the cavalry. Pyrrhus could win allies, however, only in the southern cities and tribes; central Italy was loyal to Rome, and the Greeks let their defender bear the full brunt of the war with little aid on their part. The losses of the victor were more serious than those of the defeated army, and a "Pyrrhic victory" became proverbial for a costly success. The king of Epirus undertook a campaign in Sicily also, in the hope of establishing Greek supremacy in the west over the Carthaginian as well as the Roman barbarians, but the project failed. On his return to Italy, Pyrrhus was defeated for the first time by the Romans near Beneventum, and returned to Greece. In 272 the Romans completed the subjugation of southern Italy. The Greek cities became individual members of the Roman federation, and colonies were founded in the territory of the Samnites and Lucanians who had taken up arms against Rome.

Rome was now a major power in the western Mediterranean, and compared favorably with the eastern monarchies in the extent of her power and the stability of her federation. The geographical unity of Italy and its comparatively short land frontier were elements of strength, while the length of the coast precluded the possibility of an effective naval blockade. There seemed no probability of further war for some time; the old treaty with Carthage had been renewed during the war with Pyrrhus, and the senate showed no disposition to interfere with the Carthaginian monopoly of western Mediterranean trade. The consolidation of the new resources of the state, the problems sure to arise from the administration of allied territory, and the political readjustments which would result from the recent establishment of popular sovereignty in the city promised ample occupation for the statesmen of the next generation. (Reading List 62)

Part III

THE GREAT POWERS OF THE HELLENISTIC  
AGE



## XVIII

### THE HELLENISTIC MONARCHIES

*As god holds the world so the king holds the state, and his relationship to the state is like that of god to the world, and that of the state to the world is like that of the king to god. For the state, formed by the harmonious union of many different elements, imitates the union and harmony of the world, while the king who directs and rules it is himself animate law and is like a god among men.*

—Diotogenes, *On Kingship*

ALEXANDER'S DEATH IN JUNE, 323 B.C. left his empire without a ruler, for his son by Roxane was not born until two months later, his half-brother Philip was mentally deficient, and none of his generals had a special claim to the succession. The army acclaimed Philip and Alexander's prospective son as joint rulers. The generals Perdiccas and Craterus were chosen as regents, while Antipater continued to govern Macedonia and Greece. Antigonus, satrap of Phrygia, strove for over 20 years to maintain unity, but Ptolemy established his personal authority in Egypt, and Seleucus, with less immediate success, attempted to gain a similar position in Macedonia.

#### THE WARS OF THE SUCCESSORS

Aside from a mutiny of the Macedonian troops in Bactria, the Asiatic provinces were peaceful at first, but their governors soon began to take part in the wars among the generals. In Greece there were general risings under the leadership of Athens and the Ætolians. The conquest of Persia had ended the ostensible reason for Macedonian hegemony, and the aged Demosthenes once more championed the cause of Greek freedom. During the winter of 323 the allied Greeks besieged Antipater at Lamia in Thessaly, but the Macedonian generals sent military and naval reinforcements which forced them to yield. Athens was required to surrender the leaders of the rebellion and to substitute an oligarchy for her democratic government, while a Macedonian garrison was established on the hill at Munychion, which commanded the Peiræus. After Antipater's death, his son Cassander assumed control of Macedonia and Greece, but his authority was challenged by Antigonus' son Demetrius, famed as the "besieger of cities."

Perdiccas and Craterus were both killed in 321 B.C., and after 316 B.C. the pretense of a regency was given up; Philip Arrhidæus was killed, and

the young Alexander and his mother were virtual prisoners for a few years longer. The growing power of Antigonus and Demetrius, who sought support by proclaiming the liberty and autonomy of the Greeks, aroused general opposition, and Seleucus and Lysimachus defeated them in 301 B.C. at Ipsus in Phrygia. A few years earlier the chief generals had taken the title of king; after the death of Antigonus at Ipsus they acted as rival monarchs and no longer as joint rulers of the empire. Each considered himself the successor of Alexander.

Antigonus' possessions were partitioned. Lysimachus ruled Asia Minor together with his former holdings in Thrace and the Propontis, while Seleucus, who had now established his authority in Mesopotamia and the east, received Syria. Demetrius, who was thus left without a kingdom, made a brilliant recovery by means of his fleet, and ruled for a few years in Greece and Macedonia. Before long, however, he was forced to yield Macedonia to his powerful neighbors, Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus. His fortunes declined rapidly thereafter, and in his later years he was virtually a prisoner of Seleucus.

The danger that Lysimachus, who now held the greater part of Macedonia as well as Asia Minor and Thrace, would conquer the rest of Alexander's empire as well, led to a coalition against him under the leadership of Seleucus. In 281 Lysimachus was defeated and killed at Corupedium in Asia Minor, the last battle in the wars of Alexander's generals, for Ptolemy had died two years earlier, and Seleucus was murdered within a few months. The successors of Alexander had all passed from the stage, and a new generation ruled.

Demetrius' son Antigonus Gonatas resumed the contest with Pyrrhus for the Macedonian throne. Pyrrhus was an able and ambitious general, and his native kingdom of Epirus provided far greater resources than Antigonus controlled. But his dream of a world empire led him to undertake campaigns in Italy and Sicily, where the Greek cities sought his help against the Romans and Carthaginians. The western enterprise failed in spite of his brilliant victories in the field, and the issue in Macedonia was decided against him by Antigonus' signal victory over the Gauls, which saved the country from their invasions. Antigonus became king of Macedonia in 276 B.C., and Pyrrhus was killed a few years later.

#### THE HELLENISTIC STATES IN THE THIRD CENTURY

The Antigonid dynasty was now firmly established in Macedonia, with general suzerainty over the Greek cities; the Seleucids ruled in Syria and Mesopotamia, and the Ptolemies in Egypt. Thrace, under Celtic chieftains, was no longer a part of the Hellenistic domains. A new state was being formed by the rulers of the strong city of Pergamum in western Asia Minor, who gained the right to sovereignty by their defeat of the Celts and their



**LEGEND.**

- Boundary of Alexander's Empire, 323 B.C.
- - - Approximate Boundaries of the chief Hellenistic Monarchies, c. 200 B.C.
- ==== Roman Territory, 201 B.C.
- //// Carthaginian Empire, 218 B.C.
- ||||| Carthaginian Territory, 201 B.C.
- ||||| Territory of Marseilles

**SCALE IN MILES**  
100 0 100 200 300 400 500

**LEGEND.**

- Boundary of Alexander's Empire, 323 B.C.
- - - Approximate Boundaries of the chief Hellenistic Monarchies, c. 200 B.C.
- ==== Roman Territory, 201 B.C.
- //// Carthaginian Empire, 218 B.C.
- ||||| Carthaginian Territory, 201 B.C.
- ||||| Territory of Marseilles

**SCALE IN MILES**  
100 0 100 200 300 400 500



efficient handling of the difficult task of reconstruction after the barbarian raids. Since central Asia Minor, like Thrace, was now a Celtic power, Pergamum soon established its complete independence of the Seleucids and formed the fourth of the Hellenistic monarchies. The Greek city-states did not form a united power, but their position in Hellenistic politics was strengthened by the growth of the Ætolian League in central Greece and the Achæan League in the Peloponnesus, and by the great demand for Greek mercenaries and colonists and the prestige of Greek culture throughout the world. Among the Hellenistic monarchs only the Antigonids established direct authority in Greece, and their sovereignty was limited by the strength of the leagues and the diplomatic intervention of the Ptolemies.

The chief areas of conflict between Hellenistic rulers were the coasts and islands of the Ægean, over which the Ptolemies attempted to gain control against the interests of Macedonia and Pergamum, and Phœnicia and southern Syria which were claimed both by the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. After the return of Pyrrhus from Italy the west lay outside the sphere of Hellenistic politics. Rome's new protectorate over the cities of southern Italy therefore went unchallenged, and made her the only power to which the Sicilian Greeks might look for aid against Carthage. (Reading List 62)

#### HELLENISTIC KINGSHIP

A Hellenistic king was absolute; his power alone united the Greek ruling class and the subject nationalities of the Near East into a coherent state. The two elements remained distinct in spite of extensive Greek colonization of the east. The colonies were municipalities with Greek law and organization, whose chief contacts with their non-Hellenic neighbors arose from their commercial interests. Intermarriage between the colonists and native women gradually modified the character of the Greek cities, whose status was distinct from that of the native towns.

Absolutism was coupled with personal responsibility; the king not only was the state, but directed its administration with ability and vigor. He was the source of law and justice, but the public law of the state, which emanated from him, must conform in practice to the traditional private law of his subjects.

The general weakening of traditional religious and political convictions led many Greek cities to put their trust in the sovereigns of the new age and to offer them divine honors by local cults. Precedents for such action had been established early in the fourth century B.C., and Alexander officially adopted the principle of local worship. In a difficult transitional period, the psychological value of attributing superhuman power to a single individual as "a god of flesh, and not of wood or stone" was considerable, as an Athenian hymn to Demetrius-Dionysus indicates; a polytheistic world offered its leaders this one advantage denied to modern supermen. The

political utility of the deification of Alexander and of his successors appealed to many who had ceased to believe in any gods.

The worship of the deified Alexander was officially instituted at Alexandria by 285 B.C., and with the local cults sponsored by the cities, prepared the way for the definite assumption of divine honors by Ptolemy II and his queen Arsinoe, and probably by the Seleucid Antiochus II soon after. The character of the Macedonian monarchy precluded the official deification of the Antigonids, and the Attalids of Pergamum seem to have been given divine honors only after death except in city cults. The divinity of the Ptolemies and Seleucids was closely associated with their function as benefactors and saviors of mankind, as the epithets *Euergetes* and *Soter* indicate; the name *Epiphanes*, "god manifest," was first used by Antiochus IV in the second century B.C., and it is not probable that any earlier ruler believed in his own divinity. The eastern association of the king with the sun-god was revived in the Hellenistic ruler cult, and was later adopted by the Roman emperors. (Reading List 64)

The continued strength of the individual dynasties reenforced the royal power, while the custom of dynastic marriages helped to maintain close relations between the Hellenistic monarchies though it also increased the incidence of dynastic intrigues. Hellenistic queens were noted for their ability in administration and diplomacy. Though they seldom ruled in their own right, they were often interested in dynastic affairs and, in Egypt, sometimes ruled jointly with their husbands. In the first century B.C. the Ptolemies were obscure weaklings, while Cleopatra VII was the dominant personality in the east. Greek women of the upper and middle classes naturally gained in freedom through the example of the courts, and their opportunity for education also increased.

The fact that the hereditary landed nobility of Macedonia and the east was seriously depleted by Alexander's wars made it possible to create a nobility of royal officials and courtiers who were closely attached to the king's interest and gained hereditary rights through his favor. The chief administrative duties were given to Greek officials, and even minor offices open to orientals required familiarity with the Greek language and customs, so that the whole bureaucracy was Hellenic in aspect, except for purely local posts.

Until the end of the third century Hellenistic armies consisted chiefly of professional mercenary troops, which were officially Macedonian but included many Thracians, Gauls, and other barbarians, as well as Greeks. The royal recruiting officers sought soldiers everywhere and the raising of mercenary troops in smaller independent states was often arranged by diplomatic means. The Ptolemies were famed as the best paymasters. In the later phase of the Syrian wars, both Seleucids and Ptolemies began to depend on native levies. In 217 the success of Ptolemy IV

at Raphia in Syria, with an army composed chiefly of Egyptians, proved a Pyrrhic victory, for the alien dynasty could not safely continue imperialistic conquests with native troops.

Hellenistic tactics made much use of heavy cavalry and of Indian and African elephants; the infantry phalanx became far less efficient than it had been in Alexander's army. Siege engines and heavy artillery engaged the inventive genius of Hellenistic engineers, the most famous of whom was the Syracusan mathematician Archimedes. Projectile force was supplied by torsion, and created a great demand for women's hair, the best material for catapult ropes. Rivalry for supremacy in the Ægean led to competitive construction of huge warships, on which great sums were expended. Toward the close of the third century the swift war galleys introduced by Philip V of Macedonia made the earlier dreadnoughts obsolete.

The dominance of monarchy changed the character of local politics in the Greek cities. Autonomy in foreign relations could no longer be expected; "freedom" now meant exemption from royal taxation and the absence of a garrison. Moderate oligarchies prevailed in most cities, and the councils were far more active than the assemblies. Local politics reflected the general situation; in the cities of Asia Minor, the chief rivalry was between the supporters of the Seleucids and of the Ptolemies. Elsewhere the nationalists opposed the king's party, and in Greece itself the anti-Macedonian party often received financial aid from Egypt. The usual lines of political cleavage were often affected, however, by hostilities between Greek states. The most serious conflict in ordinary times was that between rich and poor, who were more sharply divided politically than in the old democracies, a condition closely associated with increasing social unrest. When democracies were established, they were likely to be turbulent and unstable, controlled by an irresponsible proletariat. The municipal character of the Hellenistic city-states is shown by the fact that the most important local magistracies were the controller of the grain supply and the director of education.

#### EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

The organization of Egyptian agriculture, industry, and commerce under the Ptolemies reproduced that of the strong Pharaohs of earlier imperial periods, but the importance of Egyptians in the administration was reduced by the alien dynasty and by the presence of Greek soldiers and civilians. As in the past, Egypt was the king's land and the production of wheat and other major crops was under close royal control. Imperial policies necessarily depended on the thorough exploitation of agricultural and industrial resources and commercial opportunities, since Egypt alone among the major Hellenistic powers had to purchase essential war and naval materials abroad. The Ptolemies followed the example of earlier

imperialistic rulers in their economic reconstruction after a period of inactivity. Papyri of the Hellenistic Age give much information about the complex local administration required for this nationalization of economic life. The detailed records required for the administration of the royal monopolies, collection of taxes, and supervision of the work on the king's land gave employment to many Egyptian scribes.

The greatest profits came from the heavy duties levied on imports and exports. Commerce with Ethiopia was fostered for the sake of Nubian gold. Close commercial relations were established with Carthage, which was second only to Alexandria among Mediterranean ports. The products of Egyptian agriculture and industry were sold throughout the Mediterranean world, together with precious wares brought by Arabian merchants from Arabia and India. Wheat, papyrus, and textiles were in especial demand among the Greeks.

Egyptian troops were used for non-combatant service in the army and navy, but the active force was composed of Greeks, many of whom were kept in permanent service and were granted allotments of land to furnish them occupation and support in time of peace. By this means much waste land was brought under cultivation, together with the vast acreage which was reclaimed by draining the Fayum marshes. Civilian Greeks also settled throughout Egypt in the towns and on land allotments. The policy of centralization prevented the general establishment of city-states, though the Greek colony of Naucratis kept its charter, and the city of Ptolemais was founded in Upper Egypt, perhaps as a Greek pendant to the old stronghold of the priests of Amon at Thebes. The members of the Greek city which formed the chief quarter of Alexandria were the official citizen body of the metropolis, but the Persians, Jews, and Egyptians had their own quarters where they lived according to their traditional customs. Alexandria was thus a cosmopolitan outgrowth of the new age, which had little in common with the classical city-state. These were the only Greek cities in Egypt; elsewhere the Greeks lived in Egyptian towns according to Hellenic customs, formed the usual clubs, and introduced gymnastic training. Local justice was administered according to both Greek and Egyptian law. As Egyptians in the towns gradually adopted Greek customs, a considerable degree of fusion was accomplished during the third century B.C.

Our knowledge of internal conditions in Ptolemaic Egypt is being much increased by studies based on the mass of public and private documents which have been recovered in recent times. These papyri clearly indicate that the Ptolemies, in spite of their great imperial projects, were actively interested in the welfare of their Egyptian subjects. The poorer peasants and craftsmen gained least from the new régime, and sometimes grew desperate because of the hard conditions under which they worked. At such times they stopped work, and sought asylum in the courts of a

temple; these passive strikes gained them only a temporary respite and some trifling concession to induce them to return to work. The scanty accounts of these incidents give no evidence of any concerted program to improve working conditions.

By 287 Ptolemy I had created a great navy and established his control of the Ægean; he now took over the Island League which Antigonus had founded. Ptolemaic policy aimed at direct control of the coasts of Asia Minor and Thrace and at weakening the Macedonian power in Greece by diplomacy and financial aid with a minimum of armed intervention. At the same time, the wars with the Seleucids renewed the old conflicts of Egypt and an Asiatic power for control of Syria.

The power of Egypt was at its height in the reign of Ptolemy II (285-246 B.C.). His fleet ruled the seas, though he did not take command in person, for he preferred diplomacy to generalship. The defeat of his navy by Antigonus Gonatas at Cos in 258 B.C. was a temporary setback after which full control of the Ægean was reestablished, but a Macedonian victory at Cnidus eight years later ended Egyptian control of the north Ægean. The king's great interest in intellectual pursuits, prompted by a lively curiosity, helped to make the Museum and Library at Alexandria the chief centres of Hellenistic scholarship, and the luxury of his court won wide renown. The lighthouse at Alexandria was considered a fitting symbol of the greatest commercial centre that the world had yet known. Ptolemy's sister and wife, Arsinoe, one of the ablest of Hellenistic queens, prevented her husband from neglecting the empire for scholarly pursuits. As wife of Lysimachus and later of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the "thunderbolt" who had wielded great power for a brief period after the death of Lysimachus, Arsinoe was well trained in Hellenistic imperialism. By 271 B.C., Ptolemy and Arsinoe together were officially deified, and their name *Philadelphus* ("brother-sister-loving") recalls their close association.

His successor Ptolemy III, called *Euergetes*, the "benefactor," neglected imperial affairs after his initial victories over Seleucus II in Syria. The Seleucids regained the ground they had lost, while Euergetes for 20 years let his soldiers farm their allotments and forget the arts of war. When war broke out again after his death in 221 B.C., Ptolemy IV, as we have seen, was forced to depend on native levies for his conflict with the Seleucids at Raphia in Syria. His predecessor had made many concessions to the priests in his attempt to gain the support of native Egyptians, and this nationalist movement was further stimulated by the success of the native troops at Raphia. Successive revolts at home, and the increased strength of Ethiopia soon put an end to Ptolemaic imperialism. The period from 200 to 80 B.C. was a domestic phase in Egyptian history, during which the state was weakened by dynastic conflicts and the administration became increasingly Egyptian in character. (Reading List 65)

## THE SELEUCID EMPIRE

The Seleucids were more directly influenced than the other Hellenistic dynasties by the policies of Alexander, the greater part of whose reign had been spent in the lands which they ruled. The continuation of his project of Hellenic colonization of the east was an essential factor in Seleucid policy. Syria and Mesopotamia were united by their topography and commerce, their Semitic population, and their past history, and were well accustomed to foreign domination.

By the middle of the third century the kingdom of Pergamum threatened Seleucid interests in Asia Minor, while the whole eastern coast of the Mediterranean was the object of Ptolemaic ambition. Galatia, as we have seen, was a Celtic enclave in the Hellenistic world. Armenia and the states of Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia in Anatolia, none of which had really belonged to Alexander's empire, were independent kingdoms during the greater part of the Seleucid period. They lay within the outer sphere of Hellenistic diplomacy, and their courts and administration were modelled on those of their Greek neighbors. The threats to the Seleucid power in the west prevented their keeping control of the Iranian east, where independent kingdoms were formed by the middle of the third century B.C. The history of these northern and eastern kingdoms and of the oriental policy of the Seleucids will be considered in a later chapter.

Antiochus I was the son of Seleucus and his Bactrian queen Apama; the Seleucid dynasty was thus partly Iranian. Many of the lands which Seleucus ruled had no cities in the Greek sense; aside from the centres of the Persian administration the larger settlements were temple-states, which were controlled by powerful priests and were politically and economically stagnant. Much of the remaining territory consisted of villages on the hereditary estates of nobles, which were now taken into the royal domain. On these lands the Seleucids founded many colonies which were fully organized as Greek cities with elected magistrates, a council, and usually a primary assembly. As the number of Greek settlers increased and industry and commerce revived, the temple-states were gradually brought into conformity with Greek models, and the priests and temples were put under the jurisdiction of the new citizen body of Greeks and native businessmen, though the temples still owned valuable properties. The Seleucid administration was more centralized than the Persian had been, and the king retained some rights in the feudal lands which were granted to Macedonians and Greeks.

Citizenship was vested, however, not in the empire, but in the individual city-states, which differed greatly in their local policies. The system seems to have resulted in considerable intermarriage among Greeks, Persians, and the various native stocks in the cities, with very little assimilation

of the native peasants. The cleavage between city and country therefore steadily increased. The city-states were subject to royal mandate and to payment of taxes, and sometimes to the direct supervision of a representative of the king, and they regularly worshipped the deified rulers, living and dead, but there was considerable scope for local political activity. Aside from customs and market dues, the chief payment due the crown was a 10% tax on the produce of the land. The forced labor which the peasants owed to the state was probably not greater than under earlier régimes; a change of dynasty had little effect on the life of the oriental peasant.

The old civilization was not lost in the flood of Greek immigration. The religious and commercial revival of Babylonia which had set in under Alexander continued, and the activity of Babylonian scholars paralleled and influenced that of their Greek contemporaries. The great temples were restored, and Babylonian religious influence on the Hellenistic world was considerable. It was to prove a less vital force, however, than that of the Zoroastrian Magi, even in the realm of divination and astrology.

The chief new foundation and the capital of the Seleucid Empire was Antioch on the Orontes, which became a great commercial centre and a place of luxurious entertainment; its pleasure-grounds at Daphne were severely censured by contemporary moralists. The ancient city of Babylon was neglected in favor of new foundations, especially Seleucia on the Tigris, near the site of the later Arabian capital at Baghdad. The Seleucid cities were planned in relation to the great trade routes, and retained their commercial importance throughout later ages. The old town of Dura on the Euphrates was refounded and became an important commercial centre in a district which was later to be debatable ground between Rome and Parthia. Current excavations at Dura are recovering important documents for the internal history of this section. Among other things, they illustrate the decline of Greek culture and the growing influence of Iranian elements after the second century B.C.

After the middle of the third century dynastic feuds seriously weakened the Seleucid power, and facilitated the growth of independent states in the eastern satrapies and in Asia Minor. The inactivity of Ptolemy III prevented serious losses in Syria, however. The Seleucid Empire was revived by Antiochus III, the Great, who was called the "restorer of the world." Antiochus, who ruled from 223 to 187 B.C., regained full control of the essential territory of the empire, and made the rulers of Armenia, Parthia, Bactria, and western India acknowledge his suzerainty; his wife was the daughter of the king of Pontus. On his return from his eastern campaigns, he invaded Syria and made up for his earlier defeat at Raphia by wresting Palestine from the weak hold of Ptolemy IV. The opportunity now seemed open to develop a navy and succeed the Ptolemies in control of the Ægean, since Philip V of Macedonia, his one great rival, was faced

by recurrent rebellions on the part of the Greeks. But Antiochus' aggressions in Asia Minor and Greece led to the intervention of Rome, and the later history of the Seleucids is bound up with that of the Roman hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean. (Reading List 66)

### THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMUM

Under Persia, Pergamum was one of many Anatolian city-states; after the battle of Corupedium its governor was rewarded for his aid to Seleucus by the recognition of his dynasty and by grants of land. Twenty years later, Eumenes made the state independent, and in 241 B.C. his son Attalus I took the royal title after his victory over the Gauls. Since this was a period of internal disorder in the Seleucid monarchy, Attalus was able to annex the former Seleucid lands, which he freed from the Gallic occupation. During his reign of more than 40 years, he made Pergamum a major power, though it was the smallest in area of the Hellenistic monarchies. His successor, Eumenes II, made an alliance with Rome for the sake of security from Seleucid aggression and was rewarded by the grant of lands in Asia Minor which Antiochus the Great forfeited by his defeat at Magnesia in 190 B.C.

The Attalid kings were fond of posing as "first citizens" and sometimes married commoners. Pergamum and the other cities kept their full city-state organization, but even the free allies were actually subjects; Pergamum itself had the double rôle of autonomous city-state and royal capital, and the municipal taxes were far less than those paid to the royal treasury. The kings adopted the forms of Hellenistic monarchy, but displayed their wealth in the temples and other public buildings of Pergamum and in lavish gifts to the Greek cities, especially Athens, rather than in their court. Great care was taken to train boys and men in the gymnasia for military service; in addition, foreign soldiers who entered the army were given land for their support in time of peace, and mercenaries were hired when larger forces were needed. Many of the temple estates were added to the public domain, while the kings administered, as their private property, the crown lands in the Seleucid territory which they annexed.

The economic organization was modelled on that of the Ptolemies, though there was more opportunity for private industry than in Egypt. The royal workshops were staffed by slaves. The wealth derived from the rich natural resources of the country was increased by the kings' scientific interest in agriculture and by intensive industrial development. Silver, grain, wool, wine, perfume, and fruit were important articles of trade. Pergamum was famous for its textiles, both woollen goods for everyday use, and finer stuffs which were richly dyed or interwoven with gold. A notable product was parchment, long used by Aramaic scribes, but introduced to the Hellenistic world by Pergamene merchants, as its name *pergamena*

indicates.<sup>1</sup> A considerable part of the revenues of Pergamum was devoted to the building up of the great library, which was second only to that of Alexandria, and to the support of the scholars who carried on research there. The Attalids were notable patrons of the arts and were deeply interested in Greek and Asiatic mystery religions and in Greek philosophy. (Reading List 67)

#### THE REPUBLIC OF RHODES

Rhodes was prominent in the carrying trade between the oriental ports and Greece from the Mycenæan Age; from the fifth century B.C., Greek civilization dominated in the island. In 407 the three cities of Rhodes were united in a single city-state. Thereafter its power rapidly increased, and in the Hellenistic Age it was the one independent republic which treated with the great monarchies on an equal basis. Rhodes withstood the great siege of Demetrius in 305 to 304 B.C. so successfully that the "besieger of cities" was forced to offer honorable terms of alliance. The republic was friendly with the Ptolemies, and its trade probably depended in large measure on the distribution of Egyptian grain to the north, but Rhodes resisted the attempts of Philadelphus to force her into his Island League, and in 200 B.C. took over the presidency of the league when the Egyptian sea power ended.

The wealth of Rhodes was derived from her position as an international clearing-house, especially in the grain trade, and from banking, and was increased by her superb navy and the solidarity of the citizens, who enjoyed an enviable reputation for integrity in business. The constitution was universally admired; it was called democratic, but actually a council and presidents chosen from the substantial merchants governed the state. Its flourishing commerce and the ancestral custom of public support of the poor prevented social and political disorders. The foreign merchants who settled at Rhodes were debarred from citizenship, but had definite private rights and founded their own associations for religious and social purposes. There were many slaves, most of whom came from Asia and south Russia;

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<sup>1</sup> Papyrus books were regularly in the form of a *volumen* or continuous roll made by fastening sheets of papyrus together (hence our word *volume*). Only one side of a papyrus sheet was smooth enough for writing, whereas both sides of a parchment sheet offered good writing surfaces. This point, together with the comparative difficulty of joining sheets of parchment, led to the imitation in parchment manuscripts of the *codex* form used for wooden tablets, the ancestor of our present type of books. Outside the sphere of Pergamene influence, papyrus rolls continued for centuries to be the common books, though in the Roman age parchment was sometimes used for books and documents. Parchment *codices* were regularly used for Christian writings, perhaps partly because so many of the early Christians lived in the Anatolian cities. In mediæval Europe, when the supply of Egyptian papyrus was cut off, parchment was regularly used for books and documents until the oriental invention of rag-paper supplanted it. The growing of sheep, whose skins were best adapted for the making of parchment, was therefore even more profitable than the demand for wool alone would have made it. Nearly all the classical literature now extant has come down to us in parchment *codices* which were copied during the Middle Ages from earlier examples.

the public slaves enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom. The wharves, walls, and buildings of the city were famous, and Rhodes was an important centre of Hellenistic culture. When the ruin of the island by an earthquake in 225 B.C. threatened a disastrous interruption of commerce, all the kings and dynasts and many cities sent lavish help.

Rhodes championed the cause of Greek freedom and made state gifts to aid the cities in Asia Minor and Greece in their struggles for independence. Many wealthy men deposited their surplus funds with Rhodian bankers for security against royal requisitions and against piracy, and the Rhodian standard of currency was widely used. One of the chief tasks of the fleet, which was manned by Rhodian citizens, was to clear the sea of pirates, a task made more difficult by the apathy of other powers, who compounded with the pirates for the sake of the profitable slave trade. The Cretans were the most formidable pirates of the time.

Rhodes succeeded to the old position of Athens in Pontic trade, and developed extensive western traffic; though Rhodian wine was of mediocre quality, many fragments of Rhodian wine jars are found throughout the Pontic and Mediterranean areas, including the African coast. The republic upheld the principle of freedom of the seas, and in 220 B.C. suppressed the ruinous tariffs by which Byzantium had hoped to finance the Gallic tributes. The international law of the seas was based on the Rhodian code, and a late Byzantine compilation known as the Rhodian Sea Law was adopted by Venice, the later counterpart of the Hellenistic commercial republic. At the close of the third century B.C. Rhodes, like Pergamum and Egypt, sought the friendship of Rome as a check to the aggression of Philip and Antiochus, but she fared less well than the Attalids, for after 166 B.C. her prosperity and power were undermined by the Roman development of the free port of Delos. (Reading List 67)

#### MACEDONIA AND THE GREEK LEAGUES: ANTIGONUS GONATAS

Antigonus Gonatas, the most interesting of Hellenistic kings, won considerable authority in Greece before his defeat of the Gauls enabled him to take the Macedonian throne in 276 B.C. He restored the old monarchy after the long disorders of the wars of the Successors. The Antigonids alone among the greater Hellenistic kings governed as a native dynasty. The resources of Macedonia had been seriously reduced since Philip's reign, both by the exhaustion of the Thracian mines and by the constant drain of 80 years of foreign war on the supply of soldiers. Antigonus confined his interests chiefly to Macedonia and Greece, and rejected Antipater's policy of subjecting the Greek cities in favor of alliances strengthened by garrisons at strategic points and by the support of local tyrants friendly to him.

The king was deeply interested in the teachings of Socratic and Stoic philosophers, and based his authority not only on the legitimate Macedonian

monarchy but on the principle of the rule of the virtuous king. He attracted poets, scientists, and historians to his court at Pella, but considered Athens his cultural capital.

The chief obstacle to the peaceful hegemony of Antigonus came from Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose offers of help persuaded Athens in 266 B.C., at the motion of one Chremonides, to make an alliance with Egypt and Sparta against Macedon. But Athens received little practical support from her allies in the war which followed, and was captured in 261 B.C. The failure of the Chremonidean War ended the political power of Athens and substituted the leadership of federal leagues for that of separate city-states in Greek affairs. Athens was forced to exchange her democracy for a pro-Macedonian oligarchy and to receive a Macedonian garrison; she remained a dependency of Macedonia until 229 B.C. The necessity of preventing Egypt from gaining control of Greece led Antigonus to build a fleet and engage in naval war with Ptolemy; his successes were offset for a time by losses in the Peloponnesus, but after his victory near Cnidus in 245 B.C., Egyptian control of the sea was limited to the southern waters, and Antigonus held Delos and the neighboring Cyclades. Hereafter, Egypt gave only financial support to the Greeks. (Reading List 68)

#### THE ÆTOLIAN LEAGUE

Antigonus was not interested in western Greece and made no attempt to interfere with the growth of the Ætolian League which, after gaining control of Delphi in 290 B.C., had adopted a policy of federal expansion. Ætolian success in the Gallic wars increased the prestige of the League; Bœotia became an ally and other states of central Greece joined the federation. From 245 B.C., the Ætolians began to gain members in the Peloponnesus and thus came into conflict with the Achæan League, which at the same time was seeking members north of the Isthmus.

The Ætolian League had a well-conceived and flexible constitution, but exercised little constructive influence. Its leaders were primarily influenced by greed for territory, and did not suppress acts of brigandage on the part of its members. The League was a true ethnic union with no dominant cities; the towns retained their local autonomy, and new states either entered the association as active members or, if they were too far away to participate in the assembly, became allies with the privilege of full citizenship for individuals who moved to a town in its territory. Power was originally vested in a primary assembly which met in the spring and fall, before and after the military season, and was open to all citizens. A council chosen from the constituent states in proportion to their military strength carried on routine business between meetings of the assembly. As the League grew, however, the assembly proved too cumbersome, and a small standing committee took over virtual control except for the final decision on ques-

tions of alliance and treaties, war and peace. The president and commander-in-chief of the League was chosen annually and could only be reelected after some years; a cavalry commander and a financial board were also chosen annually.

#### THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE

The Achæan towns also had an old federation which was reorganized in 280 B.C. The historian Polybius, whose family was prominent in the Achæan League, praised its principles of equality and humanity and its endeavors to gain liberty and concord throughout the Peloponnesus. Its real importance began in 255 B.C., when executive authority was vested in a single general. The general might be reelected in alternate years and thus a single man could develop a consistent policy over a long period. Considerable power was vested in a council of several thousand representatives from the constituent states, which met in April and September. All matters concerning war and treaties were referred to the assembly of citizens over 30 years of age, who also elected the general and other magistrates, but had no deliberative powers. As in the Ætolian League, the members preserved their local autonomy but pooled their military forces and adopted a joint foreign policy. The constitutions of the two leagues and their political history have aroused great interest among modern historians, as the first known instances of well organized federal government.

In 251 B.C., Aratus of Sicyon seized control of his city and made it a member of the Achæan League. Thereafter he was general in alternate years and dictated the policy of the League. His constant aim was "to expel the Macedonians from the Peloponnesus, to suppress tyranny, and to re-establish the ancient freedom of every state."<sup>2</sup> He was a brilliant statesman but a poor general, and depended on surprise attacks rather than pitched battles. His seizure of the Corinthian citadel in 243 B.C. enabled him to add Corinth, Megara, and parts of Argolis to the League, but was an unprovoked act of war against Macedon. The Ætolians united with Antigonus against the Achæans. However, with financial help from Egypt, Aratus gained favorable terms of peace and kept his new acquisitions. After Demetrius II succeeded Antigonus in 239 the two leagues united in a war to free Greece from his authority and were saved from defeat by northern invasions of Macedon. Aratus' attempts to force Athens into the Achæan League were fruitless; in 229 B.C. the Athenians paid off the mercenary garrison without opposition from the king, who had failed to protect Attica from Achæan raids, and Athens thereafter pursued a policy of neutrality. (Reading List 69)

<sup>2</sup> Polybius II, 43.

## THE SPARTAN REVIVAL

Sparta now had an able and ambitious king, Cleomenes II, who abolished the ephorate and built up a strong army by an economic revolution which provided land for several thousand new citizens, by intensive military training, and by mercenaries hired with Egyptian funds, since he had won Ptolemy III over from his support of Aratus. Cleomenes won great influence in the Peloponnesus and sought control of the Achæan League. By 225 the power of the Spartan king was so great that Aratus abandoned his former principle and appealed for help to Antigonus Doson, who had succeeded Demetrius four years earlier. For the war with Sparta and her Ætolian allies, Doson created a Hellenic League modelled on that of Philip II. In 222 B.C. the victory of this League at Sellasia, a few miles from Sparta, ended the brief revival of Lacedæmonian power, but Sparta remained free and resumed her "ancestral constitution."

## PHILIP V: THE SOCIAL WAR

The young king, Philip V, who succeeded to the Macedonian throne in 221 B.C., at first followed the lead of Aratus, who in 219 B.C. persuaded him to make war on the Ætolians to check their depredations. This Social War of the Hellenic League against the Ætolians was brought to an indecisive conclusion by the intervention of Rhodes and Egypt. At the peace conference in 217 B.C., an orator urged Philip and the Greeks to join in a strong union, for, he said, the power of the victor in the current conflict between Rome and Carthage would be so great that the conquest of the east would inevitably follow.

## XIX

### HELLENISTIC CIVILIZATION

*There are many cities, but there is only one Hellas.* —Posidippus

THE COSMOPOLITAN CIVILIZATION of the Hellenistic Age was much influenced by the expansion of economic life which resulted from Alexander's conquests. The opening of fresh colonial land and unexplored markets, the great increase in the amount of gold and silver in circulation, and the interest of monarchs and cities in the extension of trade quickened economic activity, increased the opportunities for acquisition of large personal fortunes, and created a spirit of commercial enterprise. Much of the energy and talent formerly devoted to city-state politics was now turned into commercial channels.

#### HELLENISTIC COMMERCE

Many customs barriers were eliminated by the new monarchies and leagues, and reduction in the number of coin-standards also facilitated trade. There seems to be no question that the volume of business and capital was greatly increased during the third century B.C., and that the centre of economic activity tended to shift toward the east so that Greece lost its earlier leadership. Alexandria, Rhodes, Ephesus, Antioch, and Seleucia profited by their strategic location for the transit trade with the east, which seems to have been the chief source of the increase in trade. For a time Greek emigration to the eastern monarchies created a demand for home products parallel to that of the earlier colonial period, but local production and industries were developed to supply the needs of the colonists; Italy and Sicily also depended less than before on imports from Greece. At the close of the century the wars with Macedonia and Rome lessened the prosperity of the Greek homeland. Gold was now supplied chiefly by India, Arabia, and Spain, silver by Spain, and tin as before by the Spanish trade with Brittany and Cornwall. Carthage was, therefore, as important in eastern commercial policy as Tartessus had once been. Pearls from India, which were now first introduced in Mediterranean trade, were greatly treasured, and the demand for spices and aromatic gums increased. Hence the Seleucid cities on the caravan routes to India flourished, while Indian goods were also brought by sea from the Indus to the Tigris or the Red Sea and thence distributed overland.

The Sabæans of southwestern Arabia became fabulous for the wealth derived from the export of gold, spices, and other luxury goods, and from their control of the trade from India to the harbors of the Red Sea. Ancient sources tell little about return cargoes to the east at this time, but we can hardly credit the tradition that the Sabæans bought nothing in return for their valuable exports.

Within the Hellenic area, grain, wine, and oil furnished a substantial volume of trade, together with such industrial specialties as textiles, which included silks made from the cocoons of the wild silkworms of western Asia, the famous Corinthian bronze vessels, Rhodian bronzes, fine furniture, and books. There were larger factories than before, and more interest in industry on the part of local governments, but there was little real change in industrial methods. Cheap free and slave labor was abundant, consequently there was no need of labor-saving machinery, and few of the inventions of Hellenistic scientists served practical industrial purposes.

#### EXPLORATION

The value of distant trade led not only to great expenditures for docks, lighthouses, and general harbor improvements, but to subsidized explorations. After Nearchus' voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates, Pytheas of Marseilles accomplished the long and hazardous voyage from Gades along the Atlantic coast to the "Bretannic islands" and probably to the mouth of the Elbe. The journey was too long to offer a feasible alternative to the trade routes along the rivers of Gaul, even if the consent of Carthage to the passage of Greek boats through the straits had been assured. Eratosthenes and a few others recognized the value of Pytheas' observations, including his discovery of the influence of the moon on ocean tides, but most geographers refused to revise their conceptions of the western seas, and branded Pytheas' account of his voyage as a tissue of lies.

Seleucus I sent expeditions to explore the Caspian district in the hope of finding a continuous waterway to India. The Ptolemies explored the Red Sea and established a great harbor at Myos Hormos, but did not supplant the Arabian middlemen in the Indian trade. It was not until about 120 B.C. that a Hindu sailor taught Ptolemy VII that there was a short passage across the Indian Ocean by use of the monsoon winds. Ptolemy sent Eudoxus on two voyages by this route, but the secret was lost with the captain's death, and knowledge of the monsoons was limited to eastern sailors until the early Roman Empire. It is interesting to note that the expedition in which Eudoxus perished was an attempt to circumnavigate Africa, for which funds were provided by three great western trading centres, Marseilles, Puteoli in Campania, and Gades, then a Roman possession.

## HELLENISTIC CITIES

The benefits of the current increase in aggregate wealth were offset both by sharp fluctuations in the purchasing power of money and by the low wages which prevailed in spite of rising prices. In many states the general prosperity of the upper classes led to greatly increased expenditures for furnishings and house decoration, clothing, jewels and entertainment, large dowries, and public benefactions. The rich gave lavishly for education, festivals, and public buildings, and for the distribution of grain in time of scarcity, but they preferred to give to the city rather than to pay their workmen better wages. Entertainment at festivals was provided chiefly by professional performers, and the Dionysiac artists were united in an organization which was more like a trade guild than any of the other clubs of the period.

The problem of food was often acute. Cities supplied by local production suffered when the harvest was poor, since facilities for long-term storage had not been developed. Those which depended on imported supplies were equally endangered by the incidence of shipwreck and war, but there was seldom an actual shortage of grain in the eastern Mediterranean area as a whole, and the fear of social revolution led many cities to form special funds for purchase of grain to be sold at normal prices, or for free distribution in time of scarcity. The magistrate in charge of the grain supply was one of the chief officials. Grain figured conspicuously among gifts from monarchs and wealthy citizens, and the dependence of Athens on Egyptian wheat made her friendship with the Ptolemies very important.

The number of slaves in domestic service and in industry increased appreciably, though slave labor was not cheap in consideration of the low wages paid to free workmen, and slaves with special skill or training commanded high prices. The manumission of slaves became more common, and by the end of the third century slaves engaged in individual enterprises were often able to purchase their freedom. The Stoic doctrine of the brotherhood of man tended to lessen the stigma of slavery, but may have hindered the development of sentiment against human bondage, since bodily freedom was an insignificant matter to the sage. Slaves were admitted to religious and social clubs. Athenian comedies emphasize the type of the shrewd family slave, who often controlled the essential action of the piece.

The economic and political uncertainties of the time probably increased the tendency to limit the size of families, which is clearly indicated by inscriptions. Polybius attributed this to the selfishness of individuals who consulted their own pleasure instead of the interest of posterity, but many parents must have been led by sheer necessity or lack of confidence to bring up only one or two sons and one daughter. In the latter part of the third century families with a single child were very common. The dispropor-

tion between sons and daughters supports the literary evidence that birth control was supplemented by infanticide and the exposure of unwanted offspring.

### EDUCATION

Education, however, was a serious matter. Many cities provided free elementary education for both boys and girls. The superintendent of education was a prominent official and lavish gifts were made for building and maintaining gymnasia for more advanced instruction in literature and other arts, as well as in athletics. The system of military and athletic training for young men of the better classes was widely extended, though it was usually optional. The philosophic schools attracted many men and some women. The tendency toward a common Greek procedure is as evident in education as in other aspects of Hellenistic life.

A less formal type of education, for moral rather than mental instruction, was furnished by wandering philosophers who preached the doctrine of self-sufficiency. They taught that happiness depends not on the increase of worldly possessions, but on the limitation of needs. The changes of fortune, they said, are such that all a man can do is to play the part assigned to him for the moment as well as possible. The despairing words of one of Menander's characters, "We live not as we would, but as we may," were turned into a challenge in these popular teachings. It is recorded that the itinerant philosophers found a ready hearing among the sailors on the crowded docks of Rhodes. One discourse ended with the pertinent example of the stouthearted captain who cried: "You may sink the ship, Poseidon, but she will keep to her course as she goes down!"

In an age of rapid and unpredictable change, it is small wonder that men were obsessed by the idea of fortune, that they prayed and offered sacrifice to the Fortune of individual rulers, and that the Fortune of a city came to have a very real existence for the citizens, and to take her place among the gods.

### INTERSTATE RELATIONS

While war was virtually the prerogative of monarchies and leagues, the cities vied with one another in festivals, education, and public buildings, and in the favor of princes. Local histories stimulated patriotism by their accounts of past achievements, and guidebooks testify to the interest of tourists in notable monuments. The increase of travel for purposes of business, sightseeing, or study necessitated special provisions for transients and resident aliens. Grants of honorary citizenship might be conferred on individuals or on the entire citizen body of another state. Mutual guarantees of civic rights were sometimes made between cities closely united by trade or

old association, and "friendship," which conferred the right to own property and to make legal contracts, was commonly granted to groups. A stranger in any large city could count on the help of a citizen who had been delegated to represent the interests of his state, even if there were no general agreement between the two cities. A common form came to be used in official documents, especially in the many decrees in honor of public benefactors. In order to reduce the volume of litigation, some cities adopted the practice of engaging one or more men from another town as judges to settle as many cases as possible by arbitration without recourse to the courts. A specialized profession thus grew up and certain cities, like Priene in Asia Minor, were noted for fair decisions and influenced the growth of a rudimentary system of interstate equity.

Social life was largely based on the activities of clubs; some of these were family associations, but many were founded to meet the religious and social needs of resident aliens. Each club had a temple, however small, for its patron deity, and usually needed a wealthy patron to underwrite its expenses. Foreign groups thus conducted their native cults by their traditional ritual, and not a few deities introduced in this fashion were later recognized by the local government. Though clubs were often composed of men engaged in a common occupation they were not concerned with methods or standards of work, and did not become trade guilds in any sense.

These changes in city life had little effect on the country population except to widen the gulf between them and their city neighbors. The traditional contrast between bourgeois and rustic was well established and the countryman became the stock figure of comedy. The guidebook of Heracleides, published about 205 B.C., described the people of Attica as inquisitive rascals, given to fleecing strangers, but the Athenians themselves as "magnanimous, simple in manner, and trustworthy friends." The conservative rustic clung to his local dialect and his old gods and depended on village activities, regardless of the cosmopolitan life of the cities. Yet Messenia and other agricultural districts prospered.

#### ATHENS

The commercial enterprise of Athens was much decreased, and from the economic point of view, the imperial city became a provincial town. The Long Walls fell into ruin; though the Peiræus was still an active port, its volume of trade was insignificant in comparison with that of Rhodes and Alexandria. But the rebuke of Antigonos I to those who advised him to seize the city as a means for controlling Greece became increasingly true in later years: "Athens," he said, "is the beacon-fire of the world by which the fame of great deeds is flashed forth to all men."<sup>1</sup> The prestige that

<sup>1</sup>Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius*, 8.

made the city more than ever the school of Hellas atoned for the loss of imperial power and even of material prosperity. After the self-imposed disaster of the Chremonidean War and the ensuing economic stagnation, two wealthy citizens, Eurycleides and Micion, brought about the peaceful dismissal of the Macedonian garrison in 229 B.C., and inaugurated a régime of independence and neutrality by which they sought to restore the "ancient good fortune" of the city. Their policies resembled those of Eubulus and Lycurgus, but the city now received gifts from foreign princes, and friendship with the great monarchies was an essential policy. Heracleides describes the city as a pleasant place to visit, with many public entertainments and all sorts of philosophers, but he warns the traveller to bring his own provisions if he would feast well.

Theophrastus immortalized many contemporary types in his *Characters*, which are as unflattering as those of modern monologues, but are even richer in illustrative detail. The writers of comedy, a field in which Athens was still preeminent, drew romantic pictures of young love against a background of marital infelicity and crabbed age, which were as popular as similar types in modern drama, and were much imitated by Roman dramatists in the next century. The comedies of Menander were highly praised and are the only ones of which any considerable portions are preserved. (Reading List 70)

#### HELLENISTIC PHILOSOPHY

Though Athens was poor in comparison with the great commercial cities and the royal capitals, the Baedeker of the third century B.C. described it as surpassing all others in "everything that makes for the enjoyment and betterment of life, by as much as other cities surpass the country." In this he showed the influence of the philosophers who were the chief glory of Hellenistic Athens. Other men of genius sought the patronage of the courts, but philosophy flourished in a freer atmosphere, and could dispense with royal support.

The leaders of Plato's Academy fell into an extreme agnosticism which made their studies fruitless for generations, though they still attracted students. The Lyceum was chiefly devoted to the acquisition of formal knowledge. Under the headship of Theophrastus and his successors, it accumulated facts and compiled histories of science, mathematics, and the arts, following the Aristotelian method of classification.

The real influence of Hellenistic philosophy did not depend on this intellectual activity, but on new schools devoted to a philosophy of conduct which was intended to provide a sound moral foundation for life in a precarious world; the itinerant teachers drew on their teachings as well as on those of the Cynics. Epicurus founded his Garden at Athens in 207 B.C. His doctrines were kept unchanged by his disciples for six centuries; they

set up reason as the guide of conduct, but used it to determine individual action, rather than to establish fresh principles. Epicurus sought to dispel the superstitious fear which he considered the chief obstacle to tranquillity and freedom, by the doctrine that the gods who had created the world lived in Olympian detachment and took no part in human affairs. He borrowed his naturalistic interpretation of the world from the Atomists. Epicurus taught that the course of natural and human existence was determined by the fortuitous concourse of atoms; death terminated individual life by the complete separation of the atoms which composed soul and body, and these thereafter formed new combinations. A similar dissolution awaited the earth; its atoms would one day be freed from their association with one another and be dispersed "beyond the flaming ramparts of the world" to form new worlds in outer space. The Roman poet Lucretius wove these doctrines into a great epic of the phenomena of human and physical life, in which he honored Epicurus as the savior who had liberated men from the chains of superstition and the fear of death. The poet's exultation in his release from fear gives a glimpse into the dark undercurrents of the Greek view of life, and explains the comfort that men found in Epicurus' society of friends. Since death might terminate existence at any moment, present pleasure was the sole aim of life, and virtue was not an end in itself, but a means of assuring true happiness and freedom without resulting pain and bondage. Epicureanism furnished many men a sound basis for human conduct, but it was too easily reduced by vulgar minds to the baser formula of sensual enjoyment.

Zeno, a merchant from Cyprus, studied for some years in the Academy, which he left in 301 B.C. to begin teaching his own beliefs in the Painted Stoa, a public colonnade from which the Stoic philosophy took its name. Whereas Epicurus both accepted the traditional Olympic deities and excluded them from any influence on human life, Zeno adopted the philosophic conception of Reason or Fire, the indwelling force that moves the material world, as God, and identified this eternal world soul with the soul of individual man. Virtue was the chief end of man in Stoic ethics, which required that the soul be freed from all passions which might disturb its rational tranquillity. The actual attainment of this ideal was recognized as impossible, but its pursuit was considered the only valid guide of life. Happiness was not thought of as an end in itself, but as the inevitable concomitant of virtue, independent of external fortune. With such a creed, distinctions of wealth and social standing and even of bodily freedom and bondage disappeared, and the principle of the brotherhood of man logically followed. The Stoic king was as much bound morally as the slave. External considerations were not utterly rejected, as they were by the Cynics, but were subordinated. Although the Stoic was a citizen of the world, to whom local ties were of secondary importance, his code qualified him for rational

and objective citizenship and for statesmanship of a high order, provided that the government under which he lived permitted the free exercise of virtue and reason.

### HELLENISTIC RELIGION

The gods of Hellas depended on the state. In spite of the majesty with which poets and artists invested them, they offered little to satisfy the spiritual needs of their worshippers, but ritual and mythology were too firmly fixed to permit the transformation of the traditional cults into a living spiritual force. The Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries had supplied this need in some measure since the sixth century B.C. In the Hellenistic Age the theory of Euhemerus, who taught that the Olympians were former mortals whose divinity rested solely on honors given them after their death, was widely accepted; such gods could have no real power to aid mankind or to solve the mysteries of life and death. To many of the subjects of Ptolemies and Seleucids, their own kings, whose worship had been legally established either before or after their death, had become more potent deities by this recent apotheosis than those whose human personalities and reigns were long since forgotten.

Syncretism flourished again as it had done in the earlier cosmopolitan age a thousand years before. In both these periods and in the Roman Empire, the constant intercourse of people who worshipped different gods furthered the identification of kindred elements in alien religions, and the adoption by individuals of cults derived from various sources. The chief stimulus to this broadening of local religious concepts came from the oriental elements in the Hellenistic world. The Greeks had long been amazed and fascinated by the immense antiquity of oriental civilization in contrast with the short span of their own recorded history. Among the gods worshipped in the east were many who offered the assurance of future happiness to their devotees. Prominent among these were the Syrian Atargatis and the Anatolian goddess known to the Greeks as Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods. Both were goddesses of fertility and, like others whose worship was widely adopted by the Greeks, were primarily women's divinities.

Ptolemy I deliberately instituted the worship of Sarapis for his Greek subjects. Sarapis was a special aspect of Osiris, whose cult had been prominent in Egypt for over two thousand years. The mysteries of Isis and Osiris, which linked the two deities as givers of immortality to men, were performed in Greek cities everywhere. We have seen that oriental cults were often introduced by foreign clubs before they were made a part of the authorized state worship.

The worship of Mithra, the mediator between god and man in the popular Mazdaism of the time, was important among the Iranians and their neighbors in the semi-hellenized states of western Asia, though its direct

influence in the classical world was delayed for some centuries. But the magic spells of the Babylonians and Iranians, like those of Egypt, were eagerly studied. Babylonian and Persian astrological lore was also popular, and in Greek and Roman practice was used not only to determine the fate of kingdoms and princes, but of individual men. The dangers of oriental magic and astrology were recognized, but their hold on men's minds was not to be broken, and they were a dangerous legacy from the ancient to the mediæval world. (Reading List 71)

### HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE

Royal patronage, the rivalry of citizens in honoring both contemporaries and the great men of the past with commemorative statues, and the increased demand for wall-paintings, sculpture, and other works of art for private houses, furnished ample employment to Hellenistic artists and challenged their versatility. Their work was usually secular in character, though there are some fine representations of the gods from this period also. Portraits of poets, philosophers, and historians, together with those of statesmen and athletes, were prominent in the decoration of public buildings. There was no decline in technique; indeed, certain works exhibit more technical ingenuity than artistic taste, and new subjects prevented the decadence that would have resulted from mere copying of the work of earlier periods. From the middle of the second century B.C. the Roman demand for Greek sculpture gave rise to many workshops in which copies of classical and contemporary statues were made: more of these copies are preserved than of the originals on which they were based, especially in the case of the many bronze statues copied in marble.

Sculpture was more independent of architecture than before. Although sculptors travelled widely and their work was in demand everywhere, the chief centres were Pergamum, Rhodes, and Alexandria. The Antigonids apparently were little interested in art, and the Seleucids were subject to oriental influence; Greece itself could not compete with the great capitals.

The sculptors of Pergamum carried on the tradition of Praxiteles and his followers in their treatment of flesh and drapery, and that of Scopas in their fondness for passionate feeling. Figures of fauns, mænads, satyrs, and various erotic types were well adapted for use in gardens and private houses, and groups in which youth and age or human and half-bestial types were contrasted were popular. The Gallic invasions gave fresh impetus to sculpture and aroused interest in the study of facial types, and the physical beauty of the Gauls was much admired (Plate 48). There are numerous copies of the sculptured groups erected at Pergamum and Athens by Attalus I to commemorate his victories. In these the latest triumph of Hellenism over barbarism was associated with the old themes of the conquest of civilization by the victories of gods over giants and of Greeks over

Amazons and Persians. Early in the second century Eumenes II had an altar of Zeus erected on the acropolis of Pergamum. The great frieze of this altar, which represents the wars of the gods and Titans, exemplifies both the achievement and the weaknesses of Hellenistic sculpture. The majestic figures of the Olympians stand out in striking contrast to the contorted serpent bodies of their opponents, though the rhythmic movement and daring intricacy of the whole composition may arouse more amazement than admiration.

In the Rhodian republic the athletic type of Lysippus prevailed; Rhodian bronzes were especially famous, and ranged from the famous Colossus to small but exquisite cabinet pieces. The most famous work of the Rhodian School are the Victory of Samothrace, which probably commemorated Antigonos Gonatas' victory over Ptolemy at Cos, and the Tyche or Fortune of Antioch, which established the type for the Fortunes of other cities as well. Monumental groups were much used in the gymnasia and other public meeting-places; the most famous example is the Laocoon, a work of the first century B.C.

Alexandrian sculptors were closely associated with the Athenian tradition. The Aphrodite found at Cyrene a few years ago is a charming example of their development of the fourth century B.C. type of the goddess (Plate 46). Sarapis was naturally also a favorite subject. Alexandrian sculpture is noted for its realistic studies of genre types, old men and women, peasants, drunkards, and fishermen, realistic caricatures and delightful small reliefs of pastoral or mythological scenes, all of which have their counterparts in the popular literature of the time.

Hellenistic painters were noted for their skilful color schemes and for their treatment of landscape; their subjects ranged from mythological tales to contemporary scenes and the newly popular still life. They are known to us now only through ancient descriptions, mosaic copies (Plate 47a), and a few wall paintings of the Roman age at Herculaneum and Pompeii which were based on earlier Hellenistic models.

### ARCHITECTURE

Architecture was chiefly secular; the shrines required for the new cults were usually unimportant architecturally. Doric and Ionic styles had become stereotyped, and the more ornate Corinthian, with its acanthus leaf capitals, was very popular. Lighthouses, royal palaces, pavilions, house-boats, theatres, public colonnades, gymnasia, and libraries afforded a variety of employment for architects. The many new cities and the rebuilding of old ones made town-planning important, but the general plan of most cities was dictated by the contours of the wall. The public buildings of Pergamum were magnificently laid out on a series of terraces on the steep site which was typical of Anatolian cities. Rhodes resembled a theatre, with

the great harbor as its orchestra. The typical private house was still a low building with the rooms opening on a central court; the streets were narrow, and even the wealthiest homes were built close together, with blank walls which gave little hint of the luxurious interior. The problem of vehicular traffic did not exist, and the only broad avenues were those that led to the public centres and were used for festival processions. Even the smallest city had its colonnaded market place with the town hall adjacent, one or more gymnasia, a theatre, temples, and a surrounding wall; the larger cities also had spacious parks.

### HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

An ancient chronicle said that the Alexandrians were "the sole teachers of Greeks and barbarians at the time when education elsewhere was abandoned because of the constant disturbances during the wars of the Successors."<sup>2</sup> The preeminence established between 323 and 281 B.C., when Egypt was the one peaceful district in the Hellenistic world, was secured by the interest of Ptolemy I and his successor Philadelphus in the library at Alexandria and in the Museum where research workers extended the scope of the nine muses by their additions to the sum of Hellenic knowledge. Pergamum and Antioch also had great libraries, but exerted less influence on contemporary literature.

The bulk of Hellenistic literature was intended for the general public; short epics and epigrams were popular. Many poems were written chiefly for the pleasure of literary coteries, but the idylls of Theocritus, as varied in their themes as the sculpture of the time, were suited to a far wider audience, and established both for ancient and modern poets the type of pastoral idylls and elegies in a cosmopolitan age. Romantic themes were popular, and ancient myths and local traditions were retold with emphasis on their love-interest.

The widespread desire for painless education was met by popular histories, in which the legend of Alexander was a favorite theme, and by collections of anecdotes and marvels, geographical romances, anthologies, didactic poems, memoirs and biographies, and popular outlines of philosophy and the arts and sciences. Alexandria had an outer library for general readers in addition to scholarly collections for research workers; Callimachus, one of the great librarians, was known for his popular epigrams and occasional poems, as well as for his poetic summary of ancient lore. Comedy flourished chiefly at Athens, and the archaic tragedies composed for civic festivals rarely attained distinction, but mimes, which presented clever parodies and amusing scenes of bourgeois life, were very popular for reading and for dramatic presentation. Aside from a few Stoic

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Athenæus IV, 184b.

hymns, there was no notable religious poetry except that of the Jews, who maintained their national religious traditions in spite of the skepticism and syncretism of the age.

Serious historical writing continued, though the theoretical treatment of historical themes and the prevalence of tendentious writing were dangerous signs. Interest in universal history was naturally aroused by Alexander's conquests. The Egyptian Manetho and the Babylonian Berosus composed histories of their countries for Greek readers. Hieronymus of Cardia, who lived at the court of Antigonos Gonatas, compiled from the Macedonian archives a trenchant history of the wars of the Successors to the death of Pyrrhus; our chief knowledge of this period depends on the use of his history by Diodorus in the Roman Age. Later epitomes tended to drive the original works out of circulation, as did the reaction from Hellenistic to Attic style. (Reading Lists 50, 72)

#### HELLENISTIC SCIENCE

Research was furthered by royal subsidies and by the association of scholars at the great centres, which facilitated the exchange of ideas. "The cloistered pedants endlessly squabbling in the birdcage of the Muses" aroused the scorn of a contemporary poet,<sup>3</sup> but made many contributions to knowledge. The great libraries afforded ample material for philologists, who established authoritative texts of classical writers, supplemented them by critical notes and monographs, and argued on controversial questions that still engage the attention of classical scholars. The work of the Academy in collecting and organizing scientific information was paralleled at other centres. Biology was a favorite subject, but was merely descriptive. Chemistry did not exist, and physics was devoted to military purposes, though Archimedes' invention of the endless screw was used in the mines and his development of the principle of the lever prepared the way for many practical inventions which were postponed to a later period, while Hellenistic science remained academic. But the most significant machines of early modern times were within the scope of ancient technique.

The mathematical sciences were most fully developed. Euclid's codification of geometric theorems has not yet been completely superseded, though modern geometry has weakened his authority. Archimedes of Syracuse made many contributions to solid geometry and laid the foundations for the study of calculus. Geographers applied mathematical theory to the mass of new information about distant lands. Eratosthenes made as accurate an estimate of the earth's circumference as was possible without modern instruments, and discussed the feasibility of a westward voyage from Spain to India.

<sup>3</sup>Timon of Phlius, quoted by Athenæus I, 41.

Astronomers had fully assimilated the results of ancient and contemporary Babylonian study, and were primarily concerned with the movements of the heavenly bodies and their mutual relationships. Aristarchus of Samos formulated the general principles of the movement of the earth and its place in the solar system. His views, however, were too revolutionary to win general support. Apollonius, therefore, elaborated a rival theory, which "preserved the phenomena" without disturbing the fixed central position of the earth. Ecclesiastical repression was not needed to prevent acceptance of a theory which destroyed man's central place in the universe, and the old system, in the final form given it by Claudius Ptolemy in the second century A.D., prevailed until the time of Copernicus. The selections from Aristotelian and Hellenistic science made by Roman writers from the first to the sixth century of our era were to dominate mediæval European science, while Arabic scholars based their researches on a wider use of the body of ancient scientific knowledge. (Reading List 73)

## XX

### THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

*The progress of the Romans was not fortuitous and involuntary as some of the Greeks claim, but their training in such vast and dangerous enterprises made it perfectly natural that they should not only acquire the courage to aim at universal power, but should achieve their purpose.*  
—Polybius

THE ROMAN FEDERATION in Italy was fully organized by 265 B.C.; during the rest of the century Rome engaged in wars with neighboring peoples. Contemporaries interpreted these wars as initial steps in an imperialistic program, but the official Roman theory regarded them as necessary for the defense of Italy. They resulted in Roman control of the western Mediterranean lands and involved the sovereign republic in Greek conflicts which led to hegemony over Greece and the Ægean also, while wars to complete and consolidate the western conquests continued. Since the Italian federation afforded ample land and resources, and since Rome was less interested in commerce than any of her great contemporaries, the causes of her expansion should probably be sought in the desire to secure the territories under her control at a given time against actual or potential encroachments by other powers, together with pride in her growing prestige and popular interest in the material profits of successful wars.

The republican government of Rome led more naturally to decisions based on immediate circumstances than to consistent application of clearly formulated policies. The senate, the continuous authority in the state, was made up of individuals with widely varying points of view, the will of the sovereign people might at any time reverse or determine senatorial decisions, and the consuls who commanded the army were elected by popular vote for annual terms. The resultant opportunism is sharply contrasted with the more consistent foreign policies of the Hellenistic monarchies and of the mercantile aristocracy of Carthage.

#### THE FIRST PUNIC WAR: 265-241 B.C.

Our knowledge of the first war between Rome and Carthage is derived chiefly from the Greek historian Polybius, who used both Carthaginian and Roman sources. Until after the war with Pyrrhus the two western powers

were friendly; their treaties secured Italy from Carthaginian aggression and recognized the right of Carthage to a naval monopoly in the west. The fall of Tartessus, the decline of the Etruscans, and the weakness of Syracuse after the tyranny of Agathocles left Marseilles as the one serious competitor of the Punic Republic. Their interests conflicted in Spain, where the trading posts along the eastern coast were under Massiliot influence. Carthaginian control of southern Spain seems to have been seriously reduced in the third century B.C., with consequent loss of revenue from the Spanish mines; Marseilles probably helped the Spanish clans to assert their independence.

In Sicily, on the other hand, the opportunities for Punic expansion were better than before, since Syracuse had not recovered from the oppression of Agathocles, though Hiero, who was now general, attempted to revive the empire of Dionysius. Messina, which was still held by the Mamertines from Campania, formerly mercenaries of Agathocles, was Hiero's best opportunity for the military glory necessary to establish his power. When he defeated the Mamertines in 265 B.C., they received help from Carthage, but soon appealed to Rome to help them expel the Punic garrison. For some years the senate had been anxious about the coast cities of Italy, and had maintained a naval patrol and appointed *quæstors* to defend the coast. If Carthage controlled Messina and closed the straits between Sicily and Italy to Greek traffic as she had long since closed the straits of Gades, the allies of Rome would suffer serious losses. Refusal of the Mamertine alliance would open the way to complete Punic domination of Sicily, whereas its acceptance did not necessarily mean war with Carthage. But the consul in command of the troops sent to aid the Mamertines was not a good diplomat; Carthage was incensed at her general for withdrawing without a conflict, and the two powers drifted into war.

The Roman federation was larger and more unified than the land under direct Carthaginian control, and her citizen army was superior to the mercenary troops of Carthage in discipline and loyalty. But Rome could not risk too heavy demands on her new allies, and had no navy except the ships furnished by Marseilles and the Greek cities of Italy, which were small and old-fashioned compared with those of Carthage. The consuls had less experience and ability in military strategy than the Punic generals, and were hampered by their short periods of command. But Hiero and many Sicilian towns soon took the part of Rome against their old enemies, and the loss of Sicilian revenues and the difficulty of securing adequate mercenaries prevented Carthage from ending the war before Rome had time to overcome her initial handicap. Many Gauls entered the Punic service, but Italy was no longer a possible recruiting area, and the Hellenistic monarchies employed the available Greek mercenaries, though the arrival of the Spartan Xanthippus with a well-trained force in the tenth year of the

war was a decisive help. Carthage had a large modern fleet, but did not keep crews in service except in time of war, so that naval aggression on a large scale was delayed until Rome had time to build ships and train oarsmen. The almost invariable successes of the first Roman fleet were the most amazing feature of the war, though wind and fortune were favorable, and it was many years since the Punic navy had met a fleet of comparable strength.

Polybius says that the conflicts of the first two years of the war determined the Romans to end the Carthaginian power in Sicily. The war in Sicily proved more destructive to Sicilian cities than to the conflicting armies; naval losses, however, were heavy on both sides, and the construction and manning of new ships was a serious drain. As attempts to defeat the Punic forces in Sicily failed, the Roman general Regulus carried the war into Africa. He gained support among the Libyan and Numidian tributaries of Carthage, but failed to make effective use of their help, and was defeated and captured by the Carthaginian forces, which Xanthippus had trained according to the latest principles of Hellenistic warfare.

The rest of the war was fought in Sicily. There was a stalemate for several years while the Romans besieged the great Punic stronghold of Lilybæum, and Hamilcar carried on guerrilla warfare from the mountains and raided the Italian coast. Ten years after the first naval victory at Mylæ in 260 B.C., the Roman fleet suffered its single defeat at the hands of the Carthaginians off Drepana, and the losses in battle were increased by a disastrous storm. The census of 247 B.C., which Polybius quotes, shows how heavy the cost of the war had been, for the decline in the number of citizens liable to military service during the previous 20 years was almost as great as the normal gain would have been. Still the Carthaginian offers of peace were rejected. The Roman alliance with Hiero had expired, and a permanent treaty was made with him; he ruled peacefully for 30 years as a free ally of Rome and established a court which was notable even in the Hellenistic Age. Hiero was the only Sicilian tyrant who was free of the necessity to support his power by military aggression.

The fall of Lilybæum and a final naval victory at the Ægæan Islands established Roman control of Sicily, and ended the war. The original terms of peace required that Carthage evacuate Sicily and pay a large indemnity over a period of 20 years, with the usual provisions for the security of allies and territory. But no Roman magistrate had authority to ratify a treaty without referring it to the home government, and while the senate accepted the terms, the assembly insisted on a larger indemnity to be paid within a shorter period, the cession of certain islands between Italy and Sicily, and a guarantee that Punic warships would not enter Italian waters.

Half Sicily was now Roman territory, while the rest belonged to Hiero and to the free allied cities. The losses of war and the indemnity to be paid

would not permanently lessen the commercial wealth of Carthage, and her military leaders would surely seek to overcome the peace party and renew the war with Rome. In the meantime the senate was faced with the new problem of governing foreign possessions.

#### THE BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The free allies in Sicily, which were chiefly the cities that had aided Rome against Carthage, enjoyed a similar status to those in Italy, except that they did not furnish troops. A definite theory with regard to the territory directly under Roman control was only gradually formulated, but it was natural that the inhabitants should pay tribute to Rome as they had done to Syracuse or Carthage, especially since the heavy war taxes made Roman citizens interested in increasing the income of the state. Accordingly Hiero's system was extended to tributary land under Roman control. Aside from the usual 5% tax on imports and exports, the chief revenue was derived from tithes of the annual grain crop, the most important element in Sicilian agriculture, together with taxes on pasture land. The magistrates of each town were required to take a census, on the basis of which contracts were let locally for delivery to Roman officials of a tenth of the crop, with an additional margin for the profit of the contractor. Many cities took up their own contracts, and the system worked admirably for over a century.

Since the quaestors who were sent to Sicily to supervise the collection of the tribute lacked judicial and executive authority, it soon became necessary to provide a competent jurisdiction which would not interfere with local autonomy. In 227 B.C. the problem was settled by making Sicily the "province" of a praetor, whose power was greater than that of the magistrates at Rome, since he was not subject to the intercession of a tribune, the direct control of the senate, or the action of the assembly. Within the limits set by the charters of the provincial cities and by his own edict, which was based on the precedents set by his predecessors, the provincial governor exercised unrestricted authority during the year of office. The early governors of Sicily were the leading statesmen of their time, and Sicily enjoyed an equitable government without interference in the administration of her cities.

#### THE MERCENARY WAR

The financial strain of the war was increased for Carthage by the difficulty of maintaining her commerce; at its close the soldiers' pay was badly in arrears. The mercenaries in Africa revolted and instigated insurrections in Libya, which were only suppressed after three years of a "truceless war" which Polybius considered the most cruel and unprincipled conflict ever

known. Rome permitted Carthage to hire soldiers in Italy to suppress the revolt, and at first refused the overtures of rebellious troops who had seized Sardinia and Corsica. When Hamilcar had restored peace in Africa, however, the Romans unjustifiably seized the two islands, and in 227 B.C. appointed a fourth prætor to govern them as a province. Tribute was paid in cash, and no cities were granted immunity. Nothing was done to improve conditions in the islands or to develop their natural resources. Rome might properly have demanded the cession of Sardinia and Corsica in 241 B.C. to prevent them from being used as stations for naval attacks on Italy and Italian shipping, but her seizure of the islands in 238 B.C. was an act of aggression inconsistent with the treaty and rightly condemned by contemporaries, which lessened the possibility of a lasting peace with Carthage.

#### ROME AFTER THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

Whatever her future policies might be, Rome was now an imperial democracy with tributary subjects. The Italian allies had assisted in the war and shared in the booty, but the new allies were bound by treaty to Rome alone, and the reparations paid by Carthage and the Sicilian tithes came to the Roman treasury. The chief profits of the war thus fell to Roman citizens, and especially to those who lived in the city itself. As the benefits of citizenship increased, the Romans were less willing to share their privileges, and changes in the status of members of the Italian federation became rare. In 241 the number of tribes was increased to 35 by the grant of full citizenship to the Sabines and Picones, which completed the citizen band across central Italy. Citizens added thereafter were enrolled in the existing tribes. A new law restricted freedmen and their sons to the four city tribes, so that they could not gain a dominant influence in the tribal assembly; this provision was more important in later times when eastern slaves increased the proportion of non-Italians among those who gained their freedom. The centuriate assembly was reorganized to weaken the prerogatives of the rich and to give more equal voice in its decisions to the lower census classes. A more serious change in the character of both assemblies resulted from the inability of a large number of citizens to attend the sessions in Rome, so that the assemblies were increasingly dominated by the grant landholders who lived in the city.

The authority of the senate, which had been diminished by the Hortensian Law of 287 B.C., was increased by the importance of foreign affairs in Roman politics during the third century B.C. and by popular confidence in its able and experienced members. Though the foreign wars brought a number of new plebeian families into prominence, the office-holding nobility from which members of the senate were usually chosen tended to become a closed circle. The consuls generally acted as delegates of the senate, and the censors, whose duties were increased by the growing revenues

of the state, worked in harmony with it. From 243 B.C., a second prætor was elected annually to judge cases which involved aliens. The annual edicts of this foreign prætor, with those of his colleague, steadily extended the scope of Roman law and to a considerable extent took the place of less systematic popular legislation. The influence of the prætors on the development of Roman law, together with the authority of the senate, helped to give the government a more consistent and stable character than was usual in the Greek states.

The continued importance of landed property was another element in this stability. The Claudian Law which prohibited members of the senate from owning ships large enough for commercial ventures reenforced the principle that land was the only proper investment for Roman statesmen. Much of the land near Rome was occupied by large estates, and was given over to orchards and vineyards which could be conveniently worked by slave labor, since the wars had increased the available supply of slaves. The Sicilian tithes furnished about a third of the grain needed in the city, and additional supplies could be bought in Sicily at favorable prices. The small farmer who depended on grain production had better opportunities in other parts of Italy, and the demand for allotment of public lands and for agricultural colonies continued. The senate, however, found the leasing of large tracts of the public domain a useful source of public revenue and of private profit, and preferred to keep it intact. A wise provision excluded senators from assuming state contracts for tax collection and for public works, so that their decisions would not be influenced by personal interest, but this did not apply to the use of public lands. The interests of the large landholders, the small farmers, and the city proletariat became more distinct; the first class composed the senate, and the third dominated the assembly in numbers, if not in actual voting strength in the majority of tribes, but the second class had little direct influence in politics.

#### GAIUS FLAMINIUS

The career of Gaius Flaminius illustrates the domestic situation just before the Second Punic War. He belonged to a plebeian family which first gained distinction through him. As tribune in 232 B.C., he showed his interest in industry by supporting a law to regulate the work of one of the chief Roman guilds. He championed the small landholders, and had a law passed to allot the "Gallic land" on the Umbrian coast to citizens. This measure aroused much opposition, and Polybius considered it the first step in the demoralization of the populace and the cause of the Gallic wars that followed. In 227 Flaminius was appointed as the first prætor of Sicily, where he was long remembered for his able administration. When senatorial hostility denied him a triumph for his victory in the Gallic war, the assembly voted him the coveted honor. In 221 B.C., as censor, he

built the Flaminian Way from Rome to Ariminum for better communications with the new citizen territory on the Adriatic coast, and the Flaminian Circus in the Campus Martius for the celebration of the Plebeian Games. The circus was a popular rallying-place in political conflicts thereafter. In 217 Flaminius commanded the army sent north to block the Carthaginian invasion, and was defeated and killed at Lake Trasimene. The senatorial tradition preserved by Roman historians branded him as a public enemy, responsible for the excesses of later demagogues, but the people looked on him as a champion of their rights. (Reading List 74)

#### LITERATURE AND ART

The extension of Roman interests was naturally reflected in the development of Roman culture. The wars in southern Italy and Sicily brought Rome into sustained contact with Greek civilization, and there were few citizens who did not spend several years in Sicily during the 24 years of the First Punic War. The expeditionary forces learned to enjoy Greek plays and other less reputable diversions, and introduced many Greek phrases into popular speech. Until the middle of the third century B.C. Roman literature did not really exist; hymns, ballads, lullabies, and charms were orally transmitted, drama was crude and impromptu, and prose was confined to practical purposes in public and private business, though there is some evidence that oratory had begun to be considered an art. Decrees in commemoration of successes in the Punic War followed Greek models. Consultation of the Sibylline Books led to the introduction of Greek religious rites, and in 240 B.C. Livius Andronicus, a Greek freedman from Tarentum, was commissioned to write a play for the first dramatic festival officially presented in Rome. Thereafter he wrote numerous tragedies and comedies based on Greek models, and also translated the *Odyssey* into the native Saturnian verse for use in schools. The Romans were much interested in the Trojan Wars, and had adopted a recent Greek theory of the Trojan origin of their city. Livius Andronicus' plays included several with Trojan subjects, and his contemporary, the Campanian Nævius, began his epic of the Punic Wars with the tale of Troy. Nævius also wrote many plays, including some based on Italian themes, and created a vigorous Latin style. (Reading List 75)

Up to this time the Samnites had shown more creative genius than the Romans in painting and sculpture, and their influence continued in spite of the increased interest of the Romans in Greek art. Both literature and art at Rome retained an Italian character which prevented mere servile imitation of Greek forms, though the new impetus to artistic development came chiefly from the Greek. Hellenic architecture influenced the new buildings of the city. The existing remains of Roman architecture belong chiefly to the late republic and the imperial period, but temples recently

excavated in the Campus Martius near the site of the Flaminian Circus date from the third and second centuries B.C. These temples show that Greek influence had now supplanted that of the Etruscans. Victories were celebrated by wall-paintings in the Hellenistic style in public buildings, and interest in sculpture was increased by the spoils brought from Tarentum and Syracuse in the Second Punic War. (Reading List 76)

### THE GALLIC WARS

The Gallic danger in northern Italy was not settled by Rome's victories at the beginning of the century, and aggression during the Punic War was only averted by the demand for Gallic soldiers in the Carthaginian service. From 238 to 230 B.C. Roman forces were busy subduing Sardinia and Corsica and fighting against the Ligurians. Trouble also arose with the Gauls in the Po Valley, who invited others from beyond the Alps to join them in an attempt to seize Ariminum and the surrounding country. Flaminius' division of the public land along the coast into citizen allotments was a clear indication that Rome intended to retain control, but further conflict was inevitable. The chief Gallic tribes formed an alliance against Rome and gained reinforcements from the transalpine tribes by promises of booty and of land for settlement. Their march south in 225 B.C. aroused general apprehension, and the allies rallied to the national defense. The Gauls reached central Etruria, where their army was almost annihilated at Telamon. Only the subjugation of northern Italy could permanently prevent Gallic invasions. A few years of campaigns brought the greater part of the land south of the Alps, an area equal to that of peninsular Italy, under Roman control. A road was built along the Tuscan shore, and colonies were founded at Placentia and Cremona which became the centres of a flourishing agricultural district, settled not only by Romans but by Samnites from southern Italy, after the war with Hannibal.

### THE ILLYRIAN WARS

The decline of Epirus after the death of Pyrrhus gave the Illyrians of the Adriatic coast an opportunity to form a strong state which flourished on the profits of organized piracy. Slow-moving merchant ships were at the mercy of their swift light galleys, which made frequent raids on the western coast of Greece. Epirus and Acarnania were forced to compound with the pirates for their own protection. Macedonia might have checked their aggression, but instead used their help against the Ætolians. In 230 B.C. the senate protested against Illyrian attacks on Italian shipping, but Queen Teuta refused to ask her subjects to renounce their hereditary profession, and one of the Roman envoys was murdered. Two years of war followed, during which Rome established friendly relations with the Greeks

on the Adriatic and gained the doubtful support of Demetrius of Pharos, a former ally of Illyria.

In 228 Teuta was forced to cede the southern part of her territory to Demetrius and to pay an indemnity to Rome, while the Illyrian fleet was forbidden to sail south of the new frontier. Since this treaty made the southern part of the Adriatic coast a Roman protectorate, envoys were sent to the Greek Leagues, Corinth, and Athens to explain Rome's position and to read the terms of the treaty. The envoys were favorably received, and Corinth invited the Romans to take part in the Isthmian Games. This implied the formal reception of Rome into the Hellenic world, and aroused the antagonism of Antigonus Doson, whose control of the Balkan peninsula would be threatened by the intervention of Rome. A Hellenistic king was more ready than the senate to recognize that the protection of the Greeks against the "common enemies of all men" in Illyria would be likely to lead to intervention on their behalf against Macedonia. In 219 Demetrius of Pharos revolted from Rome with Macedonian help, and when he was defeated, took refuge with the young king, Philip V, and encouraged his hostility to the Italian republic. Hannibal's invasion of Italy postponed further Roman action in the Adriatic.

#### THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN

While Rome defended her frontiers and extended her protectorate, Carthage developed an empire in Spain to atone for the loss of the islands. After the Mercenary War Hamilcar Barca was sent to Gades, the chief trading post in Spain. The conquest of Spain presented many difficulties, for the Iberian clans of the interior lived in small fortified towns without even a tribal union and had to be won over individually. The tribes near the coast were more open to diplomatic overtures and became loyal subjects. They were excellent soldiers and horsemen, and their finely tempered thrusting swords were justly famed. Hamilcar looked beyond the subjugation of Spain to the defeat of Rome; he skilfully combined conquest and diplomacy, and began to build up a strong standing army of Spanish troops. Before his death, the extension of Carthaginian control beyond the boundary fixed in the treaty of 348 B.C. called forth a protest from Rome on behalf of Marseilles. For some years, however, the Gallic and Illyrian wars prevented active interference. Hasdrubal, the next Punic general in Spain, founded New Carthage on the eastern coast, and was recognized as king by many Iberian tribes who joined his army.

In 226, although the clans of the central plateau remained independent, the growth of Punic power along the coast led Rome to make a formal treaty with Hasdrubal, which fixed the Ebro River as the northern limit of his aggression. The new frontier greatly reduced the territory open to Massiliot trade, and any further advance would ruin her remaining

Spanish colonies. Hasdrubal had depended chiefly on diplomacy; Hannibal, who succeeded him in 221 B.C., reverted to the aggressive policy of his father Hamilcar. By 219 his army was strong enough to undertake a war to restore the former supremacy of Carthage in the western Mediterranean and reduce Rome to a minor power. A territorial dispute gave him an excuse to attack Saguntum, a native city south of the Ebro which traded with Marseilles. The Saguntines appealed to Rome, who had promised them protection in 230 B.C., and Rome now demanded that Hannibal refrain from attacking her ally. Hannibal denied Rome's right to intervene, and captured the city after an eight months' siege, without further action on the part of Rome. Carthage upheld his action, whereupon Rome declared war and began to raise troops for joint attacks on Carthage and Spain.

#### THE SECOND PUNIC WAR: 218-201 B.C.

Hannibal's overt act at Saguntum precipitated the war which aggression on both sides had made inevitable. Carthage had a stronger army than in the former war, though she could not rival Rome in naval construction, but her chief hope of victory lay in Hannibal's consummate military genius, which was increased by his arduous commands in Spain. He counted on gaining allies among the Gauls during his march overland from Spain into Italy, and on winning over the peoples of Italy by promises of freedom and by the moral effect of battles on Italian soil. Rome was too well fortified to be captured, but a successful campaign in Italy would enable Carthage to recover the islands and confine the Roman power to central Italy, and to substitute a Carthaginian protectorate for that of Rome in the Greek, Gallic, and Samnite territories. The invasion of Italy forced Rome to recall the troops sent to Carthage and made her major concern the defense of the home territory, but it also increased the importance of aggressive warfare in Spain, on the possession of which Hannibal's plan depended.

Publius Cornelius Scipio had already reached southern Gaul with the legions destined for the Spanish service, when Hannibal crossed the Rhone. As Hannibal successfully evaded the Roman troops, Scipio sent his brother to Spain with the army while he himself returned by sea to take command of the defense of northern Italy.

In spite of the losses suffered from the inclement weather of the Alpine passes in the early fall, and from the resistance of the mountain tribes, the first engagements at the rivers Ticinus and Trebia were victories for the Punic forces and showed clearly the superior generalship of Hannibal and the weakness of the Roman cavalry. Northern Italy was abandoned to the enemy, and Scipio proceeded to his command in Spain in the hope that success there might force the return of Hannibal, while the main Roman army prepared to defend Etruria under the command of the consul Fla-

minius. At Lake Trasimene the Romans were trapped between the foothills of the Apennines and the lake, and were defeated with overwhelming losses. Hannibal's way was now open into central Italy, but the strong walls of the city and the loyalty of the citizen communities of Latium, the Sabines, and the Picenes, left him little opportunity for substantial gains, and the citizen territory in the heart of the peninsula effectively separated his northern allies from any supporters that he might win over in southern Italy. Fabius Maximus, who was made dictator after the death of Flaminius, resolutely avoided open battle, but hampered the movements of the invaders and encouraged the southern allies of Rome in their determination to resist all of Hannibal's overtures.

This Fabian policy made possible the recruiting and training of a new army to replace the heavy losses of Trasimene. Unfortunately, the consuls of 216 B.C. abandoned this safe but indecisive campaign and joined battle with Hannibal on the open plain of Cannæ in Apulia. By perfect timing of cavalry and infantry movements and masterly disposition of his numerically inferior forces, Hannibal surrounded the Roman troops and inflicted on them the most crushing single defeat in Roman history. The tremendous losses at Cannæ enforced the resumption of the Fabian policy and made Spain the chief theatre of active warfare in the years which followed, while the Carthaginians occupied southern Italy.

Even after Cannæ most of the Greeks remained loyal to Rome, though many of the Samnites joined the invader. The Campanian city of Capua was won over in spite of her old alliance with Rome, but stipulated that her territory should not be occupied, and since Rome sent troops to invest and recover the city, her conditional allegiance was a practical disadvantage to Hannibal. In 213 the city of Tarentum opened its gates to him, but its almost impregnable citadel remained in Roman hands. The Samnites gave Hannibal little active support. The Romans even freed slaves and enlisted them to reenforce their diminished army until new levies could be raised in Umbria, Etruria, and the citizen territory in central Italy. They operated in small detachments, harrying the Punic army, and besieging their scattered allies without permitting decisive action. The continued occupation of southern Italy made the problem of supplies for the Carthaginian troops very difficult, and the home government was more concerned about the defense of Spain against the Scipios than about sending aid to Hannibal's victorious army.

In 212 the Romans retook Capua and added most of its territory to the public domain, while they sent a prefect to govern their former free ally. In 209 Tarentum was also recovered, and Hannibal's activities were confined to a small section in the south, but the strain of the war had become very great, and several of the Latin cities were no longer able to furnish troops.

## THE SIEGE OF SYRACUSE

Events in Sicily for a time favored the Carthaginian cause. Hiero, the faithful ally of Rome, died in 215 B.C., and the leaders in the period of disorder that followed favored Carthage. In 214 the newly established republic of Syracuse openly revolted against Rome, and Marcellus undertook the siege of the city, which lasted for over two years, thanks to the efficient work of the Syracusan engineers, under the direction of Archimedes. Though the Carthaginians occupied Agrigentum and sought to regain the island, Marcellus prevented the revolt from spreading, and the western part of Sicily was not endangered. After his victory in 211 Marcellus added Syracuse to the Roman province, and the status of the Sicilian cities was soon revised in accordance with their stand in the war. Marcellus returned to Italy, to command operations there, but was killed in 209 B.C.

## THE FIRST MACEDONIAN WAR: 215-205 B.C.

Hannibal's chief hope of active support against Rome lay in the hostility of Philip V of Macedonia to Roman encroachments on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. In 215 Philip made a pact with Hannibal for aggressive action against Rome and a defensive alliance after the war, in order to secure his control of Illyria and to prevent interference with his interests in Greece. Rome, therefore, had to send a fleet and a small army to check his aggressions in Illyria, but soon made an alliance with the Ætolian League, which had asked for help against Philip's attacks on their territory in central Greece. Philip was supported by the Achæan League and most of northern and central Greece except Athens, which remained neutral, and the Ætolians, who with Sparta, Messenia, and Elis were allied with Rome against him. Pergamum aided Rome and the Ætolians. This desultory and indecisive war was significant chiefly for the breakdown of the temporary union of Greece and Macedonia which Antigonos Doson had established, and for its effect on later Roman relations with the Hellenistic states. The bargain by which Rome offered the Ætolians any lands she might seize in the war, in return for the booty and slaves taken, was an inauspicious beginning for Roman dealings with Greece, and led many to fear Rome more than Macedonia. In 206 the Ætolians made a separate peace with Philip, and in 205 B.C. the ten years' conflict was ended by a peace in which Rome conceded Philip's claims in Illyria.

## THE WAR IN SPAIN

The early victories of Publius and Gnæus Scipio in Spain were facilitated by the outbreak of revolts in Numidia, which distracted the Punic forces for several years. By 212 peace was restored in Africa and Carthage

recovered the land south of the Ebro; in 211 both Roman generals died in battle. The consuls and praetors were insufficient in number for the many commands of the war, and the senate had already adopted the expedient of prolonging commands after the expiration of the original term. Now a more drastic innovation was introduced; Publius Scipio, though he was too young to have held any office beyond that of *aedile*, was sent to Spain with full *imperium* to succeed his father. Of all Roman generals of the republican period, Scipio was most like Alexander in his military genius and in his mystic conviction of his own great destiny. Yet like the other members of his notable family, he made no attempt to substitute his personal power for the authority of the Roman senate and people, though his exploits won him the title of *Maximus*. By the capture of New Carthage Scipio diverted the revenues of the neighboring silver mines to the Roman treasury. He trained his men in the use of the Spanish swords and won over many Iberian tribes to the support of Rome. In 208 Hasdrubal eluded Scipio's forces and marched to Italy with reinforcements for Hannibal, by which he hoped to force Rome to recall her troops from Spain. But the unusually prompt and daring action of a Roman general intercepted him at the Metaurus River in eastern Umbria, and destroyed Hannibal's last opportunity of gaining sufficient strength for decisive action, though his army was still undefeated.

Scipio proved to be a true successor of the Barcids in winning the allegiance of the Spanish tribes, and consolidated his position by successful siege operations. The capture of Gades in 206 B.C. ended the Punic Empire, and enabled Scipio to return to Italy with the bulk of his forces, though Spain was not completely pacified until many years later.

### THE DEFEAT OF CARTHAGE

Scipio was convinced that the only way to end the war was to invade Africa and force Carthage to recall Hannibal's troops from Italy. Masinissa, the ruler of Lesser Numidia, was ready to support Rome in return for help against Syphax, the chieftain of Greater Numidia, who was allied with Carthage, and the Numidian cavalry would be an asset in the final conflict with Carthage. It was no easy task to persuade the Romans to send an adequate force to Africa while Hannibal still occupied southern Italy, but Scipio was elected consul for 205 B.C., and devoted himself to active propaganda for revenge against Carthage, while an army was being trained in Sicily. In 204 B.C. he invaded Africa, at first with little success. In the next year Syphax was defeated and the strong city of Utica was captured. Carthage now perforce recalled Hannibal to defend the homeland. The final conflict in 202 B.C. showed that Hannibal's strategic powers had not been impaired by his long inactivity in Italy, but Scipio was only second

to him in genius, and commanded far superior forces, while the Numidian allies made effective cavalry action possible for the Romans, which enabled them for the first time to defeat Hannibal in battle.

The defeat of Carthage was decisive, and Hannibal urged acceptance of the Roman terms. Carthage was to remain autonomous and to keep her African possessions; her territory outside Africa had already been lost. She was bound to surrender her navy except ten warships, and all her elephants, and to pay an indemnity of 10,000 talents over a term of years. She was forbidden to wage any war outside Africa, but might undertake defensive war in Africa with the consent of Rome. Since the treaty also provided for the return to Masinissa of his "ancestral lands," and since Masinissa was a favored ally of Rome, this clause forecast future difficulties. The Numidian ruler lived to a ripe old age, and constantly took advantage of his friendship with Rome to encroach on the territory of Carthage, which could only be defended at the price of a breach with Rome.

#### CARTHAGE IN THE SECOND CENTURY: THE THIRD PUNIC WAR

Carthage was now a client of Rome, without a navy and without an empire. Hannibal turned from military leadership to statecraft, and successfully fostered a policy of internal reorganization and the resumption of trade; the closed-sea policy was no longer possible, but Carthage was still the chief western Mediterranean port, and the development of African resources partly compensated for the loss of Spain and of the monopoly of western trade. In 195 B.C., however, the intrigues of the party opposed to Hannibal led to Roman intervention, and Hannibal took refuge at the court of the Seleucid king, Antiochus III. Though Carthage aided Rome in her eastern wars, the old hostility was increased by the intrigues of Masinissa, who succeeded in turning many of his nomadic subjects into farmers and soldiers and greatly extended the agricultural prosperity of Numidia, building up a strong state at the expense of Carthage.

Toward the middle of the second century Carthage was forced to make war on Masinissa in a desperate attempt to safeguard her territory, though this action involved a breach of the treaty with Rome. Though the ruin of Carthage would remove the last check on the growing power of Numidia, the persistent arguments of the war party, headed by Cato the Censor, prevailed, and the Romans under Scipio Æmilianus invaded Africa in 149 B.C. The cause of the Carthaginians was hopeless, but the terms which Rome offered were impossible to accept, and the city underwent a long siege until 146 B.C., when it was captured and destroyed. The land about Carthage was annexed to the Roman Empire as the province of Africa, and the outlying territories were ceded to the client-state of Numidia.

## ITALY AND THE GALLIC WARS

The problem of reconstruction in Italy after the war was scarcely less serious than in Africa. Much of southern Italy was devastated, and the great areas added to the Roman public domain were leased in large holdings to wealthy men who turned them into pastures, olive orchards, and vineyards. Since the war had created a temporary scarcity of free farmhands, these plantations were worked chiefly by the abundant slave labor now available. Thus the growth of large holdings, which had begun before the war, was accelerated after its close. Few of the Greek cities except Tarentum recovered their old prosperity. The best opportunity for the small landholder was now in northern Italy. The pacification of the tribes that had supported Hannibal was delayed by the eastern wars, but order was finally restored in the Po Valley, and many of the more intransigent Gauls withdrew, like the Boii who migrated to the Bohemian plain. Cisalpine Gaul became virtually a part of Italy; a few new colonies were founded, with many market centres to serve the individual allotments taken up by Roman citizens and by Samnites. As the population of Italy recovered from the losses of the Punic War and from the constant drain of the wars in the east and in Spain in the second century B.C., many communities sent colonists to the Po Valley.

Since the southward extension of the transalpine tribes was now definitely limited by the Roman power, while the Germans held the land across the Rhine, the independent Gauls entered on a period of organization and development of a settled civilization under the influence of their southern neighbors. Their tribal centres tended to develop into substantial commercial towns, many of which are still the chief cities of their districts. At first Rome demanded only a secure passage by land and sea from Italy to Spain, which Marseilles guaranteed, and the lands taken from the Ligurians when their piracy forced active intervention were added to the Massiliot territory. By the middle of the century the Arverni built up a strongly centralized and aggressive power in Gaul. A few years later Rome intervened to aid her Greek and Gallic allies in transalpine Gaul, and in 121 B.C. established a new province with Narbo as its capital, which surrounded the free state of Marseilles, and furnished a basis for a protectorate over the friendly Gallic tribes beyond its borders. The new district, whose name *Provence* still recalls the Roman organization, became almost a part of Italy, and a prosperous centre for Greek and Italian colonists and merchants.

## SPAIN: THE NUMANTINE WARS

Shortly after the capture of Gades, two Roman governors were sent to organize Spain, and in 197 the provinces of Hither and Farther Spain were founded. The process of pacification was a long one, marked by fre-

quent revolts; Spain was treated as conquered country to be exploited, and suffered from the extortions of unscrupulous governors and the rebellions of Celtic and Iberian tribes. In 133 Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted son of the elder Scipio, crushed the last great revolt by capturing the rebel stronghold at Numantia. Western and northwestern Spain were independent for another century, and little was done to Romanize the land held, but a great road along the old trade routes from the Balearic Sea to Gades and a few settlements of veterans of the Spanish wars helped to prepare for the later development of the country. The Numantine victory was second in importance only to the destruction of Carthage, and Scipio was given the title of *Numantinus*, in addition to that of *Africanus* which his father had held before him. On his return to Rome, the leaders of the opposition charged that the west already considered him the sole head and stay of the Roman Empire, and that the state which ruled the world was overshadowed by his individual power, while the east would soon be led to serve him instead of the senate and people of Rome. The great authority of the Scipios, the first citizens of their day, forecast the era of one-man power based on military achievement, but the time had not yet come when a single general could dictate the domestic and foreign policies of Rome.

The problems of governing and developing the newly expanded sphere of Roman influence in the west and of reconstruction in Italy after the ravages of the wars, with the necessary adaptation of the government to its new interests, might well have claimed the whole attention of the senate and magistrates during the second century B.C. But the crises which arose from the rival ambitions of Philip V and Antiochus III involved Rome in a series of conflicts from which she emerged as arbiter of the eastern Mediterranean before the western conquests were completed. Hitherto, as Polybius said, the affairs of the world had lacked unity, but with the Second Punic War, history became an organic whole, in which the affairs of Italy and Africa, linked with those of Greece and Asia, led to a single end in the establishment of the world power of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

#### ROME AT THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

Though the resources of the state were greatly increased by the lands annexed as a result of the war, the conflict had been so costly that, as later historians were fond of saying, the condition of the victor was much like that of the vanquished. The wealth and population of Italy revived within a few years, but the new state which emerged from the period of reconstruction was very different from the agricultural city of the early republic, though the essential forms of government remained. The power of the senate was greatly increased, the tribunes were more the tools of senatorial

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, *Histories* 1, 3.

policy than the champions of the people, and the landholding nobility controlled the votes of the majority of tribes in the assembly. Dictatorship was abandoned before the close of the war, and the custom of appointing individuals to long commands in the interest of military efficiency tended to reduce the direct influence of popular elections on foreign policy. The problem of converting revenues into military supplies and of building the roads and other public works necessitated by the wars and by the opening up of new territory gave considerable opportunities to the capitalists whose property classified them with the cavalry in the census; though these knights had as yet no political standing as a group, their services in connection with public contracts were increasingly important. The proletarian population of Rome steadily grew, since many landless men flocked to the city to enjoy the public entertainments, the chance of employment, and the public and private charity which the capital afforded. Meanwhile the number of small farmers, the mainstay of the legionary troops, since landholding was still the legal basis of military levies, diminished except in northern Italy. (Reading List 74)

The influence of Greek civilization was stimulated by the booty brought to Rome from Syracuse and Tarentum; Marcellus' dedications in the city formed a very museum of Hellenic sculpture. Among the religious innovations sponsored by the Sibylline Books at various crises was the worship of the Great Mother of Gods, whose fetish was sent from Asia by Attalus of Pergamum. The Romans, but newly acquainted with oriental worship, were unprepared for the orgiastic character of this cult, and the senate took steps to curb its practice by Roman citizens.

Fabius Pictor, a statesman and member of one of the chief Roman families, composed a history of Rome in Greek prose shortly before 200 B.C. His work, compiled from state and family documents and from oral tradition, was intended both for educated Romans, to whom Greek was becoming a second mother-tongue, and for the wider audience of Greeks who should thus learn the Roman past from a native source. Many annalists of the second century B.C. followed his example in the use of Greek. The Calabrian poet Ennius, on the other hand, used Latin hexameters for his epic of Roman history from the fall of Troy to his own time, and immortalized the many heroes whose deeds gained epic greatness in the common service of Rome, in phrases much quoted and imitated by later writers. Samnite, Greek, and Roman influence were combined in the work of Ennius by his birth, his education, and his devotion to the sovereign city, and were fused in the *Annals* and in his plays into an organic unity typical of the new civilization. Later generations honored him as the father of Latin literature.

Plautus is another example of a south Italian whose literary activity was centered at Rome, and who contributed greatly to the development of the

Latin language. Plautus produced many comedies, translated and adapted from Greek models with much fresh and vivid characterization and many Roman touches. The great popularity of his plays shows how thoroughly his audience was acquainted with Greek customs and the characteristic situations used by the writers of the Attic New Comedy, and how many Greek phrases had found their way into the common speech of Rome. While the Greeks looked anxiously on the growth of the Roman power, their civilization had become an integral element in Roman life. (Reading List 75)

## XXI

### THE ROMAN HEGEMONY IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

*Despite the many inventions of Fortune and her constant participation in the conflicts of human life, she has never before accomplished so noble an enterprise or won so glorious a victory as in our times.*  
—Polybius

AT THE CLOSE OF THE third century B.C. Rome was the sole great power in the West. Aside from minor wars with Illyria and Philip, she had taken little part as yet in the affairs of the Hellenistic world, which was now undergoing drastic changes. When the weakness of the Ptolemies after the death of Euergetes virtually ended the Egyptian imperial power, the republic of Rhodes assumed responsibility for Ægean peace without seeking territorial aggrandizement. The holdings of the Ptolemies in Asia Minor were coveted by the Attalid kings of Pergamum, but Philip V, who now had the affairs of Greece well in hand and wished to restore Macedonian control of the Hellespont and Ægean areas, was a formidable rival. The immediate destinies of the Hellenistic world seemed likely to be determined by Philip and the equally able and aggressive Antiochus III, who had already made great progress toward recovery of former Seleucid holdings in the East, and on his return from an eastern campaign, modelled on that of Alexander, had been hailed as Antiochus the Great. In 203 to 202 the two kings made a pact which left Antiochus free to recover southern Syria from Egypt, while Philip extended his maritime power against the opposition of Pergamum and Rhodes.

Since the Achæan opposition to Macedonia and the neutrality of Athens depended in large measure on Ptolemaic friendship, the position of the Greek states was seriously affected by Egypt's withdrawal from Hellenistic politics, especially as Antigonus Doson's Hellenic League was disrupted by the First Macedonian War. The achievements of Antiochus caused little concern, for his primary interest as successor of the policies of Seleucus I lay in Syria and the eastern provinces. The rumor that he aimed at world power aroused admiration rather than fear. Philip's aggressions were a more serious matter, since a Macedonian Empire required firm control of Greece. His barbarous treatment of Thasos and other free Ægean states aroused widespread antagonism which was increased by his absolutism in

Macedonia and his disregard of the recent treaty with the Ætolians, and not least by his policy of encouraging social disorders at the expense of conservative local governments. Contemporary epigrams show what bitter feeling arose against him in some quarters; having vanquished earth and sea he was represented as about to attack the very gods on Olympus. Yet many felt that the welfare of Hellas could only be secured by acceding peacefully to Philip's rule and making the best bargains possible in the interest of local autonomy.

#### THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR

Though Philip's first campaigns in Asia Minor met with only partial success, they were sufficient to make Attalus realize the need of a stronger alliance against him than that of Rhodes and Pergamum alone. In the autumn of 201 B.C. the two states sent envoys to ask Rome for aid against Philip, though neither had an actual alliance with the western republic, and Rhodes had been definitely opposed to Roman intervention. They succeeded in convincing the senate that, if Philip were successful in the east, his next aggressions would be aimed at Italy. The alliance of Philip with Hannibal may have engendered in the minds of Roman statesmen a sufficient fear of his possible invasion to outweigh both their urgent need for relief from incessant war and the lack of any sound reason for intervention.

Early in 200 the senate sent an embassy to Philip to demand that he compensate Attalus and Rhodes for his recent attacks and that he refrain in the future from aggression against any Greek state. Philip naturally refused this ultimatum, and the senate had either to retract or to persuade a reluctant assembly to undertake war in a cause that could not easily be made to seem vital to their interests. The official theory, that the war was undertaken in defense of allies whom Philip had unjustly attacked, met with wide acceptance among later writers, and may have helped to win over reluctant citizens at the time, but is not supported by what we know of Rome's relations with the eastern states prior to 200 B.C.

The political experience and the immediate motives of Rome differed considerably from those of her Hellenistic enemies and allies. Philip, Antiochus, and Attalus, like other aggressive Hellenistic rulers, aimed definitely at imperialistic expansion and direct control of any lands they might annex. Rhodes sought to maintain the freedom and security of the seas in the interest of commerce. The Greek leagues wished to keep as full a measure of independence as possible, and to extend their territory. The motives of the senate in the eastern wars of the second century B.C. are much disputed. Recently much stress has been laid on the desire to safeguard Italy by removing Greece from the sphere of Hellenistic conflicts and making it a neutral buffer-state for the west. That the senate did not aim at conquest and annexation is indicated by the character of the treaties made during

the period. The extension of Roman authority and prestige in the east was a natural continuation of the successes of the third century B.C. in the west, once the initial step had been taken, and the conviction that the gods gave victory only to the just cause contributed to the strength of the war party after Cynoscephalæ. The first settlement of Greek affairs required further action to insure the continuance of the arrangements already made, and the rich booty and substantial indemnities gained in successive campaigns made the wars more popular with many citizens. In any case, the liberation of the Greeks from Macedonia was undertaken primarily in the interest of Rome, though the proclamation of Greek freedom was useful in winning support for the Roman side and furnished a logical basis for treaty-making. It seems clear that the senate deliberately decided on war with Macedonia at a time when Philip, with a better understanding of the disparity between his resources and those of Rome, and with ample opportunity for expansion in the Ægean area, had no immediate intention of attacking Italy.

#### FLAMININUS AND THE FREEDOM OF THE GREEKS

The war proved to be a conflict between Rome and Philip over the status of Greece. Since Philip could not continue his aggression in Asia while the Romans threatened Macedonia, Pergamum and Rhodes were relieved of danger at home, but they took little part in the war. Roman attempts to win allies in Greece met with little success at first. Since a local quarrel had recently led Philip to invade and ravage Attica, Athens gave up her neutral policy and joined the Roman coalition, but could do no more than garrison her own territory. Most of the Greeks remained neutral; in the second year of the war, however, the Ætolian League joined Rome out of hostility to Philip and in the hope of gaining territory.

The small Roman force sent to Illyria in 200 B.C. consisted chiefly of new recruits, since the veterans of the Punic War were exempt from service, and the early campaigns were indecisive. In 198 the consul, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, an able commander and polished diplomat, took command. He formulated a definite program both for the prosecution of the war and the settlement of Greek affairs. Philip must be defeated in Greece, and thus be forced to withdraw his garrisons, and the Greeks must be convinced that the Roman victory meant their freedom from foreign control. His sincerity won over the Achæans and thereafter, since Philip had few supporters, only a decisive victory over the Macedonian army was needed to make Rome the arbiter of Greek affairs.

The issue was decided at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly in 197 B.C. The two armies were numerically equal, but the irregular terrain gave the flexible Roman legions an advantage over the closed formation of the Macedonian phalanx, and the terrific initial onset of Philip's massed troops was robbed of its effect by a successful flanking movement from the Roman

rear. Philip had lost Greece, and had no wish to ruin his kingdom by a defensive war against a power whose reserves of men and war materials were so much greater than his own. His request for peace was referred to the senate, and ten commissioners came from Rome to settle the details of the treaty in accordance with their decree.

The treaty was based on the ultimatum of 200 B.C., that all the Greek cities of Asia and Europe should be free and enjoy their own laws, a principle which had been affirmed by the liberators of Greece since the King's Peace of 386 B.C., but which now for the first time became the official basis of a long-continued protectorate under a single power. Roman garrisons temporarily replaced those of Philip at Chalcis, Corinth, and other points, until order should be reestablished throughout Greece. Philip was required to surrender the greater part of his fleet, to pay a moderate indemnity, and to submit disputes with the Greeks to Roman arbitration. Thessaly, which had been almost continuously under Macedonian rule since the time of Philip II, was now free; the Ætolians claimed it, but were granted only the western portion, while Flamininus organized the remainder in a group of federal leagues. Philip abided by the terms of the treaty, and devoted the rest of his reign to developing the resources of Macedonia and strengthening its northern frontier.

The proclamation of Greek freedom by Flamininus at the Isthmian Games of 196 B.C. was hailed with great enthusiasm. The Greeks vied with one another in honoring their new liberator: since there was no king to be worshipped in the Hellenistic fashion Rome was soon personified as a goddess, and divine honors were even granted to Flamininus himself. Dissenting voices were not lacking, however. The Ætolians busied themselves with propaganda against Rome, charging that the freedom granted by Rome meant "better polished chains, but heavier ones." Within two years, however, the last Roman troops were withdrawn, and Flamininus returned to Italy.

### THE WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS

During the war with Macedonia, Antiochus extended his power in Asia Minor and the Thracian Chersonese, so that Pergamum was in danger of being surrounded by the Seleucid power. Greek cities in Asia appealed to Rome for help, and in accordance with the manifesto of Greek freedom, envoys were sent to demand that Antiochus withdraw from Europe and refrain from attacks on the free cities and the former Ptolemaic possessions in Asia Minor. Antiochus wished to avoid hostilities with Rome, but claimed Thrace as part of Lysimachus' former kingdom, and declared that he alone had the right to determine the status of the Asiatic cities. It was already clear that the Roman program of Greek freedom was a direct threat to monarchies, and it is not surprising that its application to Asia Minor

was attributed to an evil ambition to bring the whole world under Roman sway. When Hannibal took refuge at the Seleucid court, the association of the greatest general of the time with its greatest monarch increased Roman apprehensions about Antiochus' future course, but his offers of friendship continued, and the senate had every reason to avoid an Asiatic war.

In 193 B.C., however, the situation in Greece provoked a crisis. An exhausting war to curb the aggression of King Nabis of Sparta had aroused much feeling among the Greeks, and won support for Ætolian propaganda against Rome. The leadership of the Achæan League by the able general, Philopœmen, threatened the security of the Peloponnesian states outside the league, and Roman support of oligarchic governments alienated the democratic leaders, who looked to Antiochus for aid, since Philip held to the terms of his treaty with Rome. Sparta at last openly revolted against Rome, and urged on by the Ætolians, attacked Achæan territories. When Antiochus' intervention seemed assured, "Greece at once became a tempestuous sea, corrupted by the demagogues and by the expectations aroused by the king."<sup>1</sup>

In 192 the Ætolian assembly, in the presence of a Roman commission, summoned Antiochus to liberate Greece. The king had legalized his position in Syria by the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes, and was now determined to avert Roman interference with his activities by himself assuming the protectorate over the Greeks. Philip, obviously, could not be expected to assist his rival to take over the hereditary rôle of Macedon. The Achæans supported Rome and began hostilities before the legions arrived.

Antiochus landed at Demetrias in Thessaly, took command of the Ætolian forces, and proclaimed the freedom of the Greeks. At Thermopylæ in 191 the Roman army won a decisive victory. The Seleucid losses during the retreat were too heavy to justify a further stay in Greece, and many of Antiochus' allies made peace with Rome. The Ætolians, however, were offered no terms but unconditional surrender. When peace was finally made two years later, the league was practically reduced to its original membership in Ætolia itself, and became a client state of Rome. The Achæans were now the single strong power in Greece, and Philopœmen began to extend his authority throughout the Peloponnesus. This defiance of local autonomy led to repeated Roman intervention: the freedom of the Greeks could not be secured by mere elimination of foreign control.

Pergamum and Rhodes joined Rome in a naval war against Antiochus. Lucius Scipio was elected consul for the Asiatic War in 190 B.C., but the real command was assumed by his brother, the great Scipio Africanus, who was ineligible for office at the time. A decisive naval victory was followed

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Marcus Cato*, 12.

by a Roman invasion of Asia Minor in 189 B.C. For the security of Rome's allies, Scipio demanded that Antiochus evacuate not only the Greek coast, but the entire country west of the Taurus. Compliance with this demand would reduce the Seleucid Empire to a Syrian and oriental power, and would make the authority of Rome paramount in the Greek world. Antiochus gathered a great army at Magnesia, where he resisted the Roman and Pergamene forces in a battle excellently planned, but imperfectly executed. His army was annihilated, and the Asiatic War, like the Macedonian, was a triumph for the Roman legions.

By the treaty signed at Apamea, Antiochus was required to evacuate Asia Minor, to surrender his war elephants and most of the fleet, and to refrain from any future aggression west of the Taurus Mountains, which became the frontier between the Seleucid Empire and the Roman sphere of influence. The indemnity to be paid was fixed at the huge sum of 15,000 talents. This, together with the amount of valuable booty seized, led to a widespread belief that Rome's aggression was due to an ingrained greed for gold. Oracles began to be circulated about the future invasion of Italy by an oriental army, which should destroy Rome and bring back all the riches that she had taken from the east.

The senate still held firmly to its policy of not annexing territory east of the Adriatic. Much of the land evacuated by Antiochus was given to Pergamum, and part of the southern coast of Asia Minor was ceded to Rhodes. Eumenes received the free cities which he claimed on the ground of past possession by Pergamum, with those which had been allies of Antiochus against Rome, and the rest were secured in their autonomy. The recurrent aggressions of the Gauls were ended by a Roman expedition against the Galatian strongholds, and in 188 B.C. the Roman troops once more withdrew from the east, leaving a greatly enlarged Pergamum as the dominant power in Asia Minor.

#### THE END OF THE ANTIGONID DYNASTY

During the next few years the senate frequently arbitrated disputes between the Greeks and Macedon. Philip's son Perseus, who succeeded him in 179 B.C., at first showed a hearty fear of Rome but was soon accused of intrigues in Greece, which were the more serious because of the current economic crisis, in which he supported bankrupt and desperate men against the rich. The Third Macedonian War, which broke out in 171 B.C., seems to have arisen rather from the general expectation of war than from any specific occasion.

For three years Perseus held his ground against inadequate Roman forces. In 168 the consul, Æmilius Paullus, brought a stronger army with which he defeated Perseus near the old Macedonian city of Pydna. Perseus was captured, and was led through Rome in Æmilius' triumph. The

Antigonid dynasty was at an end. Macedonia was made tributary to Rome, not, however, as a province under direct control, but as a group of four federal republics which paid to the Roman treasury half the tax formerly due to the crown. The system was carefully planned to prevent the revival of the royal power as a focus of opposition to Rome, without hampering the general welfare of the country.

The traditions of national unity under a single king were stronger than the newly instituted parliaments. Within 20 years the royalists rallied to the support of a pretender, Andriscus, who restored the kingdom for a brief period. He defeated the Roman troops sent against him and extended his power to Thessaly, but was soon overcome. Definite annexation and direct control could no longer be postponed. In 148 B.C. Macedonia became a province under a Roman governor.

#### ROME AND GREECE: 168-146 B.C.

No change was made in the general status of the Greeks after the battle of Pydna, but the leaders of anti-Roman sentiment were sought out and punished. The Achæan League was seriously weakened by the deportation to Italy of a thousand of its leading citizens. They were never given a trial, and 17 years later, the few who survived returned to Greece.

A curious turn of the fortune to which he attributed so large a share in the vicissitudes of men and nations enabled one of these Achæan hostages, the historian Polybius, to spend his years of exile in intimate companionship with the Scipios and other leading statesmen and generals of Rome. Actuated by the conviction of the unique character of Rome's achievement, he centred his history about the half-century during which Rome had extended her power from Italy throughout the Mediterranean world, a period which culminated in the full establishment of her supremacy by the victory of Pydna.

The Achæan hostages returned in 151 B.C. to a country which was ripe for revolt. The forces of social and political unrest had steadily increased since the Third Macedonian War, and Corinth had become a hotbed of revolution. Achæan hostility to Rome was increased by the senate's stand in the recurrent conflicts between Sparta and the League. In 148 a mob at Corinth attacked and nearly killed the Roman envoys who had been sent to attempt a reconciliation. In the next year they chose Critolaus as dictator. He rejected all overtures from Rome, and exacted crushing taxes from the rich to support a rabble of freed slaves and free men who made up his army. When his forces were defeated by the Roman troops from Macedonia, the rebellious Greeks raised another army, which Mummius was sent from Italy to suppress.

Mummius' settlement was ruthless but effective. He sacked Corinth, sold its people as slaves, and shipped its many treasures to Rome. Thus

Rome destroyed two great commercial centres, Carthage and Corinth, within a single year. All Greek leagues were dissolved, and the government of the individual cities was entrusted to oligarchies composed of well-to-do men. Indemnities were assessed to meet the costs of the war, but no permanent tribute was levied. Greece was still technically free, without garrisons, and without a governor. The governor of Macedonia was at hand in case of any future threat to the peace imposed by Rome.

#### SYRIA AND EGYPT: THE KINGDOM OF JUDEA

The position of Syria (to use the Roman name for the Seleucid kingdom) was seriously weakened by the treaty of Apamea, which entailed not only the loss of revenue from Asia Minor and the loss of the Greek recruiting areas, but the annual burden of reparations for a term of years, and the active hostility of the enlarged kingdom of Pergamum. The sound condition of the central provinces proved the value of the Seleucid policy of colonization, but the northern and eastern dynasts extended their territory as independent powers. When Antiochus III died in 187 B.C., the restoration of the Seleucid Empire was a lost hope.

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, who ruled from 175 to 163 B.C., hoped to unify his kingdom on the basis of the common Hellenic culture. This policy of Hellenization clashed violently with the native religion and customs of Judea. The high priest's party supported the king and installed the cult of Zeus in the Temple at Jerusalem. Nationalistic opposition throughout Judea resulted in the revolt of the Maccabees, which combined the worst features of religious and civil war with the rebellion against Antiochus. The most graphic denunciations of the ancient Hebrew prophets were borrowed to depict the monster Epiphanes. The treaty made in 142 B.C. marked the beginning of an independent state, which was recognized by Rome, and in 121 B.C. John Hyrcanus established the independent kingdom of Judea, which soon extended its power over Galilee at the expense of Syria.

Early in the reign of Antiochus, southern Syria was threatened by renewed aggression on the part of the ministers of Ptolemy VI. Antiochus forestalled their invasion of Syria by an attack on Egypt, where dynastic quarrels offered a fair chance of success. In 168 B.C., however, the mere command of a Roman commissioner sufficed to force his withdrawal. Egypt was secured against Seleucid aggression by the Roman protectorate, but was subject to recurrent dynastic quarrels which prevented the development of any consecutive domestic or foreign policy, though attacks on Syria were occasionally renewed. The prosperity of the third century B.C. was lost, and the pressure of poverty increased social unrest. Trade with the West made the friendship of Rome important for economic as well as political reasons.

The Seleucids also suffered greatly from dynastic quarrels. In 129 Antiochus VII was overwhelmingly defeated in an expedition against Parthia; thereafter Syria was a minor power between Parthia and Rome. The caravan trade with the east continued to flourish.

#### RHODES AND DELOS

The growing importance of Delos as the centre of Italian traffic in the eastern Mediterranean seriously diminished the revenues of Rhodes from the transit trade. Relations between Rhodes and Rome were strained during the Third Macedonian War, and the island republic fared badly in its disputes with the Greek cities of the Asiatic coast. After Pydna, Rome made Delos a free port, administered by an Athenian cleruchy. Its freedom from customs duties rapidly increased its popularity as an exchange-mart, the slave trade was concentrated at the sacred island of Apollo, and merchants of all nations settled there permanently or made it their chief Ægean port of call: the quick sales in its markets were proverbial. The island also served as the main way station for Romans on their way to Asia. Since Rhodes was no longer able to support an adequate fleet, and neither Delos nor Rome took any responsibility for policing the seas, piracy increased alarmingly. The Cretans defeated the Rhodian fleet before the middle of the century, and Cilicia, freed from Seleucid control, also became a hotbed of piracy. (Reading List 77)

#### ROME AND THE PROVINCES

The annexation of territory remained a by-product rather than a primary motive of Roman foreign policy, and the relationship of individual states to the central government was determined on grounds of local precedent and expediency and not by any uniform principle. In the west, the wars with Carthage occasioned the formation of the provinces of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and Hither and Farther Spain between 241 and 197 B.C. and of Africa in 146 B.C. The divided sovereignty of the east presented no single threat to Roman security comparable to that of Carthage, hence the change from alliances to direct control was made more gradually. In 148 only Macedonia had been given a provincial charter. Greece was technically free, under the general supervision of the governor of Macedonia; Illyria was tributary, but was not organized as a province; Galatia and Cappadocia, like Numidia and Mauretania in the west, were client-kingdoms, while the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Attalids, with some lesser powers, were "friends and allies" on various terms. When Attalus III of Pergamum died in 133 B.C., he bequeathed his royal power to the senate, possibly in the conviction that direct Roman sovereignty was inevitable, and might thus be established without a ruinous war. The senate accepted the legacy,

which involved them in a conflict with the normal heir to the throne. In 129 Pergamum became the province of Asia, the first land annexed beyond the Ægean Sea. In 121 Transalpine Gaul was made a province to secure communications between Italy and Spain from the attacks of the Allobroges and other Gallic tribes, but Cisalpine Gaul was still left without a governor, and many years passed before further additions were made to the provincial system.

### PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

A Roman province was an aggregate of self-governing communities under the general jurisdiction of a Roman magistrate. Its territory included allied cities which did not technically belong to the province, as well as the "free and immune" cities which were not subject to taxation, and the communities which paid regular tribute to Rome. The governor commanded such troops as were needed for defense, supplementing the forces sent from Italy by local levies in case of need; comparatively little use was made of local troops, however, except in Spain. His civil authority was defined by the provincial charter, which was drawn up in the first instance by a senatorial commission, and was extended by the prætor's edicts issued by successive governors.

The governor's essential function in time of peace was to preside over the district courts which tried cases of treason and other capital crimes, suits in which Roman citizens were involved, and controversies between different communities in the province. He might also supervise the major expenditures of provincial cities, but did not interfere with their internal administration under ordinary circumstances. His official civil staff was consequently small; a quæstor was assigned to him to handle finances, and he chose three legates, subject to senatorial approval, to serve as his deputies. The governor and his staff were provided with quarters, rations, and traveling expenses at the cost of the province, but received no official salaries; even an honest man, however, could make a fortune from his legitimate perquisites, and an unscrupulous governor had ample opportunity to profit by extortion. The provincial municipalities had the right to send embassies directly to the senate, and to bring suit for extortion against unjust governors at the expiration of their term.

Before the middle of the second century B.C., both the greed of provincial governors and other generals in the foreign wars, and their tendency to exceed the authority vested in them, aroused serious apprehension in the senate. When the provinces of Macedonia and Africa were organized (148-146 B.C.), measures were taken to correct these abuses. The Calpurnian Law set up a permanent senatorial court to try cases of extortion; it was the only Roman court from whose decisions there was no appeal to the people. The two consuls and six prætors who were elected annually now

usually spent their year of office in Rome itself, though they might be sent abroad at the discretion of the senate. In the next year they were assigned to service outside Italy as proconsuls and proprætors. Thus eight men were regularly available as governors for the provinces and for military commands, and this number was often increased by extending a pro-magistracy for a longer period. (Reading List 78)

#### THE OFFICE-HOLDING NOBILITY OF ROME

The customary sequence of offices assured adequate experience and training for the higher magistracies, and was a considerable source of strength in the Roman administration. The younger members of office-holding families gained their initial training through attendance at the law courts and through contact with experienced statesmen, who gave much time to their instruction. Military service, membership in the unofficial staff of a provincial governor, and minor municipal offices prepared the way for the quæstorship, which might be spent either in a province or in the service of a magistrate at Rome, and familiarized its holder with public finance. At this period there were twelve quæstors. The four ædiles supervised markets, public buildings, and festivals. The ten tribunes also served in Rome itself, and acted as intermediaries between the senate and magistrates and the tribal assembly, over which they presided. The six prætors presided over the courts, and were thus well prepared to represent Rome in provincial jurisdiction in the following year. Since the candidates for the consulship had normally held all of these offices in turn, sometimes omitting either the ædileship or the tribunate, and usually belonged to a family of office-holders and had been admitted to the senate after the quæstorship, the chief executives were admirably trained, and proconsuls were well qualified for provincial posts and military commands.

The official system was also of great value in the composition of the senate, which was now a body of about 300 members, appointed for life. Most of these were men who had held the quæstorship. The inclusion of all ex-magistrates in a single council was one of the most notable features in Roman government. The office-holding families constituted the real nobility of the state; they were jealous of their privileges, and a "new man," whose family had not held office, found it difficult to gain election. But their responsibilities were also great, and brought no regular compensation except for the profits to be gained in provincial commands and in war, and the fame which they did not hesitate to acknowledge as a prime object in life.

The senatorial families with the other substantial landholders normally controlled the decisions of the assemblies; in the tribal assembly, they voted in the rustic tribes by virtue of their country estates, and could count on the support of their numerous dependents; as long as the wealthy businessmen

were in agreement with them, there could be no real check on their control of legislation and elections.

### PROVINCIAL TAXATION AND THE ROMAN CORPORATIONS

The land tax continued to be the chief tribute imposed on the provinces. At first it was considered as an indemnity for the expense of conquest and organization of the province; later statesmen adopted the theory that ultimate ownership of provincial land was vested in Rome, and that the tribute was rent paid for its use. In most provinces the tribute was a fixed sum computed on the basis of normal production. In Sicily and Sardinia it was a tenth of the annual grain crop, paid in kind. In Asia, which was unfortunately annexed at a time when ready money was much needed for the inauguration of the Gracchan land law, the tribute was a tithe paid in money, and the contract for its collection was let at Rome on the basis of the estimated crops for a five-year period. Such a large sum could only be paid in advance by a syndicate of Roman capitalists. The annexation of Asia greatly increased the profits of the Roman knights, whose corporations had long collected indirect taxes in Italy and the provinces and contracted for public works and for equipping and provisioning the army. Even in Sicily, where the land tax was collected by local groups, the *publicani*, sent out by the equestrian corporations as their agents, collected customs, revenues from public lands and mines, and the pasture tax. Capital and banking were increasingly concentrated at Rome. The bankers at Delos regularly had Italian names. The client-kings and allied states used the services of the Roman companies, which soon gained a virtual monopoly of financial transactions on a large scale throughout the Roman world.

By 167 B.C. the income from indemnities and provincial tribute had become so considerable, small though it appears in contrast with the budgets of modern states, that direct taxation of Roman citizens was abolished. The indirect taxes collected in Italy were small, and the Roman treasury thus depended chiefly on provincial income and the profits from wars. On the other hand, the expenses of protection and administration were considerable; Asia was the one province which could always be counted on to bring in a profit. Consequently Asia was exploited more than the rest, and most complaints about Roman greed came from this province and those later annexed in its neighborhood.

### THE ARMY AND THE ITALIAN ALLIES

Since foreign wars constantly recurred during the second century B.C., many Romans made a profession of military service, though the legions were still theoretically composed of annual levies of landholding citizens. The great extension of Roman territory really required a standing army,

but the senate was reluctant to introduce such an innovation. A single centurion, one Spurius Ligustinus, served in 22 annual campaigns in Macedonia, Greece, and Spain between 200 and 171 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The continuous wars of the period made such service profitable, but worked a great hardship for farmers who were drafted for successive campaigns abroad.

The burden of military service also rested heavily on the Italian allies. The Punic Wars had been as much their affair as that of Rome itself, but eastern expansion brought them far less gain than Roman citizens received, and they had no voice in the declaration of war or the ratification of treaties. Though the formal status of the Italians was unchanged, the actual distinction between them and the citizens was greatly increased, and the overbearing conduct of some Roman officers occasioned much dissatisfaction. In the latter part of the second century B.C. Italian demands for citizenship became an important political question.

#### POLYBIUS' ESTIMATE OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT

The Greek historian Polybius considered the Roman constitution admirably suited to world rule. He thought that it had reached the height of excellence during the Second Punic War. While others classified it as monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, according to the relative emphasis they put on the powers of the magistrates, the senate, and the assembly, Polybius saw its true character as a union of the three, adjusted by a system of checks and balances which brought out the best elements in each. Though the Greeks were inclined to consider the senate the sole government of Rome, Polybius pointed out the importance of the people's function in conferring honors and inflicting punishments, for these, he said, were the real bonds by which states and human society in general were held together. He concluded that it was not possible to find a better political system, or a more efficient one, than the Roman government at its best. When, however, no severe external danger required the complete cooperation of the three divisions, corruption and jealousy tended to destroy their equilibrium; Polybius thought this danger had so far been averted by the union of two parts against the one which threatened to dominate them. The decline of the Roman power was to be expected when prosperity and corruption should create too great a cleavage between the classes and thus destroy the balance which protected Rome from external dangers.<sup>3</sup>

#### ROMAN SOCIETY IN THE SECOND CENTURY

The external aspect of Rome was greatly changed during the eastern wars. Between 194 and 168 B.C. sixteen new temples were dedicated. They were built of local stone at moderate cost, chiefly in the rather ornate Corin-

<sup>2</sup> See Livy XLIII, 34.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius VI, *passim*.

thian style, which was to dominate the architecture of the Roman period. The consuls of 174 B.C. let contracts for paved roads, bridges, a theatre, and several porticoes, markets, and shops in the central part of the city. Allied cities provided funds for their own porticoes in Rome, which marked the imperial character of the city. In 168 half the tribute was appropriated for public buildings.

The wars of the period inspired the erection of numerous monumental arches which supported statues of victorious generals. It was customary for generals to assign a substantial part of the booty taken in war to the erection of a temple or other public building. The treasures which Mummius brought from Corinth were even more numerous than those which had come to Rome from Tarentum and Syracuse two generations earlier. Industrial development was naturally stimulated by the increased spending power of the state and of well-to-do citizens, and by the large number of craftsmen who had been captured in the eastern wars and brought to Rome as slaves.

#### CATO THE CENSOR

The career of Marcus Porcius Cato, who was most famous for his censorship in 184 B.C., illustrates the character of his period. He was a "new man," but gained prominence both by his military career, which began in the war with Hannibal, and by his skill in the law and oratory. He held all the regular offices and served on important senatorial commissions. He was noted for his uncompromising justice and was a stubborn champion of the rights of provincials. He upheld the "old Roman virtues," and sought to enforce them; consequently, his candidacy for the censorship was bitterly opposed.

He tried to maintain the rigid sumptuary laws which had been passed in the dark days after Cannæ, but which had since become a dead letter. He reduced the cost of public works, and increased the income from public lands. He reformed the city water supply and enforced building laws to prevent private encroachment on public interests. He ordered the construction of the first Roman building for the law courts, the Basilica Porcia. The majority of the senate opposed this innovation as bitterly as their predecessors had opposed the use of the public funds for the Appian Way and the Appian Aqueduct, but within fifteen years the pressure of legal business required the building of two more basilicas.

Cato wrote many books, among them a history of Rome for the instruction of his son, which was composed as a protest against current distortions of history. His treatise on agriculture, which is preserved, shows a shrewd practical knowledge of farming, yet he found investment in pasture and woodland and in industrial plants more profitable, since Jupiter could not destroy these by drought or flood. He also invested in shipping, evading

the Claudian Law by forming a large investment company, and loaned money to his slaves for various enterprises. Parsimonious though he was in his personal life, he canvassed every means of making money.

Cato scorned the Greeks of his own day and warned his friends of their subversive influence, but he studied Greek and quoted many Greek proverbs in his own writings. He was always a leader in practical politics, and was scornful of high-sounding but impracticable theories. His last public policy, the destruction of Carthage as a means of settling the African problem in the interest of Roman investors, was typical. (Reading List 79)

#### THE SCIPIONIC CIRCLE: LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

The friends of Scipio Africanus the Younger formed a group as much opposed to Cato's general view of life as Scipio was to Cato's political principles. The members of the Scipionic Circle are particularly remembered for their interest in literature and philosophy by which Greek thought and letters were domesticated at Rome. The most quoted phrase from the poet Terence: "I am a man, I reckon nothing human alien to me," might well serve as a text for their sponsorship of the humanities.

Terence, who came to Rome as a slave from Africa, enjoyed their financial aid and helpful criticism in the composition of comedies based chiefly on those of Menander. These comedies were more charming and less boisterous than those of Plautus, and more highly esteemed by cultivated circles than by the gallery. Both comedy and tragedy were popular throughout the century, and the many public festivals created a demand for dramatic material.

The place of Polybius in the Scipionic circle has already been mentioned; he found fruitful opportunities to amplify the traditional theory of history and methods of historical composition in the light of the political experience of his Roman friends, as contrasted with that of Hellenic statesmen. Little remains of the work of the Roman annalists of the period, except as it is embodied in the histories of Livy and other later writers, but we can still trace to some extent the effect of recent Roman achievement on their interpretation of earlier Roman history.

A lively interest in many aspects of life and letters led to an essentially Roman type of composition, the "satire" or verse miscellany, which was comparable to the "table-talk" and familiar essays of more modern humanists. Lucilius, to whose work Horace was greatly indebted, was the chief writer of satire in the second century B.C. Oratory found many practical uses in the political activities of the time, and a ready tongue and polished style were increasingly useful to the aspirant for public office.

Roman interest in Greek philosophy began during the Second Punic War, but was greatly intensified in 155 B.C., when the heads of three great Athenian schools, Carneades of the Academy, Diogenes the Stoic, and

Critolaus the Peripatetic, came to Rome on a diplomatic mission, an incident which paralleled the visit of Gorgias of Leontini to Athens almost 300 years earlier. Their fame spread through the city "like a mighty wind," and Cato was much distressed to find young Romans neglecting the law courts for the discourses of the Greeks. A few years later Panætius, a Rhodian Stoic who had studied at Athens, joined Scipio's coterie. His broad view of Stoic doctrines, which drew much inspiration from Plato and the poets, proved especially adapted to Roman thought, and laid the foundation for the independent growth of Roman Stoicism. The chief end of man, he taught, was to live in accordance with reason, on which the life of the community also depended. The state was thus a commonwealth of the people (*res publica*), founded on mutual interest, and the ideal of the Stoic citizen was, therefore, in complete harmony with that of the state. Stoicism thus became a worthy ally of the republican government of Rome. (Reading List 75)

## XXII

### HELLENISM AND THE EAST

*What mean these Greek cities in the midst of barbarian lands? Why is the Macedonian speech heard among the Indians and Persians?*

—Seneca

ALEXANDER ESTABLISHED COLONIES of veterans in the farthest lands of his empire, in districts conquered by Darius two hundred years before, some of which had since been more closely associated with Persia by commercial ties than by political control, though they sent troops to serve the Great King. The names of 19 Macedonian settlements in Bactria are known, and those of 27 in northwestern India. Not all survived the years of confusion after the conqueror's death, and those that did found it difficult to maintain their Hellenic population, for many colonists took the first opportunity to return to more familiar lands. Conflicts between the Macedonian officials who involved their distant provinces in the wars of the Successors also threatened to undo the work of conquest.

#### THE MAURYA EMPIRE

Alexander found India divided among many petty rulers, but already there were signs that a more unified government would soon result from their rival attempts at expansion. Not long after the establishment of Macedonian suzerainty in the Indus district, one of the native dynasts, Chandragupta, created a centralized state with which the continuous political history of India really began. The Maurya dynasty, which he founded with the aid of Greek mercenaries, extended eastward to the Ganges and by 316 B.C. was strong enough to expel the Macedonian garrisons from the Indus. His power was well rooted before a respite in the wars of the Successors enabled Seleucus to assert his authority in the eastern provinces. In 303 the war ended in an alliance; Seleucus ceded Afghanistan and the other lands beyond the watershed of the Hindu Kush to Chandragupta and returned to Syria with 500 Indian elephants given by his new ally to aid in his victory at Ipsus.

The friendship thus established was cemented by trade and by friendly intercourse. The Greek Megasthenes made many visits to Chandragupta's capital as Seleucus' ambassador, and wrote such a vivid description of the

Maurya Empire that Greek and Roman writers for centuries quoted his book as the standard source of information about India, instead of consulting merchants and other travellers who had seen the country more recently. Not long after the death of Seleucus, Chandragupta's place was taken by the Buddhist Asoka, who ruled all India except for the isolated southern districts. Asoka continued his predecessor's friendship with the Seleucids, and sent Buddhist missionaries to several Hellenistic courts.

In the middle of the third century B.C. Seleucid ties with India were weakened by the loss of the eastern provinces. Antiochus the Great, however, in his attempt to restore the old boundaries of the empire, renewed the Maurya alliance and probably took his surname from the reestablishment of Seleucid prestige in the east, which extended his influence, though not his actual sovereignty, to the bounds reached by Darius and Alexander. A few years after Antiochus' defeat at Magnesia, the Maurya dynasty was overthrown in favor of a military power supported by the Brahmins, but Greek and Iranian influence were continued in the Punjab by Greek dynasts from Bactria and by the Indo-Scythian states, and established a tradition which ripened in the Hellenistic and Iranian elements of the Gandhara civilization two centuries later.

### THE GREEK DYNASTY IN BACTRIA

The middle of the third century B.C. was a turning-point in Seleucid control of the east. It was at this time that the tide of Greek colonization definitely ebbed, and that neglect of the northern and eastern provinces in favor of the Syrian Wars led to the establishment there of virtually independent kingdoms. Recovery of the lost provinces became a cardinal point in Seleucid policy, but Antiochus III was the first king who seemed likely to achieve it. In the border provinces, however, he could gain no more than recognition of his overlordship, and after the news of his defeat at Magnesia in 190 B.C., they ceased even to pay tribute. His successors could not check the expansion of Parthia, which became their chief rival in the east.

The most Hellenic of these successor-states carved out of Alexander's empire was Bactria; even here, however, the Greeks must have been a small part of the total population compared with the Iranians. Bactria was so prosperous that Strabo scoffed at geographers who put it outside the inhabited world of the temperate zone: "For the Bactrians enjoy such a happy lot that they must be very far from the uninhabitable part of the earth."<sup>1</sup> Huge grapes grew here, from which choice wine was made, figs and honey were abundant, the fields produced two harvests each year. The gold for which the land was famous was probably brought from the mines of cen-

<sup>1</sup> *Geography* II, 1, 14.

tral Asia, and overland trade doubtless contributed greatly to Bactrian wealth.

Since there was practically no native opposition to Greek rule, the aggressions of the semi-nomadic peoples on the northern frontier were the most serious problem with which the governors of Bactria had to deal. Diodotus seems to have established his independence by a gradual usurpation of power while the Seleucids were preoccupied with western affairs. The neighboring Maurya power may have served to illustrate the strength of a unified national state as compared with an outlying province of a greater power. From about 250 B.C. Diodotus ruled as an independent sovereign, and established friendly relations with the Seleucids, though an alliance with the new dynasty in Parthia was soon advisable, since the alien invaders in that district cut Bactria off from direct contact with the Hellenistic world. Antiochus the Great recognized Bactria as an autonomous vassal, but here as elsewhere the Roman victory at Magnesia definitely ended Seleucid sovereignty. After 190 Demetrius of Bactria continued eastward expansion as a completely independent power, little concerned with Seleucid policies.

During Demetrius' conquests in India, however, Eucratides revolted and established a new dynasty in Bactria, while Demetrius ruled in north-western India and may have extended his power as far east as the upper Ganges. More of India was now under Greek authority than Darius or Alexander had conquered. About 165 the Saca tribes began to overrun Bactria, while Parthia steadily encroached on the southern frontiers, in spite of the help that the Seleucid king sent against the common enemy. Eucratides retrieved his losses as best he could by wresting the Indus Valley from Demetrius, and the two Bactrian lines ruled thereafter in India. The most notable of these kings was Menander, Demetrius' successor, who was renowned in Indian tradition for his adoption of Buddhism.

By about 135 Bactria was completely abandoned to the Sacas, who ruled over the native population until they were driven out by other invaders about nine years later. The Hellenic rule was ended, and the Bactrian kings in the Punjab were soon engulfed by a more powerful native dynasty, though their descendants survived as petty rulers in the district for many generations.

The extent of Hellenic civilization in Bactria has been much disputed. In Indian tradition the Bactrian Greeks were noted chiefly as warriors, and the constant need of defense against the northern peoples and the Parthians, together with the eastern wars of conquest, can have left little opportunity for the gentler arts of peace. But Bactrian coins are the finest examples of Hellenistic portraiture, and give a vivid impression of the strength and personality of the individual sovereigns who maintained this eastern outpost of Hellenism for over a century (Plate 40d).

## THE RISE OF PARTHIA

Both the racial identity of the Parthians and the early history of their dynasty are obscure; they are known in ancient sources by the name of the province of Parthia which they occupied shortly before the middle of the third century B.C. They belonged to the semi-nomadic peoples of the steppes, and readily adopted the habits of the settled Iranians of their new home. They took over as their religion the popular type of Mazdaism which prevailed throughout the Iranian world except in Persia where an orthodox group clung to the stricter Zoroastrian worship. Their adoption of the local worship must have helped the alien dynasty to gain general acceptance; the greatest Parthian kings honored the favorite cult of Mithra in their name Mithradates. The influence of the Iranians was far stronger than that of the Greeks, and the attempt of the early kings to establish their place among Hellenistic rulers was followed by an oriental reaction more in keeping with their national character.

The Parthian era seems to have begun in 247 B.C. with the reign of Tiridates, who soon brought all Parthia and Hyrcania under his control. All Parthian kings took the name of Arsaces, which was used as that of Cæsar was later among the Romans, as a royal title, but the origin of the name is uncertain, and Tiridates I is the first Arsacid ruler actually known to history. The attempts of the Seleucids to regain Parthia were blocked by their western interests, and even Antiochus the Great was forced to make an alliance with the Arsacid king.

The conflict between the eastern and western interests of the Seleucid Empire is nowhere more clearly seen than in their relations with Parthia. Mithradates I, who ruled from about 171 to 138 B.C., made Media and Babylonia tributary, captured the Seleucid prince Demetrius, and controlled most of the provinces from Arachosia to Assyria, some of which were governed by their own kings as tributary vassals. Mithradates also made temporary conquests in India, and for a time controlled the great city of Taxila, which had recently been ruled by Greek adventurers.

The Seleucids lost the lands east of the Euphrates within 50 years after they were forced to evacuate Asia Minor, and Syria was henceforth their chief possession. When Parthia was seriously weakened by the death of the king in an unsuccessful war against the Sacas, Antiochus VII recovered Babylonia, Media, and other districts. But in 129 he was defeated and killed in Parthia, and no serious effort was made again to recover the lost territory.

Mithradates II (c. 123-87 B.C.), who was called "the Great," completed the defeat of the eastern tribes who had threatened for a time to overrun Parthia as well as Bactria. By blocking this destructive invasion, the Parthians did a great service for the Mediterranean world. Mithradates also

defeated the Arabian dynasty which had been set up in Babylonia, and made Armenia his vassal. Parthia was now the greatest state outside the Roman Empire. When the envoys of Mithradates conferred with Sulla at the Euphrates in 92 B.C., the Roman general's arrogance showed his ignorance of the real power of Parthia, which for centuries was to be the sole rival of the western empire.

Soon after the death of Mithradates II, Gotarzes, the Parthian satrap of Babylonia, successfully revolted, and founded an independent dynasty. Thereafter there were two lines of Arsacid kings, with their power centred in Babylonia and in Iran, and territorial wars between the two were frequent.

#### PARTHIAN GOVERNMENT AND CIVILIZATION

Mithradates seems to have completed the organization of Parthia. The state was a feudal hierarchy in which the royal power was too often weakened by intrigue. Since the succession within the royal family was not fixed on the basis of primogeniture, the satraps and landed nobility were likely to divide their support between the different claimants to the throne. The internal disintegration due to dynastic conflicts is clearly seen in the later years of the Parthian power, when the Arsacids grew less and less capable of rule, until the Persian Ardashir substituted the strong Sasanid dynasty for the weak Parthians.

The general lines of Achæmenid organization were followed, and outlying possessions were usually controlled by their own rulers as vassals of the Arsacids. The Parthians were interested in trade as a source of revenue, but left its active conduct in the hands of the Greek and Aramæan merchants who were already established in their territory. The maintenance of unified political control from the Euphrates to the Indus and to central Asia, where Chinese traders met merchants from Parthia, was a great incentive to eastern trade.

The nobles were closely associated with the Greek merchants of the cities, while the native peasants formed a class apart, little affected by dynastic and commercial policies. Overland trade, the chief source of revenue, was supplemented by the land tax and the booty and tribute gained in war. Parthian victories were won by their skill in archery. Like the Iranians and their kinsmen of the steppes, they were notable horsemen, and they aroused especial wonder among their western foes by their expert marksmanship, even when they were riding at full speed away from the enemy. These tactics were particularly suited to defensive action in the plains and hills east of the Euphrates, as Seleucid and Roman generals learned to their cost. The use of infantry was abandoned by the middle of the first century B.C.; thereafter the rank and file of the army consisted of mounted bowmen. The nobles formed the heavy cavalry, armed with great

spears, and protected by scale armor for both horse and rider; they also provided contingents of light cavalry from their dependents.

Iranian elements were very strong in the whole Parthian area from the Euphrates to the Punjab, especially in the eastern districts where a larger proportion of the native population was Iranian. The Arsacids claimed descent from the Achæmenid king Artaxerxes II, and adopted as their official language a Persian dialect (*Pahlavi*) written in Aramaic characters. Parthian assimilation of Iranian culture, however, did not affect Persian hatred of the alien dynasty, which seemed as illegitimate a substitute for the Achæmenid power as the worship of Mithra and other aspects of popular Mazdaism were for the orthodox cult of Zoroaster. Persian historians in later times scarcely mentioned the Parthian period.

Neither Iranian nor Hellenistic influence altered the zest of Parthian kings and nobles for heavy drinking, hunting, and fighting, the characteristic diversions of the steppes, which they maintained in their new homes. In later days one of the chief difficulties encountered by princes who had been brought up as hostages in Rome was their inability to drink and ride in royal Parthian style.

There is no evidence of any real literary interest at the Parthian court, but Mithradates had the priests compile the *Vendidad*, a collection of hymns and other Mithraic writings. Our knowledge of Parthian art is being increased by the discoveries at Dura, a garrison and trading centre on the borders between Parthia and Rome. The art of this frontier district naturally shows the interworking of various influences, but there is considerable evidence in favor of a definitely Parthian foundation, especially in the wall-paintings.

The place of Parthia in the history of civilization, however, does not depend on its internal history and culture so much as on its strategic position between the Near and the Far East, as the chief intermediary in overland trade for centuries, the first western power to establish direct relations with China, the protector of western Asia from the eastern invasions of the second century B.C., and from later northern invaders, and the great rival of Rome.

#### THE GREAT INVASIONS

In the second century B.C. central Asia was disturbed by the greatest tribal movements since the Scythian migrations six centuries earlier. About 174 B.C. the Hsiung-nu, or Huns, defeated the Yüeh-chi in Kansu, China, and drove their vast horde westward. The Hsiung-nu were a mixed people of Turki type, and the Yüeh-chi were chiefly an Indo-European speaking people who brought the Tocharian dialect into western Asia, but were perhaps ruled by a Turki clan. The Yüeh-chi conquered the peoples whom they met on their way west, but did not settle, for fear of the Hsiung-nu,

until they reached the lands of the Saca tribes on the Jaxartes. The Greeks commonly confused these Sacas with the Scythians; they formed several distinct groups of tribes, generally Iranian but with Turki elements in varying proportions. As we have seen, the Sacas moved into Bactria, which they overran completely between 165 and 135 B.C., while the Bactrian leaders governed in the Punjab. The great numbers of the eastern invaders made a deep impression on classical writers.

Conflicts between the Parthians and the Sacas began in the reign of Mithradates I. At times the Parthians tried to secure their frontiers by paying tribute, and by engaging Saca mercenaries for their army. Two Parthian kings were defeated and killed by the Sacas during the height of their invasion from about 135 B.C., when they had completely subjugated Bactria, to 123 B.C., when the flood of invaders seems to have subsided. They may have penetrated as far west as Mesopotamia, but Mithradates II cleared the greater part of his territory and established some degree of sovereignty in the rest. The remnants of the Sacas moved eastward to India, where they founded their own states. The mixed civilization of these Indo-Scythian states shows the extent to which the Sacas were influenced by the Parthians; here, as in Mesopotamia, Iranian elements were stronger than Hellenistic, so that Taxila and Seleucia have much in common. Parthian influence continued in the district, and the Indian writers called both Parthians and Sacas by the same name, *Pahlava*. Officials seem to have been chosen from both peoples, and the king in northwestern India who was overlord of the individual states was closely associated with the Arsacid rulers of Iran, according to the evidence of the coins; ordinarily the junior colleague of the Iranian "king of kings" succeeded to the throne in India.

A few years after the Sacas completed their conquest of Bactria, the Yüeh-chi in turn conquered the country; the Indo-Scythian states were then all that remained of the great Saca invasion, except for the men who went northward to the steppes and there formed part of the Alan horde. Early in the first century A.D., a tribe of the Yüeh-chi established their dynasty in India and made the Indo-Scythian and Bactrian kingdoms their feudatory dependents. Thus the great invasions of the Asiatic hordes contributed to the foundation of the kingdom in which the Gandhara culture developed, with its mingling of Hellenistic, Iranian, and Indian influences.

#### CHINA AND THE WEST

A chapter in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* of the Chinese historian Ssü-ma ch'ien, written about 100 B.C., gives the history of the first direct contact between China and western Asia, which sprang directly from the migrations of the Yüeh-chi. Between 140 and 136 B.C., the Han emperor sent one Chang ch'ien on an embassy to the Yüeh-chi to persuade them to

form an alliance with China against the Hsiung-nu, their common foe.<sup>2</sup> After ten years' captivity among the Hsiung-nu, Chang ch'ien found the Yüeh-chi far too happy in the wealth of their new land to be interested in war. The envoy visited Ferghana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and the Indo-Scythian states; in Bactria he found Chinese textiles and bamboo which had been purchased in India. He brought back full descriptions of the countries he had visited and of neighboring lands about which he was told; these included Parthia and Babylonia. It is noteworthy that these reports of Chang ch'ien, incorporated in the history of Ssü-ma ch'ien, are our fullest contemporary descriptions of Parthia and Bactria. He suggested the possibility of establishing direct overland trade by way of India, since indirect traffic already existed, and thus avoiding the danger of travels through the territory of the Hsiung-nu.

His description of the western countries made apparent the desirability of diplomatic and commercial relations with them. Bactria, he said, was a land with many walled cities, and produced huge grapes, hitherto unknown in China, the seeds of which, together with those of lucerne for fodder, he brought with him. Before long the Han palaces were surrounded by vineyards and fields of lucerne. He described Parthia as a huge country with extensive trade and a population of shrewd merchants whose chief delight was in haggling over prices. The Parthians used silver coins stamped with the face of the ruling king, and wrote from left to right on leather skins.<sup>3</sup> In Babylonia there were great rice-fields, large birds with eggs like jars, and clever jugglers.

The emperor Wu-ti was much impressed by the wealth of these strangers, the similarity between their customs and those of the Chinese, the weakness of their armies, and the fact that they were already interested in Chinese goods. Here was an opportunity to "spread Chinese superior civilization among the four seas, through many interpreters." The Indian expedition failed; it is notable chiefly for the fact that the first Chinese knowledge of India seems to have been due to the report of Chang ch'ien, and that their interest in it was simply as a means of trade with Bactria and Ferghana.

By 121 B.C. Wu-ti had defeated the Hsiung-nu and was able to establish the overland route through central Asia. Thereafter many envoys were sent to the West with a lavish exchange of gifts, which made the distinction between diplomacy and commerce very slight. The Chinese commodity in chief demand was, of course, silk, while the Chinese especially prized the

<sup>2</sup> The summary given here is based chiefly on Fr. Hirth, "The Story of Chang K'ien," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XXXVII (1917), 89-116, which includes a translation of the Chinese account.

<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that the Chinese invention of paper was inspired by the desire to find a writing material as much better than silk and strips of wood as the Parthian parchment was.

horses of Ferghana and ostrich eggs and jugglers from Babylonia. Parthia sent an embassy back with the Chinese envoys. The emperor showed his western guests all the wealth and wonders of his empire, and entertained them so lavishly that many other embassies followed. At last the constant exchange of gifts produced a glut of oriental goods in the western cities, and the Chinese envoys complained bitterly of the high prices they were forced to pay for the bare necessities of travel, while anyone with a passport from the Hsiung-nu, whose power was closer at hand and a more potent threat, lived on the fat of the land at no expense. Consequently at the close of the second century B.C., the emperor conquered Ferghana, that he might procure the "horses of heaven" thereafter without insult to his envoys. But, as he sadly recorded, the countries west of Ferghana "calmly stood upon their national pride, and could not be won over by our polite civilization into a state of vassalage."

#### EASTERN COMMERCE

While goods brought from India by Arabian merchants continued to reach Egypt by way of the Red Sea ports, the direct voyage by the monsoon route was not continued after the death of Eudoxus, and in spite of Ptolemaic interest in the Indian trade, the great bulk of goods from India, as well as from China, came through Parthia. Though overland commerce with central Asia had flourished in Persian days, it was greatly stimulated under the early Seleucids by the demand for oriental luxuries and curiosities and in the Parthian period by the establishment of direct intercourse with China, and by Parthian influence in the Indo-Scythian states.

The chief trade route from China, famous for many centuries as the great silk route, ran through Chinese Turkestan to Merv, Ecbatana, and Seleucia, and thence by different routes north to Assur and Armenia and east to Dura, Carrhæ, and Syria. In addition to silk, the Parthians imported bamboo, and perhaps cast iron, from China.<sup>4</sup> In exchange for the Bactrian grapes and lucerne, the Chinese apricot and peach were domesticated in the west. Parthian wars with the Seleucids and later with Rome were seldom allowed to interfere with the movement of goods across the Euphrates frontier.

#### THE ANATOLIAN KINGDOMS AND ARMENIA

The states on the northern frontier of the Seleucid Empire in the old territories of the Hittites and Urartu gained their independence in the third century B.C., but were first made important in world history at the close of the second century B.C., by the aggressive ambition of Mithradates VI of

<sup>4</sup> Wool tapestries found in Chinese Turkestan show the influence of Hellenistic patterns on eastern textiles.

Pontus. The Mithradatic dynasty, which was founded at the close of the fourth century B.C., ruled over two contrasting districts. The coast was occupied by prosperous Greek colonies, founded chiefly for the trade in metals. The acquisition of these Greek cities was a cardinal motive of Pontic expansion, and when Sinope was annexed, it became the capital. The rivers of Pontus were not navigable, and the interior had little connection with the Hellenized coast. It had no cities, though some of the villages, especially the chief temple-states, were very large. Many fortified residences of the kings and nobles were scattered through the country. Hellenization was almost entirely confined to the court. The kings married Seleucid princesses and regularly gave their daughters Greek names, though their sons' names were Iranian. Here, as in Parthia, the use of the name Mithradates in the royal family shows the popularity of Mithraism, but many other cults of diverse origin were established, all of which, including the Greek, ultimately tended to conform to a common oriental type.

The internal organization of the country was that which had prevailed since Hittite times; its wealth was largely agricultural and pastoral, and there were many fruits and aromatic shrubs. The district retained its old reputation for the production and working of iron, copper, and silver, and Colchis provided timber and hemp for ships. The complex racial history of Pontus produced a diversity of languages such as still persists in central Asia Minor.

#### MITHRADATES EUPATOR

The kings of the third and second centuries B.C. extended their territory along the coast and in Cappadocia, stored up treasures in their strongholds, and sought recognition by the Hellenistic Greek states. The great period in Pontic history was the reign of the last king, Mithradates VI Eupator, who inherited the throne as a boy in 121 B.C. and began his independent rule about 115 B.C. He gained wide fame among Greeks, Iranians, and barbarian tribes by a successful Scythian campaign in which his general Diophantes commanded. Darius the Great had suffered heavy losses in the attempt to conquer Scythia, which had been a menace to Greeks and Persians ever since. Of late the Scythians in southern Russia had been seriously weakened by the attacks of the Sarmatians and had gradually abandoned the steppes to the Sarmatians and Thracians. In the latter part of the second century B.C., the Scythians were concentrated about the Crimea, where they exacted ruinously heavy tribute from the Greek cities in return for protecting them from the Thracians. Mithradates' successful expedition, which was completed about 110 B.C., not only freed the Greek cities of the Crimea, but won the king many alliances with the Greeks along the Black Sea coasts and with the Anatolian states, and fame among all who depended on the northern grain trade. Panticapæum became the northern

capital of Pontus, and Mithradates used many soldiers from the north in his army.

During Diophantes' expedition the king himself extended the boundaries of Pontus, and eventually established the Euphrates as his south-eastern frontier by annexing Lesser Armenia, which had been his vassal. Here he built 75 storehouses for his treasure.

The next important move was a pact with his neighbor Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, a state which was subservient to Rome. Bithynia was more Hellenized than Pontus, and its kings had founded numerous Greek cities. Rome was now too anxiously occupied with the imminent danger of northern invasions and with civil strife to concern herself with eastern affairs. The two kings planned to partition the independent lands in their neighborhood. Of these, Galatia was still weak after the Roman attack early in the century, and was readily reduced to vassalage. Paphlagonia was in a state of anarchy under local dynasts; Cappadocia had been very prosperous until a few years before. It was superficially Hellenized under Iranian rulers, who had long enjoyed Seleucid friendship, and after the battle of Magnesia had entered into diplomatic relations with Rome. Of late it had fallen into anarchy. Nicomedes tried to seize Cappadocia for himself, but was defeated by Mithradates, who restored the former king.

The Roman senate now became alarmed at the growth of Mithradates' power and ordered both kings to evacuate their new possessions. The Cappadocians refused the Roman offer of freedom and democracy, for they could not conceive of orderly government without a king, and they had had enough of anarchy. Rome yielded and recognized a Cappadocian dynasty, but Mithradates later made much use in his propaganda of the Roman hostility to kings, though he himself had incorporated many petty monarchies in his empire. His next alliance was to prove more valuable than that with the untrustworthy Nicomedes.

Armenia had joined in the general movement for independence of the Seleucid power at about 230 B.C. A century later, Mithradates II of Parthia took the Armenian prince Tigranes as a hostage, and then sent the Parthian army to place him on the throne in return for the cession of 70 valleys. Parthia thus established its claim to determine the Armenian succession, which was to be a major cause of conflict between Rome and Parthia in later times. Mithradates of Pontus now made an alliance with Tigranes, who married his daughter, and the two kings undertook the conquest of Cappadocia. The senate sent Sulla in 92 B.C. to restore Ariobarzanes, the protégé of Rome, to the Cappadocian throne. Pontus, Armenia, and Parthia now became champions of the east against Rome, to whom not only Iranians, but Asiatic Greeks who hated the Roman sway, might look for deliverance. The eastern frontier was to be the crucial factor in Roman foreign policy hereafter. (Reading List 80)

## XXIII

### THE SOCIAL QUESTION IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

*A hungry people knows no fear.*—Lucan

FROM THE TIME OF THE first democratic revolution at Megara, the fear of social revolution was an important factor in the political life of the Greek cities. The small size of industrial establishments, the lack of expensive machinery, and the increased use of slaves in industry prevented the development of industrial socialism of the modern type. Workmen's strikes such as occurred in Egypt are not paralleled elsewhere, and those, as we have seen, were sporadic outbursts of despair which had no constructive program or lasting results.

#### THE CHARACTER OF GREEK REVOLUTIONS

The two chief points in the characteristic reform program were, as in earlier days, cancellation of debts and redistribution of land. The fundamental difference between the Greek attitude toward debt and that of modern times is shown by the tendency of the law courts to favor the debtor, rather than the creditor. While there was no provision in the Greek world for periodic cancellation of debt such as is found in the Jewish code of 621 B.C., the cancellation of mortgages and freeing of men enslaved or imprisoned for debt was a normal preliminary to redistribution of land, and sometimes satisfied the demand for redress of grievances without more drastic measures.

Private ownership of land was not conditioned, as in the oriental states, by the overlordship of a monarch, but by the vested rights of the citizens as a whole. The fact that the city-state regularly enforced its claim to mineral deposits, and recognized private ownership only of the surface of the land, helped to support the principle that this also could be revoked for the benefit of the citizens as a whole or of the victors in civil strife. The property of political exiles, whose citizenship was forfeited by their condemnation, was regularly confiscated; hence serious disturbances were caused by the return of exiles after a revolutionary government was suppressed.

Reform movements took place within a single state for the benefit of its citizens only, and were primarily political in character, as extreme assertions of the rights of the *Demos* against the oligarchs, though the opposition of poor and rich which became more important in the third and second cen-

turies B.C. was already prominent in the fourth. In the fourth century political factors in revolution were gradually subordinated to socialistic considerations which increased in importance with the growing cleavage between rich and poor and the disparity between wages and prices.

The popular appeal of the characteristic revolutionary program constituted an important check on the policies of oligarchic governments, and helped to reconcile property-holders to the large outlays for the direct benefit of the poor which were customary in democracies. Again, the recurrent demand for distribution of land indicates the continued emphasis on agriculture as the normal means of livelihood for citizens in the average state and shows that farming was considered profitable.

#### POLYBIUS' SUMMARY OF THE PROGRESS OF REVOLUTION

The classical description of the progress of revolution is given by Polybius, who ascribed the establishment of democracy to popular uprisings inspired by the selfishness and corruption of oligarchic rulers.<sup>1</sup> As long as the people remember the evils of oligarchy, he said, they set a high value on equality and freedom of speech, but when later generations have become too well accustomed to these blessings to realize their value, men begin once more to aim at individual power at any cost, and even ruin their estates to bribe the people. The appetite for gifts and the habit of receiving them, thus created among the masses, turns democracy into a rule of force and violence: "For the people, having become accustomed to eat at other men's expense and to depend on the property of others for their livelihood," institute a rule of force when they find a strong leader who is cut off from a normal political career by his poverty. They then resort to mass murders, exiling of property-holders, and plundering of land, "until they degenerate into beasts and find again a master and a monarch."

#### THE REVOLUTIONS OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR PERIOD

The violent disturbances which broke out in various Greek cities during the Peloponnesian War were attributed to the greed and ambition of unscrupulous individuals who sought to turn the unsettled times to their own profit and gained the support of the people by specious offers of legalized equality for the masses or of moderate and benevolent oligarchy. In the civil wars which resulted, neither oligarchic nor democratic leaders refrained from physical violence and wanton destruction of property. The ruined cities were left with a horror of the evils of class war, which, as Thucydides said, "brought one catastrophe after another upon the Hellenic states, catastrophes such as will continue to occur as long as human nature

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<sup>1</sup> *Histories* VI, 7-9.

remains the same, however they may be affected or even moderated by changing conditions."<sup>2</sup>

### GREEK UTOPIAS

Early in the sixth century Greek colonists in the Lipari Islands undertook a communistic experiment which seems to have remained in force for a considerable period. The colonists shared communal meals and were divided into two groups, one to till the land and the other to man the navy for defense against the Etruscans. The land was redistributed every 20 years. The islanders' need of defense against their powerful neighbors was probably an important factor in the success of their system. This seems to have been an isolated case in actual practice, though there were socialistic elements in the original plans for Pericles' colony at Thurii, but the picture of a golden age in which citizens shared good things in common was a popular theme with the writers of fifth century comedy. Abundant food and drink without labor were the dominant motifs in these descriptions: roast thrushes flew about begging men to eat them, the streets ran with wine, soup, and sauces, and warm sea-water flowed from columns in the houses, while ointments, sponge and sandals came at the bather's nod. These utopias were usually set in the good old days when peace and plenty reigned and all men were fat and tall; slaves were not needed, since there was no work to be done. In later periods, utopian descriptions were often applied to peoples on the borders of the known world, such as the "blameless Ethiopians," the Hyperboreans behind the North Wind, or the Indians, whose fabulous wealth made them despise the ordinary goals of human ambition.

Aristophanes chose popular proposals for social reform as the theme of his *Ecclesiazusæ* (*The Women at the Ecclesia*), which was produced in 393 B.C., when, as one of his characters remarked, it was the Athenian habit "to hail the dawn of a new constitution every day." In this comedy the women of Athens proposed a reform program which included state ownership of all property, both real and personal, a common table abundantly furnished, and free love. The objection that no one would do any work in such a state was met by the argument that slaves could perform all manual labor, and that since theft, loans, and law-suits would automatically cease when all things could be had from the state, political labor would also be unnecessary, and the voting-machines would serve only to show men where to go for dinner.

The fear of social revolution in the fourth century B.C. led to more serious reform literature, in which the works of Plato and Aristotle were most notable. Both considered the confiscation of property as a customary

<sup>2</sup> *Histories* III, 82.

but dangerous revolutionary procedure, which could be forestalled in the well managed state by adequate provision for all classes of citizens. During the same period a fictitious theory of the original Spartan constitution was developed, according to which Lycurgus had instituted absolute equality of land and had completely abolished private wealth. This picture of a communistic state under strong central authority was the basis for the prevalent admiration of Sparta, rather than any system ever actually enforced there.

#### MACEDONIA AND THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL SECURITY IN GREECE

From the latter half of the fourth century many men looked to the king of Macedonia as defender of the existing order and of the property rights of individuals. Alexander formulated the full revolutionary program of the period when he bound the Greek cities to prevent "all confiscations of money, divisions of land, and cancellation of debt, and the freeing of slaves for revolutionary purposes."<sup>3</sup> Thus revolution constituted a breach of the treaties with Macedonia and an offence against the Hellenic League. For over a century, Macedonian influence was generally exerted on the side of the propertied citizens to prevent class war in the Greek cities. Though this policy was not completely successful, social disorders were reduced until the second century B.C., when Philip and Perseus in turn sought support among the masses against Rome. They increased still further when the Greeks were completely freed from Macedonian control.

From Alexander's conquest of Persia to the middle of the third century the demand for mercenary soldiers, emigration to Egypt and to the Asiatic colonies, and the increase of trade furnished ample opportunities for men who found the homeland too restricted for their ambitions, or who failed to find employment there, and thus diminished the incidence of revolution.

#### STOIC THEORIES: THE SUN-STATE OF IAMBULUS

In the meantime Stoic philosophers formulated a socialistic ideal based on "harmony, community of interest, and equality," as essential principles for the attainment of the brotherhood of man. Iambulus popularized these Stoic ideas in his account of the Fortunate Islands, four months' voyage from the Ethiopian coast. Here the fruits of the earth grew abundantly, the climate was most favorable, and the earth itself furnished remedies for disease and means of painless death, so that the people lived to a great age

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<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes, *Oration XVII*, 15. It should be noted here that slaves were never employed in Greek armies, but that in local revolutions and in time of grave national danger, slaves might be freed to permit them to serve as soldiers, since they were the most accessible source of additional manpower. Their liberation was not due to belief in their rights as human beings, but to their usefulness to the state or party concerned. The precedent of arming actual slaves was too dangerous to be considered.

and died at an appointed time. Many elements in the description are drawn from travellers' tales of eastern lands, and resemble modern accounts of idyllic conditions in the South Sea Islands. The people were divided into groups of about 400, each ruled by its oldest member, whom all obeyed. They worshipped all the gods, but especially the sun, for whom their islands were named. Separate families were unknown and, as in Plato's *Republic*, children were brought up in common as belonging to all fathers and mothers alike. It was for this reason, Iambulus held, that "there is no rivalry among them, and they live almost entirely without civil conflict and in harmony with one another."<sup>4</sup>

#### THE SPARTAN REVOLUTION: AGIS, CLEOMENES, AND NABIS

When Agis IV came to the throne of Sparta in 244 B.C., the military strength of the state had long been reduced by the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few men and the consequent decline in the number of citizens who were able to maintain their full status. It is said that at his accession there were only 700 Spartans with full citizenship. Agis combined Stoic principles with an earnest desire to restore Sparta to her old standing among Hellenic states, for which a great increase in the number of citizen soldiers was essential. To this end he proposed to restore the supposed constitution of Lycurgus by dividing Laconia into 4,500 allotments for citizens and 15,000 for perieci; the new citizens were to be chosen from perieci and resident aliens. Common meals and the full Spartan military training could then be instituted again. This was a moderate program of reform, which was intended to strengthen the state as a whole and to realize the Stoic ideal of abolishing class war. The distribution of the land necessarily involved the abolition of debts which were chiefly secured by mortgages on land. Unfortunately, unscrupulous men who were themselves deeply in debt persuaded Agis to institute this part of his program separately, and then abandoned the reform movement. The ephors seized an opportunity to dispatch the king on a military expedition. On his return he was murdered and his followers were sent into exile.

Cleomenes, to whom Agis' widow had been married, became king in 237 B.C., and a few years later carried out successfully a revolution based on the proposals of Agis. When the defeat of Sparta in a war with the Achæan League made the need of a stronger army evident, he seized the city and established his absolute authority there by an almost bloodless revolution at the cost of only 14 lives and 80 exiles. He abolished the ephorate, reduced the powers of the council, cancelled debts, and restored the constitution of Lycurgus, dividing the land according to the system proposed by Agis. He even provided land for the opponents whom he had exiled, since his revo-

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus II, 58.

lution was in the interest of the state as a whole and not of a single party. The many new citizens supported him loyally, but his enemies were not reconciled. With the help of Egyptian funds, he equipped and trained his men in Macedonian fashion and prepared to challenge the Achæan leadership of the Peloponnesus. The successes of Cleomenes persuaded Aratus to desert his former principle and ask Antigonus Doson for help. After a bitter struggle in which the traditional rights of defeated Greeks were ignored by both sides, Cleomenes was defeated at Sellasia in 222 B.C. The ephorate was restored, and many of the new citizens lost their land. Cleomenes himself died as an exile in Egypt three years later.

Though Cleomenes directed his reforms solely toward the revival of general prosperity and military strength in his own state, the proletariat in other Peloponnesian towns were aroused by his example and supported his cause against the Achæan League in the hope that his victory would mean general cancellation of debts and redistribution of land. This situation naturally led property-holders to support Aratus in his appeal to Macedonia to avert social revolution as well as Spartan hegemony. For the next few years, Sparta was controlled by the policies of the Hellenic League which Doson established.

In 207 a far more serious revolt broke out in Sparta under the leadership of Nabis, who not only cancelled debts and redistributed land, but completed the extreme revolutionary program by confiscating private property "for the common expenses of the state," and freeing many helots to increase his army. He finally formed a force of some 8,000 to 10,000 citizens, with whom he actually warded off from Sparta a Roman army of 50,000. Polybius and other writers describe Nabis as a tyrant of unexampled cruelty, whose army was a refuge for desperadoes from all Greece and Crete, and claimed that he terrorized neighboring cities by a gang of highwaymen and assassins who used Sparta as their hide-out and paid him a percentage of their ill-gotten gains. Yet the bulk of his people supported him loyally, and his army was most efficient. After the break with Rome, when Flaminius called on the Greeks to free Argos from the Spartan yoke and Nabis was deprived of his fleet and allies, his constitution was left intact, and he himself continued to rule. Philopœmen a few years later met with serious opposition when he enforced the Achæan discipline in Sparta. In 191 B.C. Rome sanctioned the restoration of the old system as far as the ruined condition of Sparta permitted.

#### THE ROMAN PROTECTORATE

It is scarcely surprising that Polybius, whose father commanded the Achæan army against Nabis, and who was obsessed by the tragic downfall of the Greeks in his own day through their inability to maintain a stable social order, should have seen Nabis only as a destructive tyrant. The

historian mentions several cases of political anarchy combined with social revolution in the third and second centuries B.C., of which the most conspicuous were the long-continued disorders in Bœotia and those which followed the end of Macedonian power in Thessaly, but there were no great outbreaks. The last Macedonian kings were accused of winning over the masses in the Greek cities by promises of revolutionary measures in return for their support against Rome, and Livy claimed that all the "best men," that is, the men of property, rejoiced in the Roman régime, while the unruly masses opposed it. Thus Rome took the place of Macedonia as the guardian of law and order. There were exceptions to this rule, however, where old hostilities persisted, and the liberty of the Greeks was often turned into license which wrought havoc before Rome interfered. In individual cases, the senate supported either oligarchy or democracy, whichever seemed more likely to secure order. After the widespread disorders which led to the dissolution of the leagues and in the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C., Mummius established moderate democracies as the form of government which was most likely to survive without the necessity of further intervention.

In spite of the careful supervision of the grain supply in the chief industrial cities, and the many gifts of kings and wealthy citizens who hoped to avert social crises by palliative measures, the sharp decline of wages in proportion to prices and rents during the third century and later occasioned serious distress among the working classes. Inscriptions show how serious this condition became in Delos, and yet workmen continued to flock there from all parts of Greece in search of employment. The abundant supply of slaves for industry not only kept the wages of free workers at a ruinously low level, but effectively prevented strikes for higher wages or better working conditions. Furthermore there were no great changes in methods and tools of production to bring industrial dissatisfaction to a head at any given time.

Economic distress in Greece itself was accentuated in the early years of the second century B.C. by the wars against Philip and Antiochus and in the middle of the century by the Achæan war and the indemnities exacted by Rome. For the next century the Roman protectorate under the immediate supervision of the governor of Macedonia secured some measure of recovery, until the general peace was broken by the Roman civil wars. (Reading List 81)

#### THE SERVILE WARS

In the Hellenistic world, aside from Egypt where the subjection of the lower class of natives made slavery unprofitable, slaves were widely used in industry; their welfare, and sometimes their eventual freedom, depended on their individual skill and labor. Gangs of slaves employed in the mines and

in other heavy labor were poorly cared for and had no hope of bettering their condition, but were too isolated and confined to constitute a serious danger. Few slaves were employed in agriculture, since the small size of the average farm kept farming in general on a family basis. In Italy and Sicily, on the other hand, the prevailing tendency was to form large estates which were given over to vineyards, olive orchards, and pasturage; for these slave labor was customarily employed. Wealthy proprietors, without the sense of responsibility which the long tradition of land ownership had produced in the older Roman families, expected the slaves on their ranches to provide their own food and clothing as best they could, often at the expense of peaceful farmers and travellers. A considerable part of the land in these large estates was actually Roman public domain, which had been occupied without actual survey or formal lease by men who were able to stock and work it after the ravages of the Hannibalic war, and who seldom paid even the nominal rent stipulated. The money invested in buildings and other improvements partly justified their claim to actual ownership.

Serious slave risings, therefore, took place on the large estates of the west rather than among the industrial slaves of Greece. We first hear of such slave wars in southern Italy in the second century B.C. From about 150 B.C. sporadic slave revolts also broke out in Sicily, but the serious crisis came in 135 when a Syrian slave and miracle-worker named Eunus inspired a rising which spread through the island. The Stoic Posidonius ascribed the atrocities committed in the rebellion to the extreme harshness of the proprietors, who had turned their slaves into wild beasts. The rising began at Enna on the estates of Damophilus, an uneducated man whose great wealth had made him insolent and overbearing. Though many of his slaves had been born free, he branded and chained them. Inspired by the prophecies of Eunus, several hundred slaves gathered and attacked Damophilus and the city itself; within three days thousands had gathered from the slave barracks on neighboring estates and the industrial and domestic slaves of the district joined in the revolt, armed with weapons of all sorts, from swords and sickles to iron cooking-spits. Eunus was crowned as Antiochus, king of the Syrians, and the leader of the slave revolt at Agrigentum joined forces with those at Enna. They did not plan to return to their former homes where, as propertyless men who had conspired to destroy their masters' property in a Roman province, they would fare badly, but to seize and hold Italy as their own.

The senate had made no move to remedy the abuses which led to the revolt, and the first consular army sent to suppress the rising was unsuccessful. For two years the slaves resisted the Roman troops. A Roman commission, which was sent to reorganize the devastated island, effected a partial return to small estates in order to diminish the danger of the large plantations with their many slaves.

## THE SUN-STATE OF ARISTONICUS

We hear of contemporaneous outbreaks at Athens, Delos, and elsewhere in the east, and in Italy, where the severe penalties inflicted show how great was the fear of servile insurrections. Some authorities interpret these risings as evidence of a concerted movement by the suppressed classes of the ancient world as a whole, while others consider them sporadic outbreaks with no internal connection. The most important rising in the east was primarily political in its original motive, for in 132 B.C. Aristonicus, who claimed to be a son of Eumenes II, and contested the Roman claim to Attalus' bequest, freed and armed many slaves in Pergamum. Few of the Greeks joined him, but serfs from the large estates and poverty-stricken natives in the interior of Asia Minor flocked to his standards, and thus he created an army which the Romans were unable to defeat for three years. The Stoic Blossius joined him and helped him to plan a communistic state for his motley followers, who, like the islanders of Iambulus, were called "citizens of the sun." Before the Roman army came from Italy, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, and neighboring states united against the common danger, but failed to suppress the revolution. In 129 Aristonicus was defeated and the kingdom of Pergamum was organized as the province of Asia, for the revolt made the full establishment of Roman authority imperative.

## THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AT ROME

As we have seen, the Roman Republic was remarkably free from the civil and social disorder which disturbed the Greek cities so often. During the conflict between the orders in the early republic, the terms *sedition* and *secession* were applied to the peaceful withdrawal of the plebeians from the jurisdiction of the patrician magistrates and senate, and it was only toward the end of the second century B.C. that they came to connote violence. Confiscation of private property, except by due process of law in individual cases, was a principle alien to Rome. The needs of landless men were met from time to time by allotments from the public domain, which had steadily increased during the extension of Roman power in Italy, and by the foundation of colonies in newly acquired districts. The land not so allotted was leased to individuals in return for an annual rental, but only the most productive sections, such as the Campanian territory which had been confiscated during the Second Punic War, were carefully surveyed and administered, while holders of large tracts of public land tended to treat it as their own and to cease paying rent to the state. The Licinian laws of the early fourth century B.C., which limited the amount of land that could be so held by individuals, remained technically in force but were disregarded in practice, and wealthy men regarded the profitable exploitation of public

land as their exclusive privilege. Thus Flaminius' use of the Gallic land in Picenum in 232 B.C. for citizen allotments was bitterly opposed. It is to be noted that agrarian reform in ancient times implied only the distribution of land, and not any change in methods of farming or of marketing farm products.

The abundance of cheap slaves in the Mediterranean markets as a result of the wars and piracy of the third and second centuries B.C. furthered the formation of large ranches called *latifundia*, for pasturage, vineyards, and olive culture. Great landowners took every opportunity to acquire small farms adjoining their property, and substituted slave labor for the former free tenants and laborers; they ceased to be interested in Italian grain, which suffered serious competition with that from the more fertile fields of Sicily. How far the grain from the provinces actually affected the market for Italian producers elsewhere than at Rome is a much disputed question, but the supply of provincial grain surely facilitated the shift from grain to more profitable crops on the large estates in Italy, and thus divided their interests from those of the small farmers who still made grain their chief crop. As soldiers for the foreign wars were enlisted for several consecutive campaigns (the usual term in Spain in the second century B.C. was six years), many small farmers who were drafted were unable to keep their farms when the land-greed of the rich inspired prompt foreclosure of mortgages.

#### THE TRIBUNATE OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

When Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus became tribune in 133 B.C., during the Sicilian slave war, he was convinced that immediate measures should be taken to help the Italian farmers, that the number of citizen landholders should be increased, and the growth of agrarian slavery, which was obviously dangerous to public security, should be checked. The military strength of Rome would be preserved and the burden of war on individuals lessened by increasing the number of property-holders liable to service, while the problems of unemployment and overcrowding in Rome itself would be reduced if landless men returned to the farms. We are told that Tiberius was especially aroused by the extent of uncultivated land and the number of destitute Italians in Etruria, through which he passed on his return from his command in Spain. The teachings of his Stoic friend Blossius also influenced his sense of responsibility for the welfare of the underprivileged freemen of Italy.

The considerations which he emphasized were of vital importance for the state as a whole, but conflicted with the interests of many influential men who were capitalizing existing conditions. When Gracchus' interest in the problem became known, many men ardently embraced the cause and stirred him to action by countless appeals which, in traditional Italian fashion, were written on the whitewashed walls of the houses. The con-

viction that his motive was to secure the interests of men rather than of property won him the support of many industrious and prosperous citizens as well as of landless men, and farmers "flowed into Rome like rivers into the sea which receives all things," to vote for the agrarian law which he proposed.<sup>5</sup>

The terms of the law were conservative in contrast with Greek programs of reform. They provided that no single man should retain more than 500 *jugera* (about 300 acres) of public land, an amount which was increased to 750 for those with one son and to 1000 for those with two or more sons. The surplus holdings were to revert to the state and to be divided into small individual allotments. The maximum holding was no longer to be held in precarious tenure subject to rent, but to become the actual property of the holder, and there are indications that the original law provided indemnities for improvements which had been made on the land that reverted to the state, a provision which was later rescinded because of the violent opposition to the law. The long-established tenure of public leaseholds had led to inextricable confusion of public and private land in individual estates, and arbitrary division might greatly reduce the proportionate value of the land which remained. Long possession had created a certain degree of equity in the land, yet senators who knew internal conditions in the Greek cities might well have considered the sacrifice which Gracchus demanded of them a comparatively small one. Apparently they were convinced that social revolution could not happen in Rome, and so were determined to safeguard their profits. Accordingly, the tribune Octavius was instructed to veto the bill. The normal course would have been for Tiberius to postpone further action until the opposition was withdrawn, or until Octavius' term ended. But the next year's tribunes would be sure to include at least one who would follow the dictates of the senate, and it was essential that Gracchus should be able to inaugurate the work of the proposed land commission during his own term of office. Consequently he resorted to the principle of recall, which made the obstructive power of the veto, the most conservative factor in Roman government, ineffective. On the plea that a tribune who opposed the expressed will of the majority of the people who had elected him thereby forfeited his office, he persuaded the tribal assembly to depose Octavius. Thus his obstinacy in the face of senatorial opposition to his moderate proposals led to a conflict between senatorial and popular sovereignty, and between the power of elected magistrates and the will of the assembly on a given occasion.

The law was passed without further opposition and the commission, headed by Tiberius Gracchus himself, began its work. They were seriously handicapped by the refusal of holders of public land to submit accounts

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<sup>5</sup> Posidonius, quoted by Diodorus, *Histories* XXXIV, 6, 1.

of their holdings, by the Italian cities which had taken up corporate leases of public land and now claimed that the law infringed their rights as allies of Rome, and by the refusal of the senate to provide funds for their work. The law could only have been made completely effective by the active cooperation of all concerned, which it never obtained. One difficulty was met by the threat of confiscating the royal treasures of Attalus of Pergamum, whose will had just been reported at Rome, to provide for the necessary expenses of stocking and equipping the new farms and tiding their owners over to the first harvest, and many men were actually established on their allotments in spite of obstacles. The allotments were made inalienable to prevent their being taken up by men who did not intend to farm them, but merely to sell out at a profit; this clause was later rescinded, and was undoubtedly intended only as a temporary safeguard. The land law was a sound palliative measure, which might have done much good at comparatively little cost had the senate agreed to it. Only experience could show whether small farms could be profitable under existing circumstances. There was no reason, however, to expect that the foreign wars which had contributed so much to the ruin of the farmers would recur. Such catastrophes as the Carthaginian and Gallic invasions which had devastated the farms of southern Italy and Etruria were now almost unthinkable, so that the prospects of men who were installed on farms free of initial indebtedness were reasonably good. It seems probable that most of the men who took up the allotments had been farmers themselves, or had lived on farms in their boyhood.

According to Roman custom, at least a year must elapse between successive magistracies, but to insure the continuance of his work, Tiberius sought reelection to the tribunate for 132 B.C. The poor of the city were much aroused by the fear that he would fail to be reelected, "for they thought that they would no longer live in freedom and equality under the law, but would be reduced to servitude by the rich."<sup>6</sup> But many of his former supporters were alienated by his change from championship of the oppressed classes by legal measures to unconstitutional action, and now feared that his reelection would make him dictator and tyrant in the state. Senatorial propaganda reenforced this fear. The question of the legality of his candidacy was held over to the second day of the elections, when Tiberius and his partisans came to the Capitoline *en masse* at daybreak. Rioting began as the people gathered for the election, and Scipio Nasica led the senate, armed with such improvised weapons as they could find, in a sudden attack on the rabble "to save the country." This action introduced the tragic precedent of civil violence into Rome and made the sacrosanctity of the tribune a dead letter. Many, including Tiberius, were killed, and their

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<sup>6</sup> For this quotation and that at the end of the paragraph see Appian, *Civil Wars* I, 2.

bodies thrown into the Tiber. So Tiberius Gracchus, son of a man who had twice been consul, and grandson of the great Scipio, lost his life "because of a most worthy policy too violently enforced, and the precedent of this first crime of violence in the assembly was frequently imitated in later times."

#### THE LEGISLATION OF GAIUS GRACCHUS

Order was restored, and the work of the agrarian commission was continued subject to many lawsuits and vexatious obstacles; little was done except to allot land already available. Ten years after his brother's tribunate, Gaius Gracchus returned from his quaestorship in Sardinia and was elected tribune. He undertook not only to complete the work of the agrarian commission, but to break down the absolute authority of the senate by strengthening the power of the people. He increased the political power of the knights in order to win their adherence to the popular program and detach them from the alliance with the senate to which their wealth and their interest in public contracts naturally led. Such a program required continuous support from the city voters, for such great crowds as had flocked in from the country to vote for the land law and for his election could rarely be counted on. Even the measures which were best calculated to win support, however, were logical parts of a unified plan for the benefit of the people as a whole and the diminution of senatorial authority; a program which presupposed the ability of the people to govern the state.

His most famous law, and the one most abused in later times, provided for the monthly sale to citizens of a given amount of grain at a fixed price which seems to have been determined by the normal cost of grain in good years. Thus it did not constitute a "dole," though it has often been described as one, but it stabilized the cost of living by securing the staple food against rises in price due to natural causes or to speculation. This measure for the benefit of the city population was coupled with the erection of granaries and the building of roads throughout Italy, which gave employment to many men, and provided for storage of the state supplies of grain, and for improved marketing facilities for the Italian farmers. In addition, several colonies were proposed, notably those at Capua, Tarentum, and Carthage, all of which had been ruined by Rome in the Punic Wars. Such sites afforded better opportunities for urban colonists who might revive their old commercial and industrial activities than the usual agricultural colonies of the past had done. The colony at Carthage was the first to be established outside Italy. A minor measure which was of value to prospective soldiers fixed the minimum age for recruits at 17 years and provided for the clothing and equipment of the soldiers at state expense. The classical Roman program of relief hereafter included colonies, public works, and the sale of grain to the people at progressively lower prices, until it was actually given away.

Gaius' opposition to the authority of the senate led him to assert the right of the assembly to determine provincial policies, and the organization of the new province of Asia enabled him to use this principle to win equestrian support. The assembly passed a law which provided that the tributes of the new province should be farmed out in a single block to the highest bidder at Rome. The amount of the tribute was increased by disregard of the former immunities of the chief Greek cities, and since the amount of the contract was payable in advance at Rome, only a large corporation of Roman capitalists could afford to bid; the profits of tax collection in the richest Roman province thus became a monopoly of the Roman knights. The equestrian order was given definite political functions by a bill which substituted knights for senators as jurors in the civil courts. Since these courts conducted the trials of governors for extortion in their provinces, this change secured the equestrians against the interference of the governors with their financial operations in the provinces, a circumstance which was even more unfavorable to the provincials than the former lenience of senatorial juries toward governors accused of extortion.

Gaius consistently urged the extension of citizenship to the Italian allies. Though his brother had intended the land law to aid Italian farmers in general and not Romans alone, its application had aroused antagonism among the allied cities, as we have seen, and increased their resentment of their inferior position in the Roman organization and with the heavy demands made on them for military service. The senate tried to stave off an Italian revolt by various concessions. Opposition to Italian citizenship was one point on which the proletariat heartily agreed with the senate, for they had no desire to diminish their privileges by sharing them. Gaius' championship of Italian rights therefore decreased his hold on the people. He had been reelected for a second term without question, but failed to win a third election. He unwisely went to Carthage to establish the colony there, and the senate in his absence authorized Marcus Livius Drusus to propose a compromise bill which offered both Romans and allies attractive substitutes for the Gracchan program. Gaius returned from Carthage to find his power undermined, and there was no question of his fate when his year of office should end.

At the close of the year his partisans seized the Aventine, as the plebeians of old had occupied the Sacred Mount or the Janiculum, but the senate refused to parley with them. Martial law was declared, and the consul Opimius led the attack on the Gracchan forces; some 3,000 citizens were killed, and Gaius only escaped capture by suicide.

Before long, a law was passed to authorize the sale of allotments of land, and the rich began to buy from willing owners and to seize the land of those who refused to sell. The extension of slave labor on the large estates was not checked until many years later, when it had become eco-

nomically unprofitable. A few years after Gaius' death, the public land still in private possession became the property of its holders subject to a slight rental for distribution to the people, which was soon discontinued.

Opimius, the consul who had ended the "Gracchan revolution," was authorized to rebuild the temple of Concord at the head of the Forum. One night an addition was made to the dedicatory inscription on the temple: "Discord has reared this temple to Concord." Yet the senate's lack of concern about the danger of social revolution was to some extent justified, for the people found no more champions wholeheartedly devoted to their interests, and the rule of the Best Men, or *Optimates*, as they were now called, was not destined to be endangered by mass risings, but by ambitious individuals who adapted to their personal ends the weapons forged by the Gracchi, and strengthened the uncertain support of the people by the use of armies devoted to their interests. The precedents followed in the period of civil wars which ended the republic were set as much by the senate in its opposition to the Gracchan program as by the Gracchi themselves. (Reading List 82)

## XXIV

### POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN ROME: 120-60 B.C.

*The empire of the Roman people seems to me to have been far more wretched at this time than at any other. For although all the world from the rising to the setting sun obeyed its power, and leisure and riches, the chief desire of mortal men, abounded at home, yet there were citizens who obstinately sought to destroy themselves and the commonwealth.*

—Sallust

THE GRACCHAN REVOLUTION was considered by later Romans as the dividing line between the golden age of early Rome and the iron age of the late republic during which the state was torn by political violence. The senate maintained its ascendancy during most of the years from 120 to 60 B.C., but the constructive achievements of the period, as well as its heaviest losses, were due to ambitious individuals who depended less on civilian support than on that of professional citizen soldiers, and who sought important military commands as the surest way to power. Roman commercial interests in the provinces and allied countries rapidly increased, and directly influenced foreign policies. Almost all parts of the Roman world suffered from invasion, rebellion, or civil wars during this period. Pompey's reorganization of the east, however, established a greater degree of peace and unity than had been known there since the end of the Persian Empire, while definite but less spectacular gains were made in the western provinces and adjacent lands. The extension of the franchise to all Italians during the Social War led at last to thorough Romanization of the peninsula and to its unification. The wealth of the state and of many individuals was greatly increased, while military service offered a profitable profession for landless men. However, proscriptions in the civil wars, the effect of provincial disasters on Roman investments, and unsuccessful experiments with the currency, coupled with damages to property in the Social and Servile Wars and the ravages of pirates, created an atmosphere of financial insecurity and ruined many wealthy men. Such conditions favored the activities of political agitators whose actual proposals were usually far less revolutionary than the violence by which they were supported and opposed. This violence and general lack of a spirit of conciliation and compromise proved fatal to the republican administration of Rome and led to the domination of coalitions and of one-man power.

## THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA

The death of Gaius Gracchus was followed by a period of political stagnation during which the senate secured the precarious allegiance of the knights by leaving their newly gained privileges intact. In 118 B.C. the death of the Numidian king precipitated a chain of events in Africa which was to have an influence on Roman history out of all proportion to its apparent importance. The king bequeathed his kingdom to his two sons and his nephew Jugurtha, whose services in Spain as commander of the Numidian auxiliary cavalry had recently won him the friendship of many Romans. He soon murdered one cousin and made war on the other, who appealed to Rome. A senatorial commission gave the larger share of the kingdom to Jugurtha, who was undoubtedly the aggressor, but was also the more efficient ruler. Since Rome did not intend to annex Numidia, her intervention might have ended at this point, but in 112 Jugurtha captured his cousin's capital at Cirta. Many Roman businessmen were slain during the sack of the city. Consequently the knights were able to stir up popular agitation for war with Jugurtha, and charged the senate with treasonable mismanagement when the early campaigns in Africa were unsuccessful.

Metellus, an able commander, who was sent to Africa in 109 B.C., did better, but guerrilla warfare on the Numidian plain with inadequate and insufficiently trained troops was tedious and indecisive. Gaius Marius, one of Metellus' staff, profited by the popular dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war.

Marius, like his younger contemporary Cicero, was a native of Arpinum, a Volscian town which had the full Roman franchise; both were "new men" in Roman public life, without even private wealth to advance their careers, and each became for a time the leading citizen of Rome. Marius ran for the consulship for 107 B.C. on a platform of active prosecution of the war with Jugurtha, and the people not only elected him, but cast aside the Gracchan rule by which the senate assigned proconsular provinces in advance, in order to give him the command in Africa. He promptly called for volunteers, disregarding the usual rule of recruiting from landowners, and won the promised victory in short order. Whether his additional troops turned the scale, or whether he used more effective strategy than Metellus, is uncertain, but his success won him great fame in Rome. Jugurtha was captured by the negotiations of a young officer, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, with the king of Mauretania, who was rewarded for his services by the grant of some Numidian territory. The rest of Numidia was assigned to a native prince of mediocre ability, who would be a faithful client of Rome, and no indemnities were exacted.

## THE INVASIONS OF THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES

A more serious danger to Italy, and one which recalled earlier disasters, had developed in the north. Hitherto the expansion of the German tribes had affected the Mediterranean world only indirectly through the Gallic invasions, but about 121 B.C., the Cimbri and Teutones left their homes on the Baltic to seek land and adventure in the south. In 113 they attacked tribes in Pannonia which were friendly to Rome, and defeated the Roman army sent against them. Thence they moved west into Gaul with reinforcements from the Celtic tribes in the Alps. They plundered the Roman province and neighboring lands, terrorized the farming population, and inflicted heavy losses on the legions, but failed to take the walled cities. The defeat of a double army at Arausio (now Orange) in southern Gaul in 105 B.C. was the greatest disaster which Rome had suffered since Cannæ. This battle opened the way to Italy, but for some time the Teutones continued to plunder Gaul while the Cimbri invaded Spain.

The invasion of Italy was an imminent and dreaded peril which led the Roman assembly to confer on Marius, who had recently returned from his African campaign, the command against the Germans and five successive consulships (104-100 B.C.). This was an unprecedented innovation in Roman politics. During the three years' respite before the Germans advanced on Italy in 102 B.C., Marius enlisted many volunteers, whom he subjected to rigid discipline and training. His decisive victory at Aquæ Sextiæ destroyed most of the Teutones, and in the following year the Cimbri and other invaders were also defeated and driven from Italy. "Hitherto," a Roman historian wrote, "even within our memory, the Romans held that all else was the prize of their valor, but they fought with the northern tribes for safety, not for glory."<sup>1</sup> Now at last they fought with them for glory, but it was the glory of Marius, increased by the disastrous failures of his predecessors.

When the senate asked the eastern kings for their help against the Germans, Nicomedes of Bithynia answered that so many of his subjects had been reduced to slavery by the extortions of Roman money-lenders that he had no soldiers to spare. The natural desire to rectify such an intolerable situation inspired a decree that citizens of allied states, who were serving as slaves in Roman territory, should be set free, and the work of liberation was actually begun in Sicily. This aroused high hopes among all the slaves on the island, and when the landowners combined to check this threat to their interests, a servile war broke out which was attended by smaller risings in Italy.

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<sup>1</sup> Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 114.

## THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ROMAN ARMY

The urgent need of troops for service in Africa and the north had enabled Marius to disregard the normal census requirements for military service and to enlist volunteers, most of whom seem to have been members of the rural rather than the urban proletariat. They enlisted both for immediate employment and in the hope of future benefits which he promised them. Hereafter the landowners were spared the burden of compulsory military service and rural unemployment was relieved by the demand for soldiers. On the other hand, enlistment depended increasingly on the reputation of the general in command and on his promises to his recruits, the fulfilment of which would require the favorable action of the senate and assembly. The inner structure of the legion was modified, since all soldiers were now given identical training and were armed alike with javelins and swords. The century, which usually consisted of 60 men, was the chief tactical unit in the new army, and the efficiency of the legions depended essentially on the centurions, who were non-commissioned officers promoted from the ranks. A popular general could count on his veterans to support him in the assembly; in return, he was bound to assure them a share in the booty taken and in bonuses of land after their service ended.

## THE LEGISLATION OF SATURNINUS AND OF DRUSUS

Marius gained a sixth consulship in the elections for the year 100 B.C.: this was his first civilian term of office. His lack of political experience led him to unite with the tribune Saturninus, an able man who had espoused the popular cause after he was slighted by the senate, and with the prætor Glaucia. Their legislation included a bill to provide land in Gaul, Sicily, and other provinces for Marius' veterans, and reenactment of the Gracchan grain law. These measures were unavoidable under the existing circumstances, but the systematic bribery and violence by which they were forced through the assembly branded their proposers as revolutionary extremists. Saturninus and Glaucia sought to secure their position not only by the support of Marius' veterans, but by a decree which required the senators to swear to enforce their legislation under penalty of banishment. The opposition aroused by this preposterous requirement led Marius to break with his colleagues and to cooperate tardily with the senate in the effort to restore order. Saturninus and Glaucia were killed, and Marius retired from public life for a time.

The senatorial government of the next nine years did little to prevent future crises. In 92 B.C. a jury of knights condemned Rutilius Rufus, the most upright of governors, for extortion in the province of Asia, in revenge for his interference with the exploitation of the provincials by the tax-collecting corporations. This flagrant act of injustice created active senti-

ment against equestrian control of the courts and against the subordination of public interests to the profit of a restricted group. Marcus Livius Drusus, the son of Gaius Gracchus' opponent, who was tribune in 91 B.C., took this opportunity to attempt to settle the chief political issues. His judiciary law provided for admitting 300 knights to the senate and drawing the juries from this enlarged group and the remaining members of the equestrian order. This was a sound compromise, intended to strengthen the senate and to secure non-partisan verdicts, but neither senators nor knights were willing to compromise. Drusus also proposed to extend the franchise to all Italians, a bill which aroused the hopes of the Italian tribes, but was generally opposed in Rome. He succeeded in forcing the passage of these measures by including them in a single bill with colonial and grain laws, which were to be funded, apparently, by debasing the currency. The senate declared this "omnibus bill" invalid, and Drusus was murdered soon after. There was no question of his integrity, but too few of his contemporaries shared his spirit of constructive compromise. It is to be noted that in the absence of machinery to provide the state with credits conditional on future payments, the funds for such programs as those of Drusus and the Gracchi had to be provided out of current income. The lack of a national debt made the problem of financing expensive projects a serious one for their proponents, since the senate could earmark all regular revenues for the normal expenses of the administration.

#### THE SOCIAL WAR AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Since the Italians could not hope for another champion, the communities in central Italy which most resented the increasing burden of military service, the insolence of Roman officers, and the reduction in their holdings of public land by the agrarian commission seceded from the Roman federation soon after the death of Drusus. A contributory factor in their revolt was the expulsion of Italians from Rome in 95 B.C., when the senate feared their influence on the decisions of the assembly, a humiliating reminder that non-citizens, even though they were allies, were considered mere aliens without civil rights in the capital. The federal government established by the rebellious allies in the year 90 B.C. had its capital at Corfinium, which they now called *Italica*. This was the first step toward the unification of Italy. Some communities merely wished to gain the Roman franchise, but most of the Samnites sought to establish and maintain an independent state.

Although only the non-citizen tribes of central Italy revolted at first, they successfully withstood the consular armies in the first year of the war. Their resources were much smaller than those of Rome, but the spread of the revolt to parts of Etruria, Umbria, and southern Italy presaged a long and difficult conflict. The senate therefore made the concessions to the rebellious allies which it had refused while they were still loyal. The Julian

Law of 90 B.C. offered the full franchise to citizens of communities which had not revolted or which at once returned to their former allegiance. In 89 Sulla's successes in southern Italy, together with the offer of citizenship to all who registered before a Roman official within 60 days, reduced the war to minor proportions.

The new citizens, however, were restricted to eight of the 35 tribes, and the Social War, which was a belated sequel to the Samnite Wars of the fourth and third centuries B.C., was continued in the conflict between Marius and Sulla. Yet the essential foundations of Italian unity had been laid. Latin was now spoken in districts which had hitherto retained their local dialects, and many municipalities remodelled their constitutions on the Roman pattern with two chief magistrates and a council. Italians, Latins, and Romans were now alike citizens of Rome, and the city itself was the capital of Italy, as well as mistress of the Mediterranean world. Cisalpine Gaul was given an intermediate status between Italy and the provinces by a law which granted citizenship to the Latin colonies north of the Po and Latin rights to the other communities.

#### MARIUS, SULLA, AND THE FIRST MITHRADATIC WAR

Sulla, who had gained distinction in the Social War, was elected consul for the year 88 B.C., with command of the impending war with Mithradates of Pontus, whose aggressions in the eastern provinces could no longer be overlooked. But the tribune Sulpicius, a noted orator who had formerly adhered to the progressive section of the nobility, shifted to the popular side and united with Marius, who had lived in retirement since his sixth consulship, and had held only minor commands in the Social War. Sulpicius resorted to even greater violence than his predecessors, in order to secure the passage of his legislation. His chief measures were the transfer of the command against Mithradates from the consul Sulla to the aged Marius, and a salutary proposal to distribute the new citizens, both Italians and freedmen, among all the tribes. These measures were passed by the comitia.

Sulla, however, refused to yield his command, and induced the veterans of the Social War whom he had enrolled for service in the east to march with him to Rome. By this show of military force he had Sulpicius and Marius outlawed, and transferred legislative power from the tribal assembly to the centuriate comitia under direct senatorial control. The eastern crisis left him no opportunity for more than this manifesto of his support of senatorial authority, which was sure to be overthrown as soon as he sailed for Greece with his army. Cinna, an avowed supporter of Marius, was actually chosen consul for the year 87 at the elections over which Sulla presided before he left.

The situation in the east was critical, not only because of the extent of Mithradates' power and of the rebellion which he instigated, but because of

the increase in Roman interests in Greece and Asia since the middle of the second century B.C. On earlier occasions, Mithradates had yielded to Roman intervention on behalf of the kings whose land and treasures he had seized, and under normal conditions he would scarcely have risked war with Rome. But in 91 B.C. the political disorders in Rome itself and the revolt of the Italian allies enabled him to invade Bithynia and Cappadocia without fear of the Roman armies, and Tigranes was again ready to join in the project. The senate could not spare men from Italy, but sent an experienced general, Aquilius, to check the invasion with the help of local levies. Mithradates again evacuated the disputed territory without a battle, but Aquilius deliberately provoked hostilities by raids on Pontus and interference with its commerce. Mithradates then sent envoys to the northern tribes for help against Rome and levied troops in the Crimea. Oracles were circulated which declared him the destined conqueror of the world, and the eastern provinces hailed him as the liberator who should free them from the authority of the senate and the financial oppression of the knights.

Mithradates once more occupied Bithynia and seized its royal treasures to finance the war with Rome. When he entered the province of Asia, few cities resisted him; in token of their liberation he cancelled public and private debts and granted immunity from tribute for five years. Yet when his resources were exhausted, he levied war contributions which were more onerous than the tribute had been. The provincials committed themselves irrevocably by slaughtering the many thousand resident Italians in Asia, whose very number indicates the extent of Roman financial interests there. The alarm inspired at Rome by the news of this wholesale massacre was increased by the financial crisis which resulted from the ruin of Asiatic investments.

While no one could seriously doubt that a strong army under efficient command could reestablish Roman authority in the east, the crisis was grave enough to give the general who should conquer Mithradates unprecedented political advantage. The senate, therefore, had reason to be thankful that Sulla and not Marius commanded the expedition. In the meantime Mithradates crossed the Ægean, made Athens, long noted for her loyalty to Rome, his base of operations in Greece, and won many supporters throughout the Balkan peninsula. His fleet controlled the Black Sea and the Ægean, and this naval power was increased by an alliance with the Cilician pirates, whereas Sulla had only an army. Yet the arrival of the Roman troops and Sulla's initial victories led many of the Greeks to renew their allegiance to Rome, even before the capture of Athens in 86 B.C. and the destruction of Mithradates' army on the historic field of Chæronea. Macedonia and Greece were restored to Roman control by the defeat of the new Pontic army which had been raised for the campaign of 85 B.C., and by the operations of Flaccus, whom the Marian coalition in Rome had

sent to supersede Sulla, but who actually assisted him against the common enemy.

The loss of Greece weakened Mithradates' hold on Asia, which was already being alienated by his support of tyrants and of revolutionary measures, his ruinous requisitions, and his brutal suppression of revolts. The king, therefore, signed a treaty which reestablished Roman sovereignty in Greece and Asia and enabled Sulla to return as victor to crush the Marians and restore senatorial government in Rome. Mithradates surrendered his recent gains, but lost none of his former possessions. He also ceded 80 ships and paid a money indemnity. His real strength was scarcely affected by the war, and while his attempt to win the Hellenistic world had failed, his ambition to dominate the semi-hellenized kingdoms and the northern tribes might still be realized.

Since it was imperative for Sulla to return to Rome at once, he contented himself with restoring Roman vassals in the allied kingdoms and reorganizing the province. The rebellion against Rome, though by no means universal, had been too popular to justify holding individuals responsible for it, but he exacted heavy fines from all the communities implicated. Since the sum demanded to cover the costs of the war and five years' arrears of tribute was far too great to be raised locally even in time of peace and prosperity, it had to be borrowed from the Roman banking companies, who exacted such heavy rates of interest that within a few years the Asiatic cities owed six times the original amount of the loan.

### THE FIRST CIVIL WAR

When Sulla and his troops had once left Italy, the Marians seized control of Rome and instituted a reign of terror, in which neither the lives nor the fortunes of conservative men were secure. Many were *proscribed*, that is, their lives and property were declared forfeit, and their murderers could claim a portion of the confiscated estates as their reward for a patriotic action. When Marius died early in 86 B.C., shortly after his seventh consulship began, Cinna continued to lead the small democratic faction which dominated the city. Their chief aim was to raise a strong enough army to defeat Sulla on his return. To this end they revived the antagonisms of the Social War and levied troops in Italy and Cisalpine Gaul. The sharp decline in real estate values which resulted from the Italian wars, the Marian proscriptions, and the losses in Asia completely disrupted credit; Cicero declared that no one could reckon the value of his property from one day to another. The single constructive measure of the period was the registration of the new citizens in all the 35 tribes.

The traditional revolutionary device for the alleviation of the debtor class in Mediterranean states had been the outright cancellation of debts. But the Marian party employed a different technique for the purpose. They

brought about the adoption of a law which forced creditors to accept 25% payments in full discharge of indebtedness, and accompanied this measure by a debasement of the currency, which brought the metallic value of the coinage more nearly into line with the depressed values of real estate. The complete establishment of coined money in the Mediterranean world, and the regular practice of making contracts in terms of units of coinage, instead of fixed weights of uncoined metal, such as the original talent and shekel, made it feasible to reduce the amount of precious metal in the new issues and to declare the lighter coinage legally equivalent to the old. This process was more frequently used by the Romans than by earlier powers, and has been employed in subsequent periods to relieve private debtors and increase the purchasing power of governments, whose stock of precious metals could thus be stretched farther. Since, however, the debased currency could not long maintain its arbitrary value, this practice would only serve for temporary adjustment of the financial problems which resulted from a given crisis. (Reading List 28)

When Sulla landed at Brundisium in 83 B.C., prepared to punish the "enemies of the state," Crassus, Pompey, and other opponents of the popular faction welcomed him with newly recruited troops. For two seasons civil war raged in Italy, especially in Etruria; the decisive battle was fought at the very gates of Rome in November, 82 B.C., though a few cities withstood the Sullan siege even longer. Pompey was sent to overcome the Marian factions in Sicily and Africa. Three years after Sulla's return, only Sertorius, the Marian governor of Spain, still defied his power.

#### THE DICTATORSHIP OF SULLA

Sulla gained the necessary authority to restore order in Rome and revise the constitution by assuming the obsolete office of dictator, which was conferred on him for an unlimited term. He thus became a legally constituted tyrant, subject to no outside authority, though he regularly submitted his acts to the assembly for ratification. The survivors of the democratic opposition, especially the leading knights, were systematically eliminated by proscription. Not only Marians, but many non-partisans were proscribed for the sake of their property, and others joined Sertorius in Spain to escape the Sullan terror. To gain land for his troops, Sulla confiscated large tracts from the Italian cities which had opposed him.

His constitution has been variously interpreted as a reactionary attempt to establish absolute senatorial power, and as an effort to create a government devoted to the interests of the people as a whole. In any case he concentrated the administration of Rome and the provinces in the hands of the senate, and tried to establish full senatorial control over both the citizens and the army. He limited, but did not destroy, the legislative powers of the assembly and left them the free election of magistrates. The latter point

was especially significant because the senate was normally to be recruited entirely from the quæstors, so that the governing body of the state was indirectly elected by the people. The senate was much reduced by the civil war and the proscriptions, while the increase of public business required a larger membership than before; Sulla therefore added to it 300 men from noble and equestrian families. The latter were probably chosen from well-to-do country families that had the required census, rather than from the city capitalists. Sulla laid the foundations for the development of Roman criminal law by defining the jurisdiction of the individual courts, which he completely reorganized; this was the most constructive element in his constitution. The juries were of course to be chosen from the senate.

He increased the number of quæstors from 12 to 20, and of prætors from 6 to 8, and legally fixed the age requirements and order of the chief magistracies. The system of promagistracies for provincial office was also definitely regulated. Not only was the veto power of the tribunes restricted and legislation in the comitia once more made contingent on senatorial approval, but since the tribunate now automatically barred its holders from further offices, it ceased to be sought by able men. Among the other enactments of the dictator, we may note the repeal of the grain laws, and the establishment of provincial government in Cisalpine Gaul. The new constitution was primarily concerned with Rome itself, and the general reorganization of provincial administration was left to later rulers.

After his laws were formally ratified in 79 B.C., Sulla abdicated. He had established the conservative government of the senate by a logical system which was intended to prevent democratic revolution and civil wars, but was by no means proof against individual ambition and military influence. The framework of his system survived, though the restrictions on the comitia and tribunate were soon removed, and his attempt to secure senatorial authority against one-man power, such as he himself had exercised, was doomed to failure. (Reading List 83)

#### THE RISE OF POMPEY

Gnæus Pompey, son of one of the leading officers in the Social War, was only seventeen years old when he met Sulla at Brundisium with the troops he had personally raised. He was granted a triumph for his success against the Marians in Africa and Sicily before he was old enough to be a candidate for office. The senate distrusted him, as Sulla had done, but was forced by sheer necessity to confer new commands on him, first to check the rising led by the consul Lepidus in 78 B.C., and two years later for the much more serious conflict with Sertorius in Spain.

Sertorius was an able general and clear-sighted statesman whose services might have been invaluable to Rome. He maintained his authority in Spain after the fall of his party, and made his province a rallying-point for Marian

refugees. His influence among the Iberian and Celtic chieftains of Spain was very great, and many of them sent their sons to the schools which he established to give the children of the exiles a sound Roman education. Thus Sertorius did more than earlier governors to Romanize the tribes which had so long resisted Roman authority. Native support and his own excellent generalship enabled him to resist the armies sent against him by the senate for several years. Pompey, who came to Hither Spain in 76 B.C. with a proconsular army to supplement that of Metellus in the farther province, suffered several defeats before he was able to make any real headway. In 72 B.C. Sertorius was assassinated by one of his own officers. Pompey wisely granted a general amnesty to the rest, and enabled the province to profit by the constructive work that the Marian governor had inaugurated. A few years later a nephew of Marius, Gaius Julius Cæsar, made use of his *proprætorship* in Spain to continue Sertorius' work of Romanization.

The high tone which Pompey had taken in his requests for reinforcements and supplies did not increase the senate's confidence in him, but he was unquestionably the ablest general available, and a new crisis in Italy gave him added popularity with the people. A band of gladiators, under the leadership of the Thracian Spartacus, escaped from the gladiatorial barracks at Capua in 73 B.C. and instigated a general slave rising which terrorized Italy for two years. Marcus Licinius Crassus, as prætor in 71 B.C., at last gained the upper hand, but Pompey returned from Spain just in time to capture some of the fugitive slaves and claim more than his share of credit for the victory. Crassus had acquired great wealth by speculating in real estate during the proscriptions and by other shrewd investments; he represented the interests of the leading capitalists in Rome, and used his wealth freely to support young politicians who might be useful to him.

Both Pompey and Crassus offered themselves as candidates for the consulship for the year 70 B.C. Pompey was legally disqualified by his youth and lack of previous office, though a man who had held proconsular imperium for several years could hardly be expected to seek the lower magistracies. Crassus could not legally be a candidate for further office while he was still prætor. The senate's refusal to yield the constitutional point led these two men of utterly different character, background, and experience to come to terms with each other, and their combined forces were too great to warrant further opposition.

Their consulship once more united the equestrian order with the people instead of with the senate, and made it possible to cancel the restrictive measures of the Sullan constitution. They restored the authority of the tribunes and the full legislative power of the *comitia*, and had censors elected to purge the membership of the senate and to complete the registration of the Italians.

The most constructive measure of the year removed the courts from political controversy. The notorious extortions of Verres as governor of Sicily, recently exposed by Cicero's brilliant prosecution, made it clear that the provincials suffered as much from the avarice of governors when the senate controlled the courts, as they did from that of tax-collectors and money-lenders when the juries were composed of knights. The senate was therefore less able than before to block the proposed compromise, which bore some resemblance to that of Drusus. Hereafter the juries were chosen from the senators, knights, and a third class which seems to have consisted of men whose property fell somewhat below the equestrian rating; thus businessmen had a numerical majority over the senatorial jurors, but did not have absolute control.

#### POMPEY AND THE EAST: THE WAR WITH THE PIRATES

Instead of accepting a proconsular appointment after his year of office, Pompey waited for an opportunity more suited to the distinction he had already attained. Conditions in the east promised military commands on a large scale, which might be conferred by the assembly if the senate refused to grant them.

The depredations of the Cilician pirates had now become a constant danger to the Mediterranean coasts and shipping, and a reproach to the sovereign power of Rome. The pirates had formed a strong organization which attracted adventurers from all countries. They built strongholds and arsenals in the mountainous lands of Cilicia and had swift ships of the most recent types, beautifully equipped, which could sail safely in all weathers. Local rulers and even Roman governors paid for protection of their harbors and merchants, or connived with the pirates to safeguard their own interests at the expense of others. The pirates almost monopolized the slave trade, and sold into slavery many free citizens whom they captured. They even looted inland cities, and sold their inhabitants. Early in the first century they began to raid the coasts of Italy; two Roman prætors were captured on the Appian Way and held for ransom. Rome was repeatedly threatened with famine when pirate crews intercepted the grain ships. The pirates had become a naval power of first importance, which extended throughout the Mediterranean area and recognized no law but that of superior force.

Rome was slow to recognize the responsibility which the decline of Rhodes had laid upon her, but from the close of the second century the senate sent out occasional expeditions against the pirates. These achieved some brilliant successes, but only a concerted attack on all the seas could gain lasting results, and the one man who had actually been given adequate resources for such a campaign proved incapable. In 67 B.C., when the shortage of grain at Rome was very serious, the tribune Gabinius

proposed in the assembly a decree which conferred on Pompey unlimited imperium for three years with the right to requisition ships, men, and money from all the coasts under Roman control. He was given superior authority over all Roman magistrates and complete control of the naval and military resources of the empire. The popular demand for his appointment and the gravity of the crisis made senatorial opposition useless.

Pompey quickly raised a great fleet and army, whose movements in different areas he carefully planned and synchronized. Within three months he cleared the sea of pirates and demolished their strongholds in Cilicia. Metellus had recently subdued Crete and made it a Roman province. Pompey now destroyed the remaining centre of piracy by pacifying Cilicia, and even succeeded in settling the captured pirates as peaceful merchants and farmers.

#### THE MITHRADATIC WARS

The brilliant success so speedily won against the "common enemies of mankind" greatly increased Pompey's popularity; the name of *Magnus*, "the Great," which Sulla had conferred on him earlier, perhaps in jest, was now on everyone's lips. It was therefore easy for the tribune Manilius in 66 B.C. to secure passage of a law which put all the eastern lands under Pompey's imperium for the final settlement of the war with Pontus and Armenia; an act which, as Plutarch said in his life of Pompey, "was nothing less than to constitute an absolute monarch of all the Roman Empire."

Though Sulla's treaty with Mithradates was only a temporary settlement of the eastern question, it was not until 74 B.C., when Rome was involved in the struggle with Sertorius, that the peace was broken. The immediate provocation was Nicomedes' legacy of Bithynia to Rome in 75 B.C., which followed the precedent set by Attalus in 133 B.C., and by the ruler of Cyrene in 96 B.C. The senate hesitated to accept responsibility for land east of the province of Asia, but was forced to do so by the knights, for Roman money-lenders were already active in the district, as we have seen, and the vast royal domain, together with mines and fisheries, offered tempting opportunities for further exploitation. Past history made it certain that if Rome did not control Bithynia, Pontus would. The new province gave Rome control of the entrance to the Black Sea, which was a direct threat to Pontic commerce.

In 74 B.C., therefore, Mithradates invaded and occupied Bithynia, and fomented rebellion among the Greeks. Lucullus, who had had charge of naval operations under Sulla, was sent to take command in the war as governor of Asia and Bithynia. He was an upright and able administrator and an excellent strategist, but lacked the personal popularity with his troops which the new type of army demanded. He was successful both on land and sea; in the second year of the war, he forced Mithradates back to

Pontus, and by constant guerrilla warfare occupied the whole kingdom, while Mithradates fled to Armenia. With Pontus under his control, Lucullus took time to reorganize the province of Asia, where the debt contracted to meet Sulla's exactions had already been increased by heavy interest charges from 20,000 to 120,000 talents. Since this enormous indebtedness had naturally disrupted private credit as well, drastic measures were necessary. Lucullus therefore adjusted the debt on a more equitable basis, reducing the interest rate to 12% and cancelling arrears of interest in excess of the principal, and then levied a 25% tax on crops, house property, and slaves to discharge the balance. This was a heavy but tolerable burden for the provincials. Lucullus' general arrangements in Asia remained the basis of the Roman administration for many years. The equestrian corporations, however, were bitterly hostile to the general who had reduced their profits on the Asiatic loan to such modest proportions.

In 69 B.C. Lucullus, without authorization from the senate, and against the will of his soldiers, adopted a policy of aggressive imperialism which would not only end the war, but would extend Roman authority far beyond its former sphere. He invaded Armenia and defeated Tigranes at his western capital, Tigranocerta, the site of which is uncertain. His troops refused to go farther, and Mithradates escaped to Pontus, while Lucullus retreated in good order. The resources of the two kings were practically exhausted, though they had regained their kingdoms, and their inferiority to Lucullus was so obvious that he could have dictated a final settlement with little need of further conflict. But the discontent of the soldiers, the opposition of the knights, and the uneasiness of the senate at this extension of the field of war led to his recall. In 67 Gabinius had the eastern command transferred to an insignificant general as a stopgap, until the Manilian Law in the following year enabled Pompey to use his full imperial power to complete Lucullus' work.

Only a short campaign was needed. Pontus was conquered and the king fled to the Crimea, where he was killed in an insurrection three years later. Pompey's chief task was one of organization rather than of conquest. For the first time the eastern territories under Roman influence were surveyed as a whole and their relations to Rome were clearly defined. A considerable part of Pontus was added to the province of Bithynia, and the rest was assigned to client-princes. Tigranes of Armenia became a vassal of Rome; herein lay the seeds of much future trouble, when both Rome and Parthia claimed suzerainty over the Armenian throne. Tigranes had recently profited by dynastic quarrels to dethrone the last Seleucid king and occupy his territory; he was now required to evacuate Syria, which was made into a Roman province. The brief period of Armenian greatness extended from Tigranes' accession to Pompey's settlement; hereafter Armenia was a pawn between the two great powers.

The Seleucid lands east of the Euphrates were already Parthian property. Judea, which had long been torn by civil dissension, was made a Roman protectorate under the governor of Syria, and was ruled by the high priest instead of a king. Egypt remained independent, though Pompey was called on to adjust internal difficulties. The agricultural prosperity of the country was steadily declining, though foreign commerce still flourished. Since the Ptolemies presented no threat to Roman interests, the senate disregarded a will which bequeathed their kingdom to Rome. The authenticity of this document, to be sure, was more than doubtful.

Outside the provinces of Syria, Cilicia, Asia, and Bithynia, Pompey continued and extended the system of client-princes. Beyond these buffer states and Armenia lay the Parthian Empire, now the sole power which could meet Rome on equal terms. But wars with Parthia were usually fought east of the Euphrates frontier.

Pompey's organization secured for the Near East a more widespread and lasting peace than it had known before. He granted special privileges to the cities and established many native colonies. Thus he gave a fresh impetus to urban activity, which contributed greatly to the general prosperity of the country and the increase of industry and commerce. Businessmen from Syria became even more common in Italy and the western provinces than Roman money-lenders were in the east. Without exacting ruinous indemnities or destroying Lucullus' salutary work, Pompey brought great spoils to Rome, and greatly increased its annual revenues by the tributes from the new provinces and dependencies.

#### CRASSUS AND CÆSAR: THE CONSULSHIP OF CICERO

During Pompey's absence in the east Crassus undertook to gain authority by political means. Recognizing the hostility of the senate, and the value of the assembly and tribunate as a source of privileges for the knights and of commands for himself and his protégés, he definitely supported the democratic party and increased its voting strength by lavish bribery. His chief assistant was Gaius Julius Cæsar, who traced his ancestry to the Trojan hero Æneas and the goddess Venus, but whose immediate forbears had bequeathed him neither official distinction nor an adequate fortune. Since Cæsar's aunt Julia was Marius' wife, and his own wife was the daughter of Cinna, his claim to leadership of the popular faction was well founded, and he had spent his years of enforced retirement during Sulla's dictatorship in the study of oratory at Rhodes.

The popular faction attracted many less reputable politicians, especially those whose expenditures exceeded their legitimate income. One of these, Catiline, a brilliant and unscrupulous patrician, engineered a plot against the magistrates in 66 B.C., but escaped punishment through Crassus' influence. He was a candidate for the consulship for 63 B.C., but was defeated.

The consuls elected were Antonius, a weaker partisan of Catiline, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, the most noted orator of Rome, whose chief ambition was to restore harmony between the orders by the cooperation of senate, knights, and people. As often happened in the dual magistracy, Cicero wielded the executive authority for the year, while Antonius contented himself with the consular insignia and the prospect of a province.

Early in Cicero's consulship, the tribune Rullus introduced a new agrarian bill, which was ostensibly intended to provide land in Italy for the poor, but actually to give Crassus and Cæsar the opportunity to supersede Pompey's authority in the east and to annex Egypt. The necessary lands were to be purchased by proceeds from the sale of state properties outside Italy; ten commissioners were to be appointed for this purpose, with full authority over the lands and armies of the provinces. Though the bill was skilfully framed, Cicero exposed it so convincingly that Pompey's adherents rallied and defeated it.

A more serious crisis threatened the state later in the year. Catiline again sought the consulship on a platform of debt cancellation, by which he gained the support of bankrupt members of the nobility and mortgage-ridden squires. Defeated at the polls, he formed a new conspiracy, relying on an army raised among those of Sulla's veterans who had failed to make a living on their allotments in Etruria. The conspirators planned to seize the Capitol, murder their chief opponents, cancel debts, and set up their own candidates to rule the state. It is improbable that Crassus and Cæsar were directly implicated in the plot, but they would undoubtedly have profited by its success, and Catiline's association with them made it unsafe for Cicero to take active measures without direct proof of the conspirators' guilt. A brilliant speech which he delivered against Catiline in the senate in November precipitated their final preparations. When direct proof was obtained some weeks later, Cicero persuaded the senate to pass the so-called "final decree," which was in effect a declaration of martial law. The leading conspirators, except Catiline, who had gone to his army in Etruria, were executed without trial. Despite the senate's ultimatum, this was a proceeding of doubtful legality, but only Cæsar spoke against the renewal of the violent precedents of recent civil conflicts.

A few weeks later, Catiline was killed in battle in Etruria. His conspiracy endangered the state less than Cicero's impassioned invectives implied, but it gave many men of both parties a new fear of the violence of factional strife, and created for the time being that harmony of the orders and union of all good men which the consul so ardently desired. Cicero was acclaimed as the father of his country, and sought to maintain its domestic peace.

Recent history had proved that senatorial authority over the knights and people could not be maintained when strong individuals led the opposition.

The harmony of the state could therefore be best secured by enlisting a popular leader in the service of the senate. When Pompey landed at Brundisium late in 62 B.C., and contrary to the expectations of all and the fears of many disbanded his troops, Cicero looked to him as the defender of the commonwealth, who could neutralize the power of Crassus and Cæsar. But the senate missed its opportunity and postponed the passage of bonuses for Pompey's soldiers and the ratification of his careful plans for oriental administration, since he refrained from pressing his claims by armed force.

They repeated this error in the next year on Cæsar's return from his proprætorship in Spain, for they not only denied Cæsar a triumph but chose minor offices in Italy as proconsular provinces for 58 B.C., in order to reduce the value of the consulship which he would naturally hold in 59 B.C. Once more the shortsighted policy of the senate led rival statesmen to combine their forces. Crassus joined the coalition, but Cicero refused. This "First Triumvirate" was never given official sanction, but it dominated Rome and her imperial policy for ten years and was destroyed only by civil war between its two surviving members. (Reading List 84)

## XXV

### THE END OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

*The point commonly raised in regard to Cæsar, and discussed by Titus Livy, that it is uncertain whether it would have been better for the state if he had never been born, may be applied also to the winds; for their useful and necessary service cannot be weighed in the balance with the devices by which human folly has turned them into instruments for its own destruction.*

—Seneca

THE "FIRST TRIUMVIRATE" was not really a coalition government, but a conspiracy of three men who hoped to gain their several aims by a temporary union. Cæsar was its moving spirit, and was the ablest politician among the three, though he was least prominent at the outset. Pompey enjoyed the greatest reputation, but had not such close affiliations as those of Crassus with the knights or of Cæsar with the people, and a split in the triumvirate would be sure to align Cæsar and Crassus against him.

#### THE FIRST CONSULSHIP OF CÆSAR

Their combined strength won Cæsar the consulship for 59 B.C. with Bibulus, a conservative and stubborn Optimite, as his colleague. Apparently the alliance was first made known at Rome by the support which Pompey and Crassus gave to Cæsar's first legislation, against the determined opposition of Bibulus. The most controversial measures were those proposed for Pompey's benefit; the nature of his eastern settlements required their ratification as a unit, whereas senatorial precedent required that each measure be voted on separately. The bill to provide land for Pompey's veterans and for landless civilians was moderate and well conceived, but agrarian legislation was now too closely associated with attacks on senatorial authority. Cæsar's law provided for a commission of 20 men, from which the triumvirs were excluded, to allot the remaining public land in Italy and to purchase the additional acreage needed. The Campanian domain, which produced substantial revenue, was at first exempted, but was included later when the available land proved insufficient. Three tribunes attacked the bill, but tribunician sacrosanctity was long since a dead letter, and none of them was hardy enough to persist against the armed force of the triumvirs. The consul Bibulus watched the skies for unfavorable omens, an archaic subterfuge which traditionally suspended public business, but which Cæsar disre-

garded. Many men praised Bibulus' steadfast opposition, but none actively supported it, and Cæsar became sole consul in fact, though not in name or in law.

At the same time Crassus secured for the chief equestrian corporation the remission of a third of the sum which they had contracted to pay for the Asiatic taxes. Cæsar received command of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria for a five-year term, in place of the routine forestry operations in Italy which the senate had designated as proconsular provinces for 58 B.C. When the province of Transalpine Gaul fell vacant shortly after, the senate acceded to Pompey's request that it be added to Cæsar's command. Celtic and German movements threatened the security of the northern frontiers, and the triumvirs could not risk having one of their opponents command an army so close to Italy. Cæsar's proconsular authority overlapped his term as consul, and enabled him to levy troops before he surrendered his office in Rome.

Cicero's letters to Atticus show the tenor of feeling both at Rome and in the country towns of Italy. Many of Pompey's former supporters were alienated by his marriage to Cæsar's daughter Julia, and by the fear that he contemplated an oriental despotism. The younger generation hated "proud kings," and chafed at an intolerable situation for which there seemed to be no remedy. The Romans still had the safety-valve of free discussion, and lamented their slavery at clubs and dinner parties, though no one raised his voice in public protest. Varro nicknamed the triumvirs "the three-headed monster," and scurrilous songs were circulated about them. The people applauded an actor's jibe at Pompey, while his friends discussed his obvious distress at his unpopularity and the acts of his associates.

But the year ended without revolution; Cæsar went to his province after the new magistrates were duly installed, and the general indignation and apprehension began to subside.

#### THE TRIUMVIRATE TO THE CONFERENCE AT LUCA

Clodius, a dissolute young patrician who had made himself eligible for the tribunate by adoption into a plebeian family, used his office in 58 B.C. for a more extreme program to win popular support than the triumvirs had directly sponsored. Crassus, or possibly Cæsar, provided pay for the gangsters whom Clodius hired to control voting in the assembly and to terrorize the city. He gained proletarian votes by providing free grain at the public expense, and revived the political clubs which had been suppressed in 64 B.C. He satisfied a personal grudge against Cicero by a law which exiled any one who had condemned citizens to death without a trial. Catiline thus gained a posthumous revenge, and Cicero remained in exile until the fall of 57 B.C., when Pompey thought best to secure the orator's support and a *rapprochement* with the senate by urging his recall. Cato the Younger, a Stoic and republican as uncompromising as his great ancestor,

was commissioned to organize Cyprus as a province, since not even Clodius could find a pretext on which to exile him; thus the two most eminent and public-spirited critics of the tyranny were removed.

Shortly after Cicero's return, the threat of famine enabled Pompey to secure wide powers as curator of the grain supply for five years. He gathered a fleet and by dangerous winter voyages secured ample supplies in a short time, and kept the authority which his office conferred long after the crisis was over. Otherwise little was accomplished, and the state seemed to be drifting toward anarchy, since the power of the triumvirs precluded constructive action by others. The latent hostility between Pompey and Crassus was brought to the surface by a deadlock over the restoration of Ptolemy "the Piper," who had been driven from Egypt by a dynastic quarrel; neither was willing to concede to the other a mission which might result in the annexation of a rich territory.

Pompey could not risk an open break with Crassus, while recent revolts had taught Cæsar the need of a longer command in Gaul to secure the conquests which he had made beyond the limits of his actual province. Accordingly, in the spring of 56 B.C., the triumvirs met at Luca in Cisalpine Gaul to renew their compact, since Cæsar could not legally leave his province for Italy without forfeiting his proconsular command. They agreed that Pompey and Crassus should be consuls in 55 B.C., and that the assembly should grant proconsular commands for five years to all three. Cæsar was to keep his provinces and complete the conquest of Gaul, while Pompey was to be governor of Spain, where the unconquered tribes of the northwest gave an excuse for a strong proconsular army. Crassus, who was now an old man but still longed for military glory, was to be proconsul of Syria and make war on Parthia.

The die-hard republicans, led by Cato, refused to compromise. Others, like Cicero, felt that they could best serve the state by accepting the situation for the sake of peace, and were encouraged by the practical administrative reforms enacted during the second consulship of Pompey and Crassus. At the close of their term, Pompey made his curatorship of the grain supply an excuse for remaining in Italy, while he governed Spain through his legates and kept some of the troops levied for the Spanish service close at hand.

### THE FIRST WAR WITH PARTHIA

Friendly relations with Parthia had been established during the Mithradatic Wars, when both the senate and the Arsacids were alarmed by the growing power of Pontus. Pompey's cavalier treatment of Phraates III during his Syrian campaign occasioned some ill feeling, but did not prevent his effective arbitration of the territorial issue between Parthia and Armenia, and no occasion for war had arisen since that time. Crassus obviously had

no excuse for aggression against Parthia except his desire for military glory, though he may have been influenced by the possibility of Roman control of the eastern caravan trade. The proposed war was unpopular among the people as well as the nobles, and Crassus had difficulty in procuring volunteers.

The Parthian intelligence system was more efficient than the Roman, and the defense was carefully planned. Orodes, the reigning Arsacid, invaded Armenia to secure it against Roman aggression, while he entrusted the defense of Mesopotamia to his brilliant young general Surenas. Long-range fighting had hitherto been limited by the small supplies of missiles which the individual soldier could carry; Surenas overcame this handicap by a notable innovation. He enabled the skilful Parthian archers to prolong their action indefinitely by providing a corps of 1000 camels to carry a huge reserve of arrows for his 10,000 mounted archers.

Early in May, 53 B.C., Crassus' army was completely routed near Carrhæ in western Mesopotamia, at the very outset of his active campaign. His men took refuge in the town, but were so demoralized by the defeat that they insisted on his acceding to Surenas' terms. Crassus was trapped and killed during the parley, the eagles of the Roman legions became Parthian trophies, and as many Romans remained in captivity as escaped to Syria. The news of Carrhæ effected an immediate change in Roman sentiment. The arguments against war with Parthia were forgotten in the ardent desire to avenge the death of Crassus and recover the lost standards and the captives. The Parthian victory endangered the Roman control of Syria and Cilicia, and led many eastern dependents of Rome to look to the victorious power for aid, but Parthian raids in the provinces accomplished little and the Roman generals in the east soon learned to use Parthian tactics. From this time relations with Parthia were a controlling factor in Roman policy. (Reading List 84)

### CÆSAR'S CONQUEST OF GAUL

Whether Cæsar originally intended to conquer the territories of the free Gauls is an open question; hitherto Rome had shown no desire to extend the boundaries of the transalpine province, and had been negligent in her duty toward her Gallic allies. Since the second century B.C., however, Roman influence among the "long-haired Gauls" had superseded that of the Greeks, and Italian merchants were found everywhere in Aquitania and central Gaul, though rarely as yet in the Belgic lands along the lower Rhine. The transalpine province was described by Cicero as so crammed with Roman traders that the presence of a Roman clerk was considered essential to the smallest financial transaction,<sup>1</sup> and active trade radiated northward

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<sup>1</sup> Oration for Fonteius, 5, delivered in 69.

from the province along the great rivers. Much of the country was already well developed agriculturally, though vineyards had not yet been introduced to any extent. The Gauls surpassed the Italians in metallurgy, and there were excellent opportunities for the development of textile and ceramic industries.

Gaul was in a state of political transition which facilitated conquest: monarchy had been generally superseded by aristocracy at the beginning of the century, and the great tribal unions had broken down. In 61 B.C. the German king Ariovistus, who had been summoned by the Gallic Sequani to help them against the Ædui, the allies of Rome, seized their land and encouraged more of his countrymen to cross the Rhine and settle in Gaul. Although this invasion threatened the Roman province as well as the free Gauls, the senate at first temporized and accepted Ariovistus' request for official "friendship."

Early in Cæsar's proconsulship, the Helvetians, a Celtic people in the Alps, decided to escape German pressure by migrating to more fertile land in southwestern Gaul, and asked permission to pass through the Roman province. Cæsar not only refused, but forced them to give up their enterprise; it was an established Roman principle to oppose the growth near the frontier of a formidable power such as the warlike Helvetians might be expected to establish, but action was rarely taken so promptly and effectively. This marked change from the *laissez faire* policy of earlier governors encouraged the Ædui to ask Cæsar to help them expel Ariovistus and defend the Rhine frontier from further German immigration.

But Cæsar saw clearly that the strong national spirit of the Gallic tribes, coupled with their political disunion, would prevent the maintenance of a peaceful protectorate, and that intervention beyond the established frontier could be made effective only by actual annexation. There were many considerations in favor of conquest; it would require a larger army than the territories assigned him would otherwise warrant, and Cæsar was skilled at winning the devotion of his soldiers. The great booty to be won would provide bonuses for the troops and funds for the general's political activities, as well as large sums for the treasury, and the land added to the empire would not only pay substantial tribute, but was admirably suited for Italian colonization. Complete pacification of Gaul, however, would keep Cæsar away from Rome for a dangerously long time, and he would need the full support of his colleagues to gain recognition of a conquest undertaken on his own initiative without official authorization.

To arouse public interest in Gaul and to spread the true account of his activities there, Cæsar composed his *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, which his friends circulated in Rome. During the winter intervals between his campaigns, he also supervised the administration of his provinces, presided over the provincial courts, and raised and drilled fresh troops, espe-

cially among the citizen communities of Cisalpine Gaul. These he supplemented with cavalry furnished by the Gallic allies and slingers from the Balearic Islands.

The expulsion of Ariovistus led many Gallic tribes to submit peacefully to their Roman protector, but it was clear that further Germanic invasions could only be prevented by the occupation of all central Gaul and the Belgic district. After he had defeated Ariovistus, Cæsar set out to establish the Rhine frontier by gaining control of the central and northern tribes. Inter-tribal jealousy, and relief at the expulsion of the Germans, induced many to join the Roman side, but the Belgic tribes offered serious resistance. At the close of 57 B.C. the Roman authority was superficially established everywhere. But in 56 the maritime tribes, who feared interference with their profitable British trade, revolted, and German invasions began anew. Cæsar therefore conducted two spectacular military demonstrations beyond the new frontier; he crossed the Rhine by his famous bridge for a brief campaign which was notable for its brutality, and sailed across the Channel to inflict a similar warning on the Britons.

The latter expedition failed, however, and in 54 he took a larger force for more decisive action. The chiefs of southern Britain were defeated and made nominally tributary, but revolts in Gaul and the Roman civil wars precluded further interest in the island, the tribute lapsed, and a century passed before Roman troops again crossed the Channel. Contemporary geography grouped Britain with the distant lands which were "divided from the known world," and did not belong to the normal sphere of the Mediterranean states. Such lands were thought to be full of wonders, like India and Ethiopia; Britain was supposed to produce pearls of fabulous value. Thus the current misconceptions of the island lent glamor to Cæsar's exploit. Thereafter the conquest of the "yellow-haired Britons" was to rank with that of Parthia as the culmination of military glory.

In 53 the rebellion of the tribes of central Gaul under the brilliant leadership of the patriotic leader Vercingetorix, the ablest general whom Cæsar ever confronted in battle, threatened to undo the work of conquest, and produced a stronger national union than the Gauls had known before. The siege of Alesia in 52 B.C. was perhaps the most difficult of Cæsar's military achievements. He suppressed the subsequent minor revolts in time for a thorough reorganization before the crisis of 49 B.C. forced him to withdraw from Gaul. Vercingetorix was imprisoned in Rome until Cæsar's triumph, and then was strangled.

The harshness of Cæsar's conquest of Gaul helped to spread the revolt, though he showed wisdom and moderation in his organization of the country. The contrast between the history of Spain and that of Gaul shows how much the latter province actually gained from the early culmination and suppression of nationalist feeling against Rome. After the great revolt was

over, there were no disorders of a serious nature. The rapid extension of Roman influence increased the prosperity of Gaul without destroying its distinctive Celtic character. Rome has been accused of cutting short a flourishing national state in Gaul, but the alternative to Roman rule would seem to have been German occupation and conquest facilitated by local anarchy. (Reading List 85)

#### THE BREAKDOWN OF THE TRIUMVIRATE

While Cæsar was winning booty, land, and the loyalty of his soldiers in Gaul, Pompey consolidated his position in Rome. Now that he no longer had to reckon with Crassus' influence, he began to align himself with the Optimates against Cæsar's adherents in the popular faction. Fights between Clodius' gangsters and the rival ruffians hired by Milo, the senatorial candidate for the consulship in 52 B.C., endangered peaceful citizens and prevented regular legislation and election of magistrates. Early in 52 the confusion was increased by the violence of Clodius' followers after their leader was assassinated. As a last resort the senate made Pompey sole consul to restore order.

Pompey now held an extraordinary accumulation of powers. During his third consulship, in which he had no colleague to limit his activities by the veto, he not only retained his proconsulship of Spain, with command of an army, part of which he kept in Italy on various pretexts, but also, as curator of the grain supply, commanded a fleet and had general authority in the grain-producing districts. Many feared that he would establish a dictatorship like that of Sulla. If Cæsar succeeded in defeating Vercingetorix and returned as the conqueror of Gaul, the city would hardly contain his power and Pompey's together. But Pompey now had the advantage of authority in Rome, legalized by the senate, while Cæsar, as soon as his provincial command expired, would be subject to trial for his illegal acts as consul in 59 B.C., as well as for his unauthorized wars in Gaul, and Cato openly proclaimed that he would press the prosecution.

Pompey had promised to sponsor Cæsar's election to the consulship *in absentia* without the usual personal canvassing. Thus Cæsar would not be liable to prosecution until, as consul, he had secured ratification of his acts from the beginning of his previous consulship to the end of his Gallic command, and had provided for his veterans and organized the newly annexed territories. The time at which his command was to expire is disputed, but present opinion favors a date in the year 50 B.C., probably November 13; the latest possible date is March 1 in 49 B.C. He apparently intended to keep his proconsular imperium, however, to the end of 49, which would give time for reconstruction after the rebellion in Gaul, and to hold the consulship in 48 B.C., when one of the consuls for 49 would normally succeed to his provincial command.

In 62 Pompey's proconsulship in Spain was extended for several years, but he made no move to secure a similar extension for Cæsar. A law was also passed with Pompey's approval, which debarred prætors and consuls from holding promagistracies until five years after their office in Rome. This was a sound measure to curb bribery and extortion, since it would prevent candidates for office from securing large loans for campaign expenses, to be repaid by extortion in the provinces a year later, but it threatened Cæsar's position by leaving all commands for several years to be filled by former officials, who were available for appointment at any time. There was no longer any valid reason to extend Cæsar's command in Gaul beyond the actual day of its expiration and so permit him to become consul immediately after his proconsulship.

The crisis came in 50 B.C., when Curio, who had been won over to Cæsar by the payment of his enormous debts, answered senatorial proposals to appoint a successor for Cæsar before the end of his term, by denouncing Pompey's power as a direct threat to the state, and demanding that he lay down his command. As tribune, Curio regularly blocked the appointment of Cæsar's successor, while Pompey sought means to override his veto without an open break. Curio met the demand that Cæsar be superseded by the logical proposal that both triumvirs should lay down their power simultaneously. Cæsar offered to accede to this compromise, and thus made it apparent that Pompey did not aim at peace but at the continuation of his own authority. Since order was now restored beyond the Alps, Cæsar moved his army into Cisalpine Gaul to await developments.

At the end of the year Pompey ceased temporizing and the senate appointed new governors to take over the Gallic provinces before the elections for 48 B.C. This action left Cæsar no alternative but open rebellion or political extinction. On January 7 the final decree of the senate entrusted Pompey with the defence of the republic against Cæsar, who was thus declared a public enemy. A few days later, when news of this action reached him, Cæsar after anxious deliberation accepted the challenge and crossed the Rubicon, a small river on the boundary between Cisalpine Gaul and peninsular Italy. To enter the citizen territory of Italy at the head of his army was an overt act of rebellion and a declaration of civil war. Yet the senate had precipitated this action by its persistent attempts to terminate Cæsar's command, while continuing that of Pompey. It was generally recognized that the issue was not between constitutional government and usurpation by Cæsar, as the senate claimed, but between Pompey and Cæsar. The civil war which Cæsar inaugurated by crossing the Rubicon was a major crisis in the long series of conflicts during which the sovereignty of the senate and people of Rome had been repeatedly subordinated to the will of a single powerful Roman.

## THE SECOND CIVIL WAR

Cæsar announced a policy of clemency toward his opponents, which won many to his side. For some time he continued his attempts at conciliation. Many cities opened their gates to him voluntarily during his march on Rome. As the bloodless victory over Italy proceeded with unexpected rapidity, Pompey and the majority of the senate transferred the seat of government to Capua and finally to the east coast of the Adriatic, leaving only the Cæsarian rump to administer Rome. This course aroused much opposition, but seemed justified by the strategic value of a base in the eastern provinces, with the opportunity of levying troops both from provinces and allied states.

The significance of the union of the Mediterranean world under a single power now became clearer than before. Military aggression was forbidden in states subject to the Roman power, but all were called upon to contribute men, money, supplies, transport, and labor for this "more than civil war" which attained vaster proportions than any earlier campaigns save those of Alexander. This phenomenon was to recur twice within the next generation, before the rivalry for mastery of the republican government of Rome terminated in the principate of Augustus. The tragedy of this period of civil war is most clearly reflected in Lucan's epic, written a century later during the reign of Nero, when the imperial peace was again endangered:

The peoples suffered greater wounds from this conflict than their own generation could heal: it was more than life and health that perished: our ruin extends to the end of time.<sup>2</sup>

The outcome of this period of civil wars was the substitution of the imperial authority of a single ruler for the republican government of the senate, and the gradual transformation of Rome from a city whose armies had brought the world under its single sway to the seat of imperial administration.

## THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE CIVIL WAR

The war was notable for its strategy; Cæsar and his soldiers utilized to the full the experience gained in Gaul. Pompey was only slightly older than Cæsar, but his career, begun so early, had run its course. While Cæsar was still at the height of his powers, Pompey appeared, in Lucan's unforgettable phrase, as "the shadow of his great name."

Cæsar's first concern was to secure Italy by bringing the western provinces under direct control. Two days after Pompey left Italy, Cæsar entered Rome, where he seized the treasury and made temporary provision for the

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<sup>2</sup> Lucan, *Civil War* VII, 638-640.

government. The failure of Curio's campaign in Africa left that province as a rallying-point for Pompey's supporters. In Spain, however, Cæsar captured the stronghold at Ilerda, and incorporated the greater part of Pompey's troops there in his own army. On the return journey he reduced Marseilles, which had declared for Pompey. He spared the city, but made it a part of the Roman province. He then returned to Rome, and held the dictatorship for eleven days in order to preside over his own election as consul for the year 48 B.C. He was then, at last, free to undertake the major campaign against Pompey in the east.

Here he fought at first against overwhelming odds. Pompey controlled the Adriatic, and his army was strongly entrenched at Dyrrachium on the coast of Epirus. At last, however, Pompey's army, an ill-assorted group of legionaries, raw recruits, and contingents from the eastern states, was utterly defeated by Cæsar's disciplined forces in the decisive battle near Pharsalus in Thessaly.

The eastern peoples in general refused Pompey further aid in the hope of making their peace with the victor, and he sailed for Egypt, where he hoped for help from the young Ptolemy XII. But Ptolemy's minister deemed it safer to kill the defeated general and claim Cæsar's gratitude. The remnant of the Pompeian forces, led by Cato, gathered in Africa to uphold the cause of the republic now that that of Pompey was lost. Others, like Cicero, accepted the decision of Pharsalus as final, and ceased hostilities in the hope that Cæsar would abide by his promise to restore peaceful government without revenge.

Though Cæsar condemned the murder of Pompey, it was an advantage to him to have his defeated rival removed without any action on his part. He lingered at Alexandria to settle a dispute between the king and his far more famous sister and wife Cleopatra, and thus became involved in war with the Egyptian ministers and the people of Alexandria and in a no less hazardous love affair with Cleopatra. The blockade of the palace was at last raised early in 47 B.C. by the troops which came from his allies in Judea and Asia. Ptolemy XII was killed and Cleopatra became the sovereign of Egypt with the young Ptolemy XIII as nominal co-regent. Decisive action against the republican forces was still postponed for the settlement of eastern problems, the most important of which was the aggression of Pharnaces, son of Mithradates of Pontus, who was defeated at Zela after a five days' campaign in Asia Minor.

#### THE END OF THE SECOND CIVIL WAR

After Pharsalus Cæsar again assumed the dictatorship and appointed Marcus Antonius as his master of horse. In the autumn of 47 he returned from Asia in time to quell a serious mutiny among the soldiers who were impatient for their triumph and discharge. Cæsar presided over

the elections for 46 B.C., and took measures to restore order in the city before he sailed for Africa, where the growth of the republican forces made prompt action imperative. The king of Mauretania lent his support, and superior strategy again overcame the disadvantage of inferior numbers. The battle of Thapsus early in 46 B.C. was one of Cæsar's most brilliant victories. The greater part of Numidia was annexed, and the rest was ceded to the Mauretanian king. The republicans made their last stand at Utica, but when Cæsar approached the city, Cato, true to the principles which forbade a Stoic to live under conditions incompatible with civic virtue, chose suicide in preference to submission. His action marked the end of the civil war and of the republic, and made him the hero of republican sentiment in Rome thereafter.

The remaining Pompeians gathered in Spain, where the misgovernment of Cæsar's representative won them support. The victory at Munda in 45 B.C., like that at Thapsus, was followed by unrestrained slaughter of the defeated forces, and few of the leaders survived except Pompey's son Sextus.

A civil war could have no triumph to arouse popular enthusiasm for the victor, but Cæsar's conquests in foreign states enabled him to stage a magnificent spectacle which lasted four days, with separate triumphal processions for the victories over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. Lavish donatives were given to the veterans, whose active service was now at last ended, and to the spectators.

#### THE DICTATORSHIP OF CÆSAR

After the battle of Pharsalus, the obligation of restoring peace and stability to the Roman world rested on Cæsar alone. The dictator's clemency toward his former opponents led Cicero to hope that he would act as leader and guide of the commonwealth rather than as autocrat. Men who had seen the Roman Empire threatened with extinction, and the world with anarchy by the civil wars, were ready to honor and support the restorer of peace. This compromise between republicanism and autocracy did not last long, but its sponsors helped to make it possible for Cæsar to use in his administration the experienced office-holders, most of whom had supported Pompey.

Cæsar's power had been gained by war, and was strengthened by his military authority. The dictatorship, which was granted him for ten years in 46 B.C. and for life early in 44 B.C., was an emergency office which implied the existence of a crisis in the state. In addition to the dictatorship, he held the consulship several times, and had been pontifex maximus since 63 B.C. He exercised censorial and tribunician powers without the limitations which attached to the actual offices of censor and tribune. This accumulation of powers which gave him paramount authority in each division of the government was increased by special grants. He had the

right to express his opinion first in senatorial debates, to nominate half the magistrates, thus making their election a mere form, and to make war and peace without consulting the senate. He was also given complete control of the treasury and sole command of the legions.

Other decrees increased Cæsar's honor and dignity rather than his powers. He was officially named "father of his country," his statue was placed among those of the kings, and another in the temple of Romulus-Quirinus, and the fifth month of the year (according to the old calendar which began with March) was renamed *Julius* in his honor. Although Rome did not follow the Hellenistic practice of conferring actual divinity on its ruler, these and other honors associated him with the gods.

Cæsar's position thus differed from that of an oriental king in name, and in the lack of stabilizing tradition, rather than in actual character, and the republicans who killed him on the Ides of March in 44 B.C. were convinced that he intended to found a permanent monarchy. It is clear at least that he did not intend to lay down his power, and that he did not think the senate and people could function successfully except under the control of a single leader, but the exact form of government which he intended to establish remains an unsettled question.

#### CÆSAR'S ADMINISTRATION

Cæsar probably intended a more thorough reconstruction than he lived to accomplish, but his enactments during the short period of his administration and the projects which he conceived, but did not live to carry out, cast light on his general policies and on current conditions in Rome, Italy, and the empire. The general disruption of routine administration is indicated by the calendar. The old system required the insertion of an extra month at regular intervals; since this had been neglected or abused for political purposes for some time, the official year was completely out of harmony with the solar year. Cæsar had an Alexandrian astronomer devise a more scientific system, the so-called Julian calendar, which was instituted in 45 B.C. and has been only slightly modified since.

The senate had been seriously reduced by the civil wars, while the imperial administration required a greater number of trained and responsible men than before. Cæsar's additions to the senate were much criticized, for among them were prominent Gauls to whom he had granted the franchise, and many of his veterans; these formed a group devoted to the new régime and free from the traditions of the older office-holding nobility. The increase in the number of quæstors from 20 to 40 allowed for a normal membership of about 900. The number of prætors was increased to 16 to meet the growing needs of judicial administration at Rome and of provincial commands, as well as to secure a larger body of senators trained in high office. No provision was made for an official civil service, but slaves

and freedmen were used for clerical and secretarial work. The criminal law was strengthened, especially by legislation against corruption, and plans were made for codifying the civil law, an undertaking which Cæsar's successors abandoned.

Proprætors were officially limited to a one-year term, and proconsuls to two years; this increased the number of experienced administrators, but showed that provincial commands were still considered incidental to a Roman statesman's career, and had not developed as yet into an independent profession. A serious abuse was ended by the abolition of the grain tithes in Asia and Sicily, in favor of a fixed annual payment. This change was particularly beneficial to Asia, since it confined the tax-farming system to lesser dues such as harbor and pasture taxes. Cæsar planned an imperial census as the basis for general tax revision, but did not accomplish it.

Although citizens tended to look on provincials as distinctly inferior and as a legitimate source of public revenue, the prevalent theory was that the Roman rule aimed only at defending the provinces and allies in good faith and justice, and that it should, therefore, be considered a world-protectorate rather than an empire.<sup>3</sup> In accordance with this theory, the imperial army was small in proportion to the area of the empire. The legions, stationed almost entirely on the frontiers, were still recruited chiefly in Italy, which had been doubled in size by the addition of Cisalpine Gaul. Cæsar's grants of citizenship to prominent individuals and to Romanized municipalities in the provinces, especially in Gaul and southern Spain, and of Latin rights to many other provincial towns, laid the basis for later extensions of the recruiting area for citizen soldiers.

#### COLONIZATION AND COMMERCE

The process of Romanization was furthered by Cæsar's resumption of the plan of colonization formulated by Gaius Gracchus. Carthage and other sites in Africa, Spain, and Gaul became flourishing Roman towns, peopled by veterans and civilians from Italy. Colonies were also founded in the eastern provinces, notably at Corinth, which was revived after a century of ruin, and at Sinope on the Pontic coast. Wealthy citizens bought land and formed large estates in the western provinces; bankers and tradesmen migrated to the new commercial centres, and farmers settled in the agricultural districts as owners or tenants. Slave labor on a large scale was confined chiefly to the *latifundia* of peninsular Italy and Sicily; elsewhere, the large estates were normally worked by hired free laborers or by tenant farmers. The latter were so numerous that the word *colonus*, which originally signified a land-owning farmer, was now more commonly used of tenants.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *On Offices*, 2, 27.

The ruin of Delos early in the century injured Italian trade in the east, and when commerce revived after Pompey's settlement, Alexandrian and Syrian traders took over the trade with the west, making their voyages directly to Puteoli on the Campanian coast and to other western ports. Pompeii illustrates the development of Campanian industry at this period; from a quiet country town, it now became a flourishing centre of manufacture and commerce, with large houses handsomely decorated in Hellenistic style.

### ITALY AT THE CLOSE OF THE REPUBLIC

Varro's treatise on agriculture describes Italy as a great orchard, and the domestication of eastern fruits, such as the cherry and apricot which Lucullus introduced from Asia, with improvements in native trees also, justified the term. The increasing number of Syrians in Italy, especially wealthy freedmen who sought to reproduce their native surroundings in their new environment, furthered interest in acclimatizing eastern plants. Much grain was still produced in the Po Valley and elsewhere, and Italian varieties of wine and oil were in wide demand in the western provinces. The economic development of Italy was furthered by many projects for roads, bridges, harbor improvements, and drainage, only a part of which could be completed in Cæsar's lifetime.

To prevent servile risings, Cæsar ordered that a third of the laborers on large estates should be free men. He also required capitalists to invest half their fortunes in land. The nobles took pride in the number, extent and luxury of their country estates. Villas in the Campagna near Rome, in Campania, or in the Sabine hills afforded a welcome change from the city and were lavishly laid out, with Greek porticoes, baths and fishponds, formal gardens with clipped hedges and decorative statuary, and hunting preserves.

The remains of Cæsar's municipal legislation show his desire to foster sound local government and active political life. Municipal offices were especially sought by successful freedmen, whose wealth and shrewd business sense enabled them to gain honor and influence in the towns more readily than at Rome. (Reading List 86)

### THE CITY OF ROME

Rome was the focus of Italian as of imperial activity, and able men from other parts of Italy, among whom Cicero is the outstanding example, contributed greatly to its political and intellectual life. Less desirable immigrants increased the city proletariat to such proportions that even Cæsar's drastic reform left 150,000 men entitled to free grain at public expense, out of a total population of about 1,000,000. The regulation of traffic, markets,

public streets, and building, figured in Cæsar's legislation but much remained to be done. The desirable sites on the Palatine and the outer ring of hills were preempted by the villas and gardens of the nobles, while the poor and middle classes lived in crowded tenements cheaply built by speculators. Fires were numerous and spread rapidly, so that even the temples and other substantial stone structures were burned. Many accepted these disadvantages for the sake of life in the capital with its many public festivals, the gladiatorial shows and animal fights given by candidates for office, and the chance to live without labor on free grain and the sale of votes, or as hangers-on of wealthy men who displayed their importance by the number of their morning callers.

Industry was almost confined to supplying local needs in competition with extensive imports which merchants brought up the Tiber from Ostia. Public building afforded a considerable amount of employment during the late republic. Sulla had the Forum and the Capitoline ramp repaved, and restored the senate house and temples in Rome and elsewhere, which had been ruined by fire during the civil wars. The great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was rebuilt on the old Italic plan, but with a Greek portico. In 78 B.C. the Tabularium, or public record office, was built on the Capitoline, in a style which combined Roman round arches and Greek columns; this type of building was much used thereafter for basilicas, amphitheatres, and other substantial structures. The Romans of the late republic and early empire developed the full possibilities of the arch in bridges and aqueducts, and a characteristic monument was the free-standing arch which served as the basis for a sculptured group or single statue in bronze. The sculpture of the period was especially notable for realistic and individual portraits. (Plate 49)

Pompey chose a site near Flaminius' buildings in the Campus Martius for a group of structures which included the first permanent theatre in Rome, a portico with a public meeting-hall much used by the senate, and a temple of Venus. Cæsar inaugurated a comprehensive plan for the central part of the city. He had the Forum repaved, with the new rostra at its upper end, in the section associated with the popular party. Here his funeral was held, and a temple was erected for his worship as the "deified Julius." He rebuilt and enlarged the senate house and began a great law court, the Basilica Julia, on the opposite side of the Forum. To provide for the increased pressure of both public and private business, he began a new forum adjoining the senate house, with porticoes for shops, schools, and offices about the central precinct of Venus, the goddess-mother of the Julian family. (Plate 53a: Reading List 76)

Rome had long lived on the profits of her conquests, and Cæsar's wars brought in even more wealth than those of earlier generals, much of which filled the purses of individuals. Moralists deplored the evils of cosmopolitan

society with its fortune-hunters, easy divorce, and extravagant costume and entertainment. Women held salons and prided themselves on their political influence and the adoration of their lovers. Yet there were many families who maintained the old way of life and whose women followed the precepts of the traditional epitaph, to love one husband faithfully and bear him children, to keep house and spin wool. These families cherished the republican Stoic ideal, and Cato was their hero.

#### THE ASSASSINATION OF CÆSAR

Such conservative citizens formed the nucleus of the opposition to Cæsar, which grew with the conviction that he intended to maintain and increase his autocratic power. His plans for the eastern wars may have precipitated their decision to end his tyranny. Cæsar had already begun to levy troops for a campaign to restore order in Illyria, then to march eastward along the Danube and break down the powerful Dacian union under King Burebista, which threatened the security of the Balkans, and finally to invade Parthia and recover the Roman standards and prisoners lost at Carrhæ a decade earlier. In the midst of his preparations the dictator was killed by a group of republican senators in Pompey's senate house. The conspirators had made no plans, for they falsely assumed that the tyrant's death would automatically restore the republic; their act therefore did not free Rome, but led to a new coalition, a third civil war, and finally to the rule of Cæsar's nephew and adopted son.

#### LATIN LITERATURE IN THE AGE OF CICERO

In thought and letters, the last generation of the republic was preeminently the age of Cicero. This classical period established the standard vocabulary and style for later Roman writers. The book trade flourished with Rome as its centre, and Cæsar planned great public libraries to be directed by Varro. Cicero was chief among the writers who came from the Italian municipalities to exert a formative influence on Roman style and thought. Men of letters as well as statesmen (the two were still frequently identical) studied in the Greek cities and were equally versed in Greek and Latin literature.

Marcus Tullius Cicero influenced oratorical style and political thought by his speeches in private and public lawsuits, and in the senate and assembly. In the intervals of his public activity, he instructed younger friends and composed treatises on the history and principles of rhetoric. His letters to his chief friend, Atticus, and to his family and acquaintances were reputed to give the complete history of his times; the many that survive, in language and style closer to that of daily intercourse than his more formal works, give priceless glimpses of his varied activities and of his

changing attitude toward the leading figures of his day. He was deeply interested in philosophy and performed a great service by his analysis and summaries of Greek philosophy and by the familiar essays in which he applied their principles to individual ethics. His philosophic writings form an important stage in the transmission of Greek thought to the Roman, mediæval, and modern world.

Among the poets of the period, Lucretius and Catullus have won the greatest fame. Mention has already been made of the epic in which the genius of Lucretius invested the naturalistic philosophy and prosaic physics of Epicurus with spiritual magnificence. Catullus, like his lesser contemporaries, frequently used Alexandrian forms, but he found his most congenial inspiration in the passionate lyrics of Sappho. Lyric poetry was now fully developed as an art independent of musical accompaniment.

Historical writing was especially notable for its brilliant and incisive treatment of recent events and current issues, often in the form of biography and memoirs. Sallust wrote monographs on the war with Jugurtha and the conspiracy of Catiline to illustrate both the faults of senatorial administration and the progress of significant historical crises. His *Histories*, of which little is preserved, were highly esteemed. Cæsar's *Commentaries* on the Gallic and Civil Wars are admirably constructed and lucidly written with a vivid narrative style seldom found in a work composed primarily for transient political motives.

The outstanding scholar of the age, noteworthy for the range and bulk of his researches, was Marcus Terentius Varro, who undertook to study and summarize the grammar and literature, religion, antiquities, and history of Rome and the biographies of its great men. His treatise on agriculture is preserved, as well as part of his study of the Latin language. Cicero wrote of Varro's encyclopædic work: "When we were scarcely more than pilgrims and strangers in our own city your books seem to have brought us home, and to have given us at last the means of knowing who we are, and in what city we live."<sup>4</sup> (Reading Lists 75, 87)

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<sup>4</sup> *Posterior Academics* I, 3.

Part IV

THE ROMAN EMPIRE



## XXVI

### THE PRINCIPATE OF AUGUSTUS

*How shall the devotion of the Fathers and Quirites render full honor to thy great deeds, Augustus, and immortalize thee forever by inscriptions and enduring records, thou greatest of princes in all the lands that the sun makes habitable for mankind?* —Horace

CÆSAR'S ASSASSINATION WAS intended to restore the traditional government of Rome; instead it led to the second triumvirate, whose rule proved more ruinous than the brief war against the conspirators. The Roman people, worn out by recurrent strife, learned to value domestic peace above all else. Thus the victorious triumvir Octavian was able to establish his administration on a sound basis and to govern the Roman world as Augustus for forty years. Before the end of his long rule, all but a stubborn minority recognized his principate as the legitimate government of Rome, and felt that it gave them assurance of peace and prosperity.

#### ANTONY AND THE SENATE

Antony, Cæsar's chief subordinate, profited by the inaction of the conspirators and the indecision of the senate after the death of Cæsar to secure a compromise and thus gain time for more ambitious plans. As sole surviving consul, he summoned a meeting of the senate at which he exposed the weakness of their position. If Cæsar was the legitimate ruler of Rome, his murderers must be punished as traitors. But if an unconstitutional tyranny made his assassination a patriotic deed, a state of anarchy existed, for all the legislation, elections, and appointments of the past five years were invalid. Antony had gathered a bodyguard and gained control of the troops which Lepidus had enlisted for service in Gaul; he could therefore back his arguments by the threat of force. It was also probable that all the legions enlisted in Cæsar's name, among which were many of his veterans, could readily be united by a leader so closely associated with the dictator.

The compromise which Antony proposed was accepted: all Cæsar's acts were declared valid, while the republicans were granted full amnesty and kept the provinces and offices which Cæsar had given them. Antony conducted a public funeral at the dictator's own rostra in the Forum, and aroused popular feeling by reading Cæsar's will with its lavish legacies to the soldiers and the citizens resident in Rome. He secured Cæsar's papers

and presented unpublished decrees for ratification, many of which he was said to have forged for his own purposes.

### THE RISE OF OCTAVIAN

Late in April Cæsar's grandnephew Octavius, who was designated as his chief personal heir, to be formally adopted as his son, returned from the east to claim his inheritance.<sup>1</sup> Many senators, led by Cicero, thought that they could safely use the eighteen-year-old boy as a counterpoise to Antony's growing power until senatorial government could once more be established. The chief conspirators, Marcus Brutus and Cassius, set out for their provinces in the east, where they levied troops and made heavy requisitions of money, ships, and supplies for the expected war with Antony. The latter meanwhile forced the senate to give him proconsular authority in the Gallic provinces for five years, and recalled the army from Macedonia to strengthen his forces.

In September Cicero began his "Philippic orations" against Antony, the Roman parallel to Demosthenes' bitter invectives against the Macedonian king. Since further temporizing was impossible, the senate supported Decimus Brutus in his refusal to surrender his province of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, though they themselves had authorized the transfer. Open war broke out in January, 43 B.C., and Antony besieged Brutus at Mutina. The senate commissioned the consuls together with Octavian, who had enlisted many of Cæsar's discharged veterans on his own authority, to raise the siege. They succeeded, but both consuls died, and Antony escaped to join Lepidus beyond the Alps. Late in the summer Antony and Lepidus occupied northern Italy with their combined forces, which now amounted to 22 legions.

### THE FORMATION OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

The victory at Mutina left Octavian in an awkward position, for the senate supported Decimus Brutus, and the young Cæsar could not cooperate with his father's murderer. In July, when his demand for the consulship was refused, he used his troops to enforce his claim to office, and as consul instituted courts for the trial of the conspirators. With Lepidus as go-between, he came to terms with Antony and planned a war against the republicans, to avenge the death of Cæsar. Lepidus was a weak third in the coalition, but Antony far outranked Octavian in political and military experience.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Roman custom, Octavius took his adoptive father's name, with that of his own family added in modified form. His full name was now Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and contemporaries spoke of him as Cæsar. Modern practice uses the name Octavian to avoid confusion with the dictator.

The three imposed their will on senate and people. In November, 43 B.C., they were voted a five-year appointment as "triumvirs with consular power for restoring the republic." They exercised absolute authority and levied troops and taxes in Italy and the west at will, while Brutus and Cassius continued their exactions in the east. The provinces paid dearly for the civil wars. The triumvirs conducted proscriptions which recalled those of Marius and Sulla, but failed to produce the money needed for the troops, since few would risk buying the confiscated estates. The most notable victim of these proscriptions was Cicero, who paid the penalty for his attacks on Antony.

### PHILIPPI

In 42 B.C. Antony and Octavian led their army against Marcus Brutus and Cassius, who were entrenched near Philippi in Macedonia. Antony's strategy forced them out of their camp by fieldworks which cut off their naval base of supplies. In the first battle Antony's troops defeated those of Cassius, who committed suicide. Octavian's lack of success, however, left the issue undecided. Three weeks later Antony won a decisive victory, Brutus killed himself, and the republican officers were put to death. Most of their troops joined the army of the triumvirs.

### ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN

The fate of Rome now rested with Antony and Octavian, for Lepidus' claims were disregarded by his colleagues. The immediate problem after Philippi was to regain control of the eastern provinces, while Parthia and Egypt offered opportunities for military triumphs and wealth that might help to secure the succession to the supreme power. These considerations probably influenced Antony's decision to take charge of the east, while he assigned to Octavian the invidious task of confiscating Italian municipal land for the veterans. His plans were nearly upset by the rashness of his wife and brother, who stirred up an unsuccessful rebellion against Octavian in Italy, the so-called Perusine War. The triumvirs were reconciled by an agreement at Brundisium in 40 B.C., which confirmed Octavian's control of the western provinces and Antony's authority in the east, while Lepidus was reinstated in Africa. The Peace of Brundisium was cemented by the marriage of Antony with Octavian's sister.

### OCTAVIAN IN THE WEST: SEXTUS POMPEY

The chief threat to Octavian's power lay in the strength of Pompey's surviving son Sextus, who had made his peace with the senate after Caesar's death, and now commanded the fleet. He was proscribed by the triumvirs but escaped to Sicily, which he made an asylum for refugees. His inter-

ference with the grain ships soon caused a famine at Rome. The demand for food and the violent opposition to taxation for the war against him forced Octavian to confer with him at Misenum in 39 and to acknowledge for the time being his control of Sicily and Sardinia. When the triumvirate was renewed at Tarentum in 37 B.C. for a second term of five years, Antony exchanged ships for Octavian to use against Sextus Pompey for Italian troops which he needed for his campaign against Parthia. More ships were built in Italy and a decisive victory in 36 B.C. destroyed Pompey's fleet.

Octavian was now superior to Antony on land and sea, and peace was established throughout the west. Lepidus had been finally deprived of power, while Antony's extravagance and insolence in the early days of the coalition and his recent marriage with Cleopatra had alienated many Romans. The people associated orderly government with Octavian, and held Antony responsible for the earlier misdeeds of the triumvirs.

#### ANTONY IN THE EAST: EGYPT

Antony's command in the east presented more serious difficulties, although the potential rewards were greater. His first aim was to carry out Cæsar's plan to invade Parthia and recover the prisoners and insignia captured at Carrhæ. During his initial tour of the east, he collected heavy taxes for the Parthian campaign from states which had recently been drained by the exactions of the republican governors.

#### EGYPT

Cleopatra, who had returned from Rome to Egypt after Cæsar's death, met Antony in Syria in 41 B.C. and persuaded him to spend the winter at Alexandria, where his help secured her the unchallenged authority she desired. He also publicly acknowledged her son Cæsarion as the child of Cæsar. The last of the great Hellenistic dynasties had become increasingly dependent on Rome. The royal storehouses of the Ptolemies still held huge treasures, and Alexandrian trade prospered, but agricultural production had dwindled during generations of internal disorder. Restoration of orderly government was almost impossible without Greek soldiers, but the Roman expansion had cut off the recruiting areas. Cleopatra's dream of making Egypt once more a great power depended on Antony's good will and his influence at Rome, while he, in turn, needed her help to pay and equip his troops for the war with Parthia.

How far the queen's charm and the Roman general's susceptibility affected their relations is a disputed question. Whether their marriage at Antioch in 37 B.C. was dictated chiefly by love or by ambition, it was a turning-point in Roman history.

## THE PARTHIAN CAMPAIGNS

In the meantime the Parthian king Orodes took the offensive against Rome, relying on the hostility aroused by Antony's exactions. His army, under his son Pacorus and the Roman general Labienus, who had taken refuge in Parthia after Philippi, overran Asia Minor and Syria, which were completely lost to Roman control by the end of the year 40 B.C. But an aristocratic reaction in Parthia had recently given prominence in the army to the heavy cavalry of the nobles, the "cataphracts" with their ponderous armor and great spears, who were far more restricted in range and speed than the famous mounted archers who had won the victory of Carrhæ. Antony's lieutenant was therefore able to recover the lost provinces, and the civil wars which preceded the accession of Phraates IV to the Arsacid throne encouraged Antony himself to invade Parthia in 36 B.C.

His march through Armenia was successful, but soon after he entered Media the Parthians forced him to withdraw by cutting off his artillery and supplies. Without siege engines, decisive action against the walled cities was impossible, and local resources were inadequate to support his troops during the severe northern winter. The army suffered more losses from cold, disease, and hunger during the four weeks' retreat than from the attacks of the enemy's skirmishers, but their discipline and loyalty stood the test. The breach between the triumvirs had gone too far for Octavian to be willing to send soldiers to Antony, and the new troops raised in the East could only assert Roman authority in Armenia, which for two years was governed as a Roman province. Carrhæ was still unavenged.

## THE DONATIONS OF ALEXANDRIA

Antony's celebration of his Armenian victory in 34 B.C. at Alexandria, the first Roman triumph outside the capital, was the occasion for the "Donations of Alexandria." He ceded to Cleopatra and her children the greater part of the former imperial possessions of Egypt, including the provinces of Cyrene, Syria, Cyprus, and Armenia, the allied states of Palestine and Arabia, and even Media and Parthia which had never been under Roman authority. The inclusion of these last implied that Antony meant to use Roman troops in Cleopatra's interest in an aggressive campaign. The indignation aroused in Rome by this proposal to transfer Roman territories and sovereignty in the east to an oriental monarch was increased by the old resentment of Cleopatra's relations with Cæsar. Whether Antony really intended to transfer the imperial government to Alexandria, as some asserted, or to rule in the east alone as Cleopatra's consort, thus dividing the Roman Empire, his oriental policy menaced the traditions and unity of the state. In the propaganda of the period Octavian was pictured as the champion of Roman liberties against oriental despotism.

The war of propaganda increased in intensity as the authorized term of the triumvirate came to an end in December, 33 B.C. Antony's overtures to the senate were rejected, and many of his adherents joined him in the East. In 32 his divorce of Octavia and Octavian's publication of his will (which may have been a forgery), had a marked effect on public opinion. During 32 Agrippa, Octavian's chief aide, constructed a strong fleet. Antony and Cleopatra in the meantime mobilized the military and naval strength of the eastern provinces and Egypt. Finally Antony was outlawed and war was declared on Cleopatra. Octavian had been elected consul for the year 31 B.C., and the citizen municipalities in Italy and the western provinces now pledged him their military support by a solemn oath.

#### ACTIUM AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE EAST

The accounts of the campaign in western Greece and on the Ionian Sea are inadequate and confused; the actual engagements were slight compared with the size of the forces mobilized for the war. The decisive naval engagement took place near Actium early in September, 31 B.C. When Cleopatra's galleys retreated from the conflict, Antony followed with one squadron. The rest of his ships surrendered to Octavian, whose unchallenged authority was thus established.

Octavian met with little opposition when he came to Alexandria in the following year. Antony committed suicide, and Cleopatra followed his example when she became convinced that her reign was over. Egypt was then annexed to Rome under Octavian's personal control; the wealth of the Ptolemies enriched his treasury and the annual tribute from the new province was of great value in his administration.

Order was soon restored in the east: Antony's arrangements with the client-kings were generally confirmed, and local dynasts transferred their allegiance to the victor. Octavian celebrated a great triumph in 29 B.C. A few days later, he dedicated in the Forum the temple of the deified Cæsar, whose cult the senate had formally established in 42 B.C.

Octavian was now consul for the fifth time, and had been granted tribunician power and other honors, but his essential authority was based on his command of the great army levied for a war which was officially ended by the celebration of his triumph. Few Romans questioned his authority, but the restoration of peace made it necessary to put his power on a different basis. He had championed Roman traditions against the oriental despotism which Antony's policies had seemed to threaten, and had refused to follow the example of Cæsar's dictatorship. It remained to be seen what form of government was implied in his promise to "restore the republic." (Reading List 88)

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPATE

The initial steps toward the restoration of domestic order were completed by the end of 28 B.C. The number of legions in service was greatly reduced and the discharged veterans were settled in Italy and the provinces on land purchased for the purpose, since the Egyptian treasures enabled Octavian to avoid the odium of confiscation. A census was taken, and the lists of senators and knights were carefully revised. Octavian paid off all his debts and remitted arrears of taxation, a measure by which he reduced the current rate of interest from 12% to 4%. He also cancelled the illegal acts which had been committed by the triumvirs under the blanket authority conferred on them by the comitia.

This indication that Octavian wished a constitutional basis for his government was confirmed on January 13, 27 B.C., when he formally laid down the extraordinary powers granted him for the war with Antony and Cleopatra, and released the citizens from their oath to him. The senate at once granted him proconsular imperium for ten years over Farther Spain, Gaul, and Syria, the frontier provinces which offered the most serious problems of organization and defense, together with Egypt, which he had so recently brought under Roman authority. Since he now commanded the bulk of the Roman army, and military commands were subject to him, the danger of civil war was much diminished. As commander of the army, he was called *Imperator*, a title which gained wider application in later times, as its derivative *Emperor* indicates.

On January 6 the senate conferred on Octavian the name *Augustus*, an epithet which was usually applied to consecrated places and to those sacred by nature. Its application to a living man implied a more than human character, but not actual divinity. The same root appears in the name of the *augurs*, the priests who took the auspices before all important public actions. The exact significance of the new name cannot be determined, but its associations suggest that its bearer was consecrated as the founder of a new era in the state. The name Octavian, which recalled the civil war and triumvirate, passed out of use, and the poets hailed Augustus Cæsar as founder of a golden age of peace. Some men, however, felt that civil liberties had been bartered for peace, and questioned whether the exchange was worth while.

The rule of Augustus and his successors is often called the *principate*. The title *princeps*, which was given to these rulers, had been applied to leading statesmen of the late republic, especially Pompey, and may be translated as "first citizen." Its use by Augustus reflects his preference for titles consistent with republican theory as opposed to those which connoted absolute power.

From 27 to 23 B.C. Augustus spent much of his time in northwestern Spain, where he finally subjugated the Cantabrians and other tribes which had so long resisted Roman control. During this period he continued to hold the office of consul annually, as the chief basis of his civil power. His absence in Spain gave the senate an opportunity to govern with some degree of independence, but they constantly referred important matters to him for settlement.

When Augustus returned to Rome in 23 B.C., the comitia passed a comprehensive law which probably defined his position and powers more clearly than before. The enactment itself is lost, but some of its terms seem to have been incorporated in a law which conferred on the later emperor Vespasian the powers enjoyed by Augustus and the intervening rulers.<sup>2</sup> The act of 23 B.C. extended the tribunician power which had been granted earlier, and which now supplanted the consulship as the basis of his civil authority. Like the proconsular imperium, it was granted for successive periods of five or ten years. By virtue of this power, he presided over the senate, presented laws to the comitia, and supervised criminal jurisdiction. In the words of the later law, he had "the right and authority to do whatever he thought fit in matters divine and human, public and private, to serve the highest interests of the state."

Augustus' proconsular imperium was extended at this time, and was made superior to that of all other officials, while some changes were made in the partition of provinces between the princeps and the senate.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLIC

Though the sum of the powers granted to Augustus was so great, none of them was without republican precedent. He refused offices, titles, and honors which he considered inconsistent with republican traditions. In his summary of his reign, he claimed that he had transferred the republic from his own power to that of the senate and people of Rome.

This "restoration of the republic" has given rise to much controversy. Contemporaries who believed him sincere pointed to the regular election of magistrates, the normal functioning of magistrates, senate, and assembly, and the republican character of Augustus' titles and honors. "Thus," they said, "was the ancient traditional form of the republic restored." Others argued that the restoration was merely one of form, artfully contrived to reconcile the people to their actual loss of liberty, and that the principate was an autocracy directly opposed to republican senatorial government. Modern scholars who believe that Augustus sincerely intended to restore the republic as far as was consistent with order and efficiency have called his government a *dyarchy*, the joint rule of two parallel authorities, in this

<sup>2</sup> For the text of this law see Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 244.

case Augustus and the senate. Others, who consider the sovereign personality in the state more significant than the maintenance of the republican framework, hold that it was essentially a monarchy.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION: THE SENATE

The effectiveness of the new régime depended primarily on the calibre of the men available for the imperial service under the supervision of Augustus. It was a cardinal principle of his policy to respect senatorial privileges and make full use of senators in the higher civil and military posts. He conducted successive revisions of the senate to purge it of unworthy members, and finally reduced it to 600 men. Many of the old families had been exterminated during the civil wars, and others were so impoverished that he gave them subsidies to enable them to meet the financial requirements for membership in the senate. The senatorial families now became a closed hereditary order from which candidates for the higher magistracies were regularly chosen. Additions to this order were made by the princes, and were chosen chiefly from distinguished magistrates in Italian municipalities and in Italian colonies in Spain and Gaul. Members of the senatorial order were entitled to certain external marks of distinction, among which was the toga bordered with a broad purple stripe.

The offices which had been assigned to senators during the republic were reserved for them under the principate. They held the chief republican magistracies, the higher military commands, and the *proprætorian* and *proconsular* governorships of the senatorial provinces, and served as legates of Augustus in the imperial provinces. The legates, like the generals, received fixed salaries and held their office for indefinite terms subject to transfer or recall at the will of the princes. Among the new offices filled by senators was that of city prefect, or chief constable of Rome.

Collectively, the powers of the senate were much reduced. Augustus controlled foreign policy and had full treaty-making powers. Frontier problems and the organization and government of newly acquired territory were his responsibility. He governed the imperial provinces through his legates, and inscriptions show that he sometimes exercised direct authority in the senatorial provinces also. Embassies from vassals and client-princes and from foreign rulers came to him, unless their business affected only a senatorial province. Thus the emperor supplanted the senate as the embodiment of the Roman state.

Augustus had the right to preside over meetings of the senate and to initiate discussion. He appointed a small council of selected magistrates

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<sup>3</sup> In this controversy much depends on the exact interpretation of the Latin *res publica*, which may be translated by as vague a term as "commonwealth," but is often used in both modern and ancient discussions to imply independent government on the part of the senate.

together with fifteen senators chosen by lot for a six months' term to prepare measures for consideration in the senate; this body gradually became an important advisory council.

### THE ASSEMBLIES

Though the assemblies of citizens were still nominally sovereign in legislation, the emperor's edicts and instructions to magistrates and the decrees of the senate took the place of laws passed by the comitia in most cases. Criminal jurisdiction was divided between the princeps and the senate, for appeals to Cæsar superseded appeals to the Roman people, and the senate seems also to have acted as a high criminal court before the end of Augustus' reign. Thus the senate acquired legislative and judicial authority at the expense of the comitia, which now functioned chiefly as an electoral body. Even the elective functions of the comitia were limited by the emperor's right to exclude men from candidacy and to assure the election of preferred candidates by special nomination. But the people had so long been the pawns of political rivals or the passive instrument of senatorial policy that their minor rôle involved little loss of actual power. In theory, Augustus governed by virtue of authority delegated to him by the whole body of citizens, whose legal sovereignty thus persisted.

### THE MAGISTRATES

Magistrates were now responsible to the princeps rather than to the senate, not only because of his influence on their election, but because they were individually bound by an oath to support his acts. The princeps took over the functions of the censors, and his exercise of tribunician power left the tribunes chiefly routine duties akin to those of the ædiles. Not only did the salaried imperial posts outweigh the republican magistracies in importance, but the local administration in Rome was gradually entrusted to standing commissions under salaried curators or prefects, who were free from the limitations of the annual magistrates.

### FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Throughout the period of Roman expansion, the public income had been repeatedly increased by profitable wars, as well as by the revenues from newly acquired land. Egypt was the last acquisition which yielded vast accumulated treasures and a large annual revenue. Foreign wars during the imperial period brought in much less booty and indemnities in proportion to their cost than those of the late republic. Augustus and his successors were, therefore, faced with the necessity of providing for the financial needs of the state from existing sources of revenue.

The senate continued to manage the state treasury, the *ararium*, but since the revenues allocated to it were scarcely adequate to its needs in normal times, extraordinary demands were met from Augustus' own funds. Certain regular revenues were earmarked for the military budgets which he controlled.

Augustus himself administered the revenues from the imperial provinces, among which only Egypt yielded a substantial surplus over the cost of government. This imperial treasury was called the *fiscus*, a term which originally meant a basket, but was commonly used of money chests and purses. The imperial funds do not seem to have been sharply distinguished from the emperor's personal income, a circumstance which illustrates the monarchical aspect of the principate. The latter consisted chiefly of rents from the estates of Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt and the east, and other private property, and of the many gifts and legacies which he received. The great sums which Augustus controlled enabled him to provide lavishly for public buildings, roads, and public entertainment without prejudice to the essential requirements of the state, and to leave a well-filled treasury to his successor.

Direct taxes, as before, were exacted only from non-citizens in the provinces, in the form of a land tax, with a poll tax for landless men whose income was derived from industry or commerce. These taxes were now reckoned in terms of fixed annual payments which were based in most provinces on a census taken at convenient intervals.

Indirect taxes, on which Augustus chiefly depended to increase the internal revenue, seem to have been still farmed out to equestrians on a contractual basis. These imposts included a 1% tax on market sales throughout the empire, a 4% tax on manumission of slaves, and one of 5% on substantial inheritances, except those from close relations. Indirect taxes were paid by both citizens and provincials, except the inheritance tax, to which Roman citizens alone were subject.

#### THE EQUESTRIAN ORDER

The Roman capitalists were more than compensated for the restriction of their opportunities for extortion in the provinces, by the creation of a definite equestrian official career in fields not preempted by the senate. The equestrian order was as clearly defined as the senatorial, with a lower property qualification. Like the senatorial order, it became a hereditary group, additions to which were made only by the princeps. The salaried offices open to the knights included military commands below the senatorial grade, financial posts throughout the empire, curatorships in various civil commissions and prefectures in certain districts brought under Roman control by Augustus. The prefects of the city-watch, the grain supply, and the *prætorian* guard, three of the chief officials in Rome, were all knights,

as was the prefect of Egypt, whose position was of paramount importance in the imperial administration. Thus the old conflict of the orders was ended by the creation of an equestrian service which fully utilized the ability and experience of Roman businessmen without infringing on senatorial prerogative.

### THE FREEDMEN

During the late republic many slaves, chiefly of Greek or oriental origin, had been granted their freedom. Roman custom, contrary to Greek practice, recognized these freedmen as potential citizens whose sons would have the franchise, while their grandsons, during the empire, were often admitted to the equestrian and senatorial orders. Augustus tried to reduce this infiltration of alien elements by restricting manumission. Freedmen could serve in the fleet and in the cohorts of the watch in Rome, where the local offices of the wards were also open to them. Wealthy freedmen became priests in the municipal cults of the Genius of Augustus, and their sons were admitted to candidacy for magistracies in the Italian towns.

### THE CITY OF ROME

From 19 B.C., when Augustus returned from a tour of the eastern provinces, he gave much of his attention to the city of Rome. Fourteen administrative regions were formed, which included land across the Tiber not formerly counted as part of the city. These regions were supervised by the tribunes and *ædiles*. Efficient police and fire protection was provided by the seven cohorts of the watch (*Vigiles*) under a prefect; each cohort of 500 men was assigned to two regions. Disorder and rioting were suppressed by the three city cohorts of 1000 men each, under the city prefect, who took charge of the city in the absence of the princes.

The city was further divided into 265 wards, in which local activities were managed by wardmasters chosen from freedmen and plebeians alike. Each had its own altar for the worship of the Lares and the Genius of Augustus; thus the old divinities of the crossroads and the spirit of the princes were united to foster loyalty to the new régime and a sense of unity among the residents of the city. The link between the princes and the people was strengthened by careful regulation of the grain dole. Since it proved unwise to abolish the free distribution of grain, which had been greatly extended since Cæsar's death, Augustus reduced the number of pensioners to 200,000 and rigidly controlled the method of distribution.

Augustus gratified the people by lavish spectacles paid for from the privy purse, in addition to those provided in the official calendar. Stone theatres and a permanent amphitheatre were built. Agrippa, who was the emperor's chief assistant in domestic undertakings as well as in war, built

the first public baths in the city. The paternalism of Augustus thus offered the Romans some compensations for the diminution of political activity, although it emphasized the transition from citizens to proletariat.

Agrippa took charge of the water supply; he built a new aqueduct to supply the Campus Martius and his baths, and gradually gathered a large corps of trained slaves to maintain the aqueducts and the distribution of water through public and private outlets. The work of controlling the Tiber floods and regulating the channel of the river was seriously undertaken, but no standing commission was set up until after Augustus' death.

The risk of food shortage was greatly reduced by the creation of a permanent official, the prefect of the grain supply, who was responsible for the shipping and storage of adequate amounts of grain from the provinces, and for curbing the greed of private dealers. The maintenance and repair of public streets and edifices were also provided for. Augustus' actual building program was limited to public structures, but a salutary measure restricted buildings to a height of 60 feet, and thus afforded some relief in crowded tenement districts.

#### SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Augustus was seriously alarmed by the decline of the birthrate among the upper classes, and by the prevalence of divorce. He sought to restore the stricter standards of earlier days by a series of laws which penalized unmarried and childless men and gave special privileges to parents who had three or more children. The enforcement of these laws, however, was vitiated by grants of exemption, and their chief result was to encourage the vicious practices of informers who were rewarded by a portion of the fines exacted.

#### THE REVIVAL OF RELIGION

Augustus' attempts to restore religious ceremonies to their former importance were more successful, for the civil wars had produced a reaction against current skepticism. Even those who did not accept the new era as proof of the gods' special care for Rome acknowledged that belief in the gods was expedient for the state. As head of the Roman priesthood,<sup>4</sup> Augustus restored the ruined temples and revived the old religious brotherhoods and the festivals of the early calendar with their scrupulous ritual. The most notable revival was that of the Secular Games, an ancient festival of the underworld gods held every 100 years, which was celebrated in 17 B.C. Augustus transformed the old ceremonies, however, to make them appropriate to the worship of his favorite deities, Apollo and Diana.

<sup>4</sup> Since Lepidus had been elected pontifex maximus Augustus did not officially assume that office until Lepidus' death in 12 B.C.

## THE BUILDINGS OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE

Augustus' building program filled the city with reminders of the domestic and imperial policies of the princeps and of the glories of the Julian house. More than eighty temples in the city were rebuilt and new ones were added. The beauty of the Greek temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which was flanked by libraries for the public use, survives only in the enthusiastic praise of contemporary poets. The temple of Mars the Avenger in the Forum of Augustus has fared better. It was built in the stately Italian fashion on a high foundation, with handsome Corinthian columns. The Forum of Augustus was entered by monumental arches and adorned with statues of Roman generals; here important military ceremonies were performed.

Cæsar's forum with the temple of Venus, the goddess-mother of the Julian house, was completed, as were the other buildings begun by the dictator. The upper end of the old Forum was now dominated by the temple of the deified Julius, and the beautiful shrine of Castor near it was the gift of Tiberius, the stepson and successor of Augustus. The Julian basilica, ruined by fire soon after its completion, was rebuilt in honor of the emperor's grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Cæsar. His nephew Marcellus was commemorated by a stone theatre near the Tiber.

In the Campus Martius, near Pompey's theatre, Agrippa built his public baths and the Pantheon, a temple in honor of Mars and Venus, the ancestral gods of the Julian clan.<sup>5</sup> Near the great road which led north from the city, an obelisk brought from Egypt was erected, and among the porticoes which helped to transform this once desolate region into a monumental centre was one decorated with a painted map of the world. In this section Augustus built a family mausoleum in the style of the old Etruscan tombs. Here also the famous altar of the Augustan Peace was erected by the senate in 9 B.C.

## AUGUSTAN SCULPTURE

The sculptured decorations of the wall about this altar worthily symbolize the reign of Augustus. The emperor and priests, grave senators and magistrates, the imperial family and the Roman people move in a stately procession, relieved of possible monotony by individual characterization and by the delightful rendering of childish figures in the throng (Plate 51). The reliefs at the entrance to the inner precinct recalled Augustus' interest in the preservation of Roman religious traditions, while allegorical figures and the delicate acanthus scrolls with flowers, swans, and bees symbolized his care for the prosperity of the Italian countryside.

<sup>5</sup> The present Pantheon was built by Hadrian, but bears the dedicatory inscription of its original founder, Agrippa.

The extant portraits of Augustus are more idealized than those of earlier Romans, but his individual characteristics are not lost in the majesty of the emperor (Plate 50a). Basilicas, porticoes, theatres, and fora, and the palaces and villas of the nobles gave ample opportunity for portrait sculpture and carved reliefs, and for wall paintings and mosaics of many types.

Among the lesser media which artists used to express the leading concepts of the new age were engraved gems and beautifully wrought cups and salvers of gold and silver, as well as the imperial coinage. (Reading List 76)

### ITALY

The total population of Italy, which now included the former province of Cisalpine Gaul, probably amounted to about 15,000,000. The city of Rome, with a million residents, included a larger proportion of the inhabitants of Italy than it does today. The peninsula was divided into eleven districts for convenience in administration, but the actual government was vested in several hundred municipalities. The union of Rome and Italy was increased by the opportunities for able townsmen in the senatorial and equestrian orders. Italy performed a notable service to the empire by furnishing the centurions who were responsible for the training and discipline of the legions, together with the greater part of the legionary soldiers. A standing commission was appointed to provide for the maintenance of communications, and roads and bridges were constructed by the joint interest of the emperor and local magistrates.

### THE IMPERIAL DEFENSE

The standing army consisted of about 25 citizen legions with an equal number of cavalry and light infantry in the auxiliary troops which were enlisted in the provinces and allied states, making a total of not more than 300,000. When we consider that the total population of the Roman world was probably about 50,000,000 at this time, that many parts of the empire had only recently been brought under Roman control, and that the frontier was a long one in proportion to the area enclosed, it becomes clear that the comparatively small size of the army implied confidence in the peaceful control of the provinces, and careful planning of foreign campaigns. The greater part of the army was stationed near the Rhine and Danube, with substantial forces in Spain and Egypt. There were few troops in Asia Minor and Syria. Regular soldiers were enlisted for a term of 20 years, and the auxiliaries for 25; the military efficiency made possible by this long term enlistment compensated to some extent for the small size of the army in comparison with the vast territory which it guarded. A substantial bonus at the end of the term enabled veterans to purchase farm land or establish themselves in business. Many settled in the provinces

where they had served. The legions developed a corporate personality which, together with the conditions of service under the central command of the emperor, fostered loyalty to him and pride in the empire.

The prætorian troops who formed the emperor's bodyguard were a privileged force with higher pay and a shorter term of enlistment than the regular army. Three cohorts of 1000 men each were stationed in Rome, and six more in neighboring districts.

Rome now at last had a standing fleet, which prevented piracy in the Mediterranean but had no rival navy to combat. The chief stations of the fleet were at Misenum and Ravenna; supplementary flotillas provided transport on the Rhine and Danube.

### THE AUGUSTAN FRONTIER

Augustus' reforms in taxation and administration affected chiefly the provinces directly under his control. The full benefit of the new imperial régime was not felt until later, though the empire as a whole benefited greatly by the restoration of peace and order and by freedom from irregular exactions. All the new provinces annexed during Augustus' reign were assigned to his control, and Cilicia, Sardinia, and Illyricum were transferred to him for military reasons, while Narbonese Gaul, which was rapidly becoming Romanized, was handed over to the authority of the senate. Otherwise, the division of 27 B.C. was retained. The formal control of the eastern Mediterranean states had been completed by Antony's creation of the Greek province of Achæa and Augustus' annexation of Egypt.

The frontier policy of Augustus was not based on a single consistent theory, but it tended as a whole toward the establishment of definite and defensible boundaries. His conduct of eastern affairs is significant. Hostilities in Armenia gave ample pretext for the long-deferred eastern wars which the Romans eagerly advocated as a source of wealth and glory, but Augustus instead assigned to Tiberius, in 20 B.C., the task of enthroning a loyal vassal of Rome in Armenia and obtaining by peaceful means the surrender of the Roman prisoners still held in Parthia and the legionary standards captured at Carrhæ. Roman honor was thus vindicated, though the conflict of Roman and Parthian interests in Armenia was by no means settled.

Campaigns against the unruly tribes of the Balkans began during the triumvirate, and resulted in the reorganization of Illyria as the imperial province of Dalmatia. Unsettled districts in the Alps were subdued and organized as prefectures under military authority. The Cantabrians and other rebellious peoples in northwestern Spain were finally brought under Roman control, and Galatia, so long the centre of disorders in Asia Minor, was organized as a province. Cæsar's conquest of Gaul had been so thor-

ough that little military action was needed to enable Augustus to complete its provincial organization.

A long-standing threat to the security of Italy and the Balkan peninsula was destroyed by annexing the lands south of the Danube, which became the provinces of Rætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Mœsia. These extensive conquests were chiefly the work of Augustus' stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus. In A.D. 6 a rebellion in Pannonia, which had been the most difficult section to subdue, threatened to destroy the new frontier, but was suppressed by the prompt action of Tiberius.

The plan of annexing the land between the Rhine and Elbe was closely associated with that of the Danube frontier. Drusus' campaigns in Germany, from 12 B.C. to his death three years later, were continued by Tiberius with great success in spite of the opposition of Maroboduus, the strong king of Marcomanni in Bohemia. But the premature attempt of the governor Quintilius Varus to introduce Roman taxation and courts precipitated a widespread revolt some years later. Arminius, who led the attack on Varus' forces, combined Roman military training with a heroic personality and an ardent desire for German freedom. In A.D. 9 he trapped the Roman legions in the Teutoberg Forest and practically annihilated them. Augustus sent Tiberius and his nephew Germanicus, the son of Drusus, to restore Roman control along the Rhine, but the project of far-reaching conquest east of the river was completely abandoned.

### THE AUGUSTAN PEACE

On three occasions in Augustus' reign, peace prevailed throughout the empire, and the gates of the temple of Janus, which always stood open in time of war, were ceremonially closed.<sup>6</sup> Yet these were brief interludes in the campaigns on the frontiers, and the peace which the Roman poets praised and which the Altar of the Augustan Peace fitly symbolized consisted in the cessation of civil strife and the loyalty and security of the provinces. For the Augustan theory of Rome's mission was "to rule the nations with authority, to crown peace with law, to spare those who surrender and subdue those who refuse to yield."<sup>7</sup> (Reading List 89)

### AUGUSTAN LITERATURE

The reign of Augustus ranks with the Periclean and Elizabethan Ages as an outstanding example of the coincidence of great literature with national achievement. The masterpieces of Augustan literature defy brief analysis, and are too universal in appeal to require it. The interest of

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<sup>6</sup> This ceremony had taken place only twice before since the founding of the city, a striking reminder of the constant wars in which the Roman people were engaged.

<sup>7</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 851-853.

Augustus and his friend Mæcenas, the most generous patron of the arts, was merely accessory to the work of men of genius, with their compelling conviction of Rome's destiny, and their perfect development of the Latin language as a vehicle for poetry and prose.

Virgil and Livy, both natives of northern Italy, expressed most fully the spirit of the age. The *Eclogues* of Virgil gave the pastoral themes of the Hellenistic poets an Italian setting; the most famous of them borrowed the phraseology of oriental prophecies of the Prince of Peace for its picture of the new golden age. The *Georgics* present the labors of farm and vineyard, stockraising and beekeeping, as subjects of epic quality and poetic beauty. The *Æneid* expresses the final greatness of the Roman power through the tale of the arduous voyages of Æneas, his wars in Italy, and his settlement at Alba Longa, from which the city on the Tiber ultimately sprang. Livy chose to chronicle in prose the whole course of Roman expansion and political development from its legendary origins to his own time. Much of his work is lost, but what remains, in spite of the inadequacy of his information and of his critical judgment at some points, and his partiality for his theme, justified its use by later classical historians as the chief authority on the Roman past. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus the Sicilian presented the history of Rome to Greek readers, the former in a scholarly work on *Roman Antiquities*, the latter in a universal history compiled laboriously from the works of abler writers. Strabo summed up the physical features, legends, resources, and local characteristics of all parts of the known world in his *Geography*, for which he drew on the information gathered in Agrippa's surveys of the empire.

Among the many poets of the period, Ovid wrote with lucidity and grace a wide variety of poems which reflect many aspects of contemporary society, from the revival of old religious customs to the modern art of love. His most famous work, the *Metamorphoses*, is a comprehensive collection of classical myths, lightly handled with picturesque characterization and description, and woven together by a slender thread of narrative. Among the writers of lyric and satire, Horace is deservedly the most famous; his "golden mediocrity" has aroused a sense of kinship in many readers, and has made him the most familiar and genial of ancient writers; his serious and frivolous comments on men and manners illuminate other ages as well as his own. (Reading List 75)

#### THE DEIFIED AUGUSTUS

Augustus died in A.D. 14. As trustee and guardian of the Roman people, he composed an inventory of the empire, its provinces, troops, and resources, with a record of his deeds for the judgment of posterity. This account was inscribed on bronze tablets which were set up at the entrance to his tomb in Rome. It was widely copied, and our present knowledge of its content

is derived chiefly from an inscription on the walls of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Angora in Asia Minor. The sum of his achievements, as recorded in his own survey and in the minds of his fellow-citizens, left no doubt that the principate must continue.

The choice of a successor had been made difficult by an unkind fate. Augustus had no son; his beloved nephew Marcellus lived only a short time after he was chosen as Augustus' heir; Agrippa also died long before the emperor, as did Drusus, one of his stepsons, and Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, the sons of Agrippa and Augustus' daughter Julia. Tiberius, the surviving son of the emperor's wife Livia by her former husband, was an experienced and able general who had also served his apprenticeship in civil administration. His personality weakened the confidence that his training and ability might have inspired, and his cooperation with Augustus was interrupted by a long period of estrangement, but there was no alternative to his succession if the danger of civil war was to be averted by the continued rule of the Julian dynasty, to which Tiberius belonged by his adoption from his father's Claudian house, and his marriage with Julia.

Augustus had steadfastly refused divine honors, though he sanctioned the erection of temples to Rome and Augustus in the provinces and even in Italy, and encouraged the cult of his genius in Rome itself. At his death, however, it was inevitable that the senate should declare him a god. The cult of the deified Augustus, with that of the deified Julius, was a potent reminder of the divine character of the Roman power. The worship of the deified emperors, whose earthly rule had ceased, thus became an established element in imperial theory. (Reading List 64)

## XXVII

### THE RULERS OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

*The emperor is the bond that holds the commonwealth together: he is the vital force for many thousands who will become an inert mass, fit only to be despoiled, if his imperial intelligence be removed.*

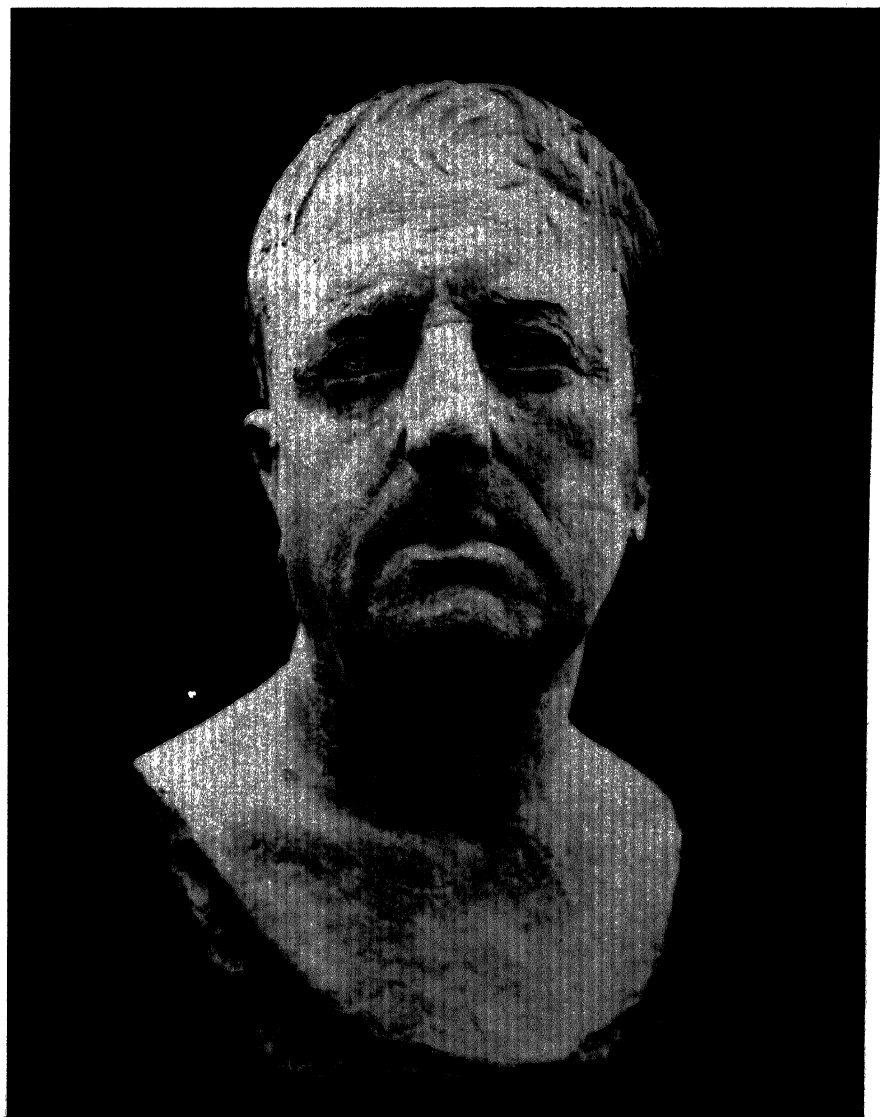
—Seneca

PRIOR TO THE ROMAN supremacy, the great powers of the ancient world were governed by kings. The many small states of the Near East knew no mean between monarchy and anarchy; the Cappadocians had once refused Rome's offer of freedom and democracy, since they could not conceive of a stable government without a king. The Hellenistic monarchies accustomed the Hellenic city-states to the idea of kingship, and the chiefs of the Gauls, Germans, and other western tribes assumed royal style whenever their power grew great enough to warrant it. The Roman republic was thus an incomprehensible phenomenon to the majority of its subjects. The principate of Augustus, however its constitutional basis might be interpreted at Rome, was of decisive importance to the public order of the Mediterranean world which, through it, came under the authority of a single sovereign. Regal traditions throughout the Roman Empire emphasized the monarchical character of the principate and aided in the subordination of the republican elements in the new constitution, whether the princeps wished it or not. The opposition to the Cæsars was confined to the senatorial faction at Rome itself.

The succession to the principate was therefore of vital importance in the imperial administration, and the formation of a dynasty on which the loyalties of the most diverse elements could be focussed offered the best safeguard for imperial unity, though anti-monarchical traditions in Rome itself delayed the formulation of an express principle of hereditary rule. For over fifty years after the death of Augustus, the emperors were chosen because of their descent from him or from his wife Livia and her former husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero. Both the Julian and the Claudian families ended with the death of the emperor Nero in A.D. 68.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The emperor Tiberius was the son of Livia, and a Julian only by adoption. Gaius was a member of both families, since his father Germanicus was son of Tiberius' brother Drusus and his mother was Agrippina, daughter of Augustus' daughter Julia and Agrippa. Claudius was Germanicus' brother. Nero, like Gaius, combined the Julian and Claudian lines, as son of Germanicus' daughter, the younger Agrippina.



Roman Portrait in terra cotta, 1st century B.C.

*Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

PLATE 49

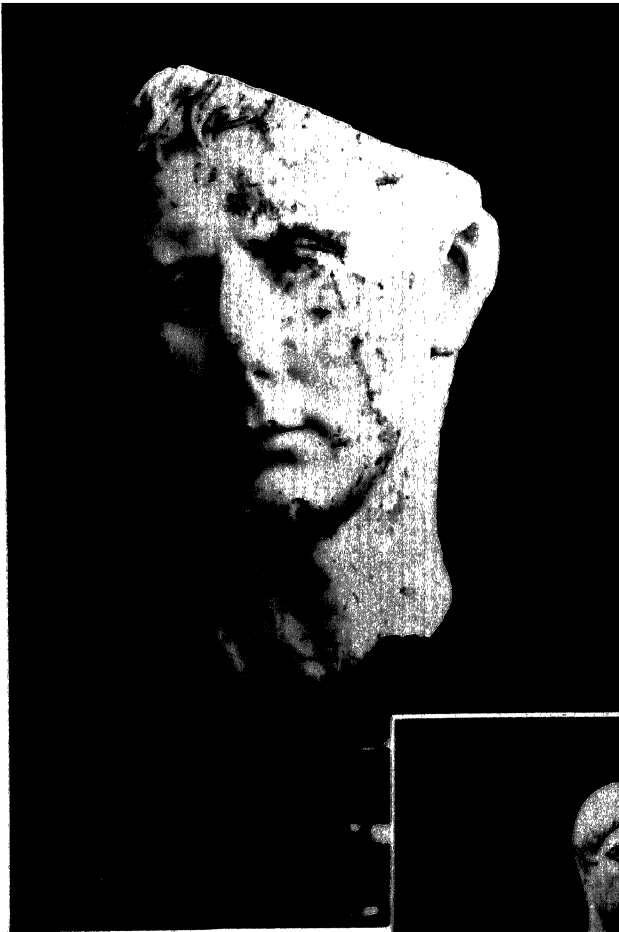
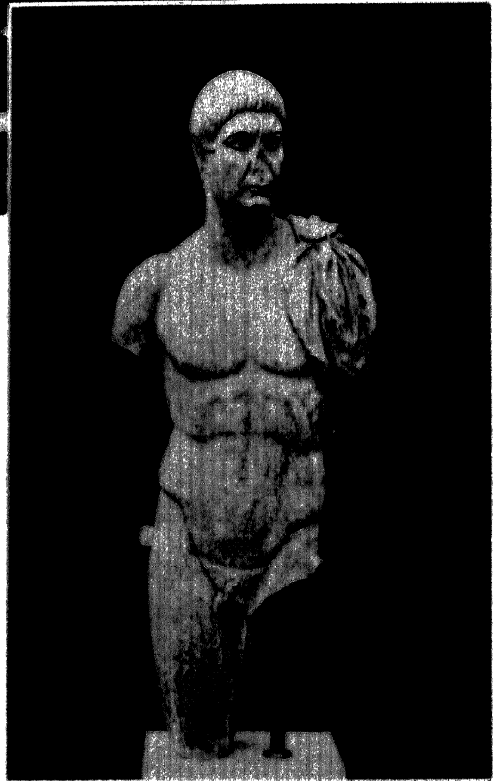


PLATE 50

a: Augustus

*Courtesy of the Museum  
of Fine Arts, Boston*



b: Trajan

*Courtesy of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek,  
Copenhagen*



Relief from the Altar of Augustan Peace, showing Roman priests and members of the Imperial Family

Uffizi, Florence

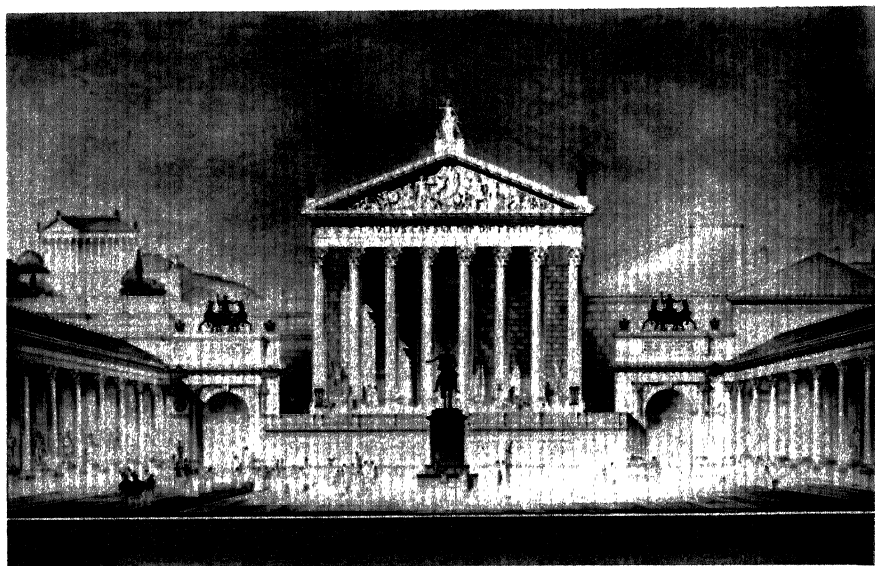
*Photograph Alinari*



The 'Great Cameo of France': Tiberius and Livia enthroned, surrounded by members of the imperial family. Above, the Deified Augustus and Drusus; below, barbarian captives

*From Furtwängler, Antike Gemmen; Courtesy of Giesecke and Devrient, Leipzig*

## PLATE 52



a: The Forum of Cæsar, restoration by Olindo Grossi  
*Courtesy of the American Academy in Rome*

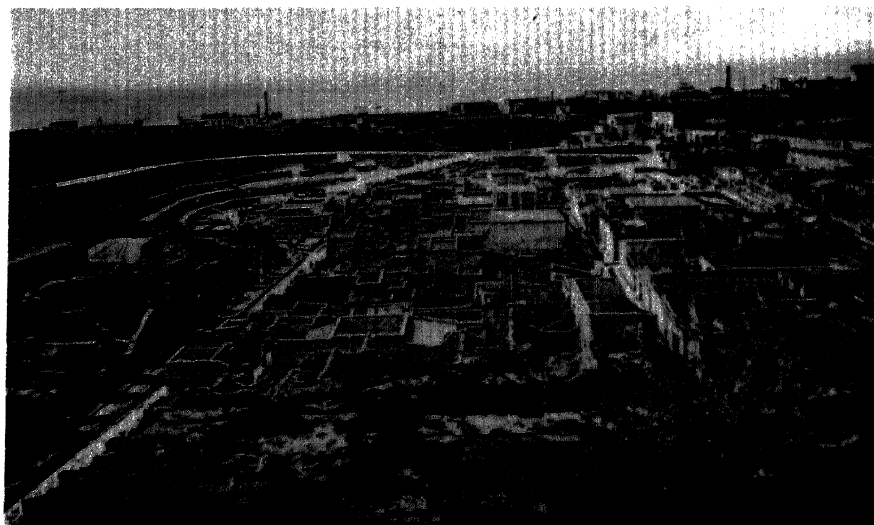


b: The Market of Trajan  
*Photograph Alinari*

PLATE 53



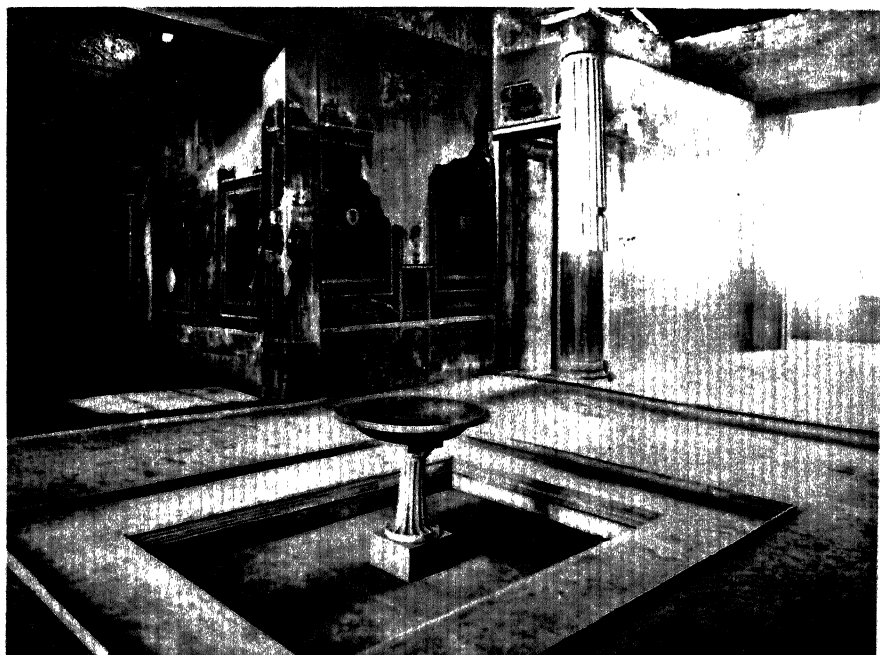
a: Relief from the Column of Trajan: Roman soldiers loading their boats on the Danube; in the background a Roman city with temples, arches, and amphitheatre



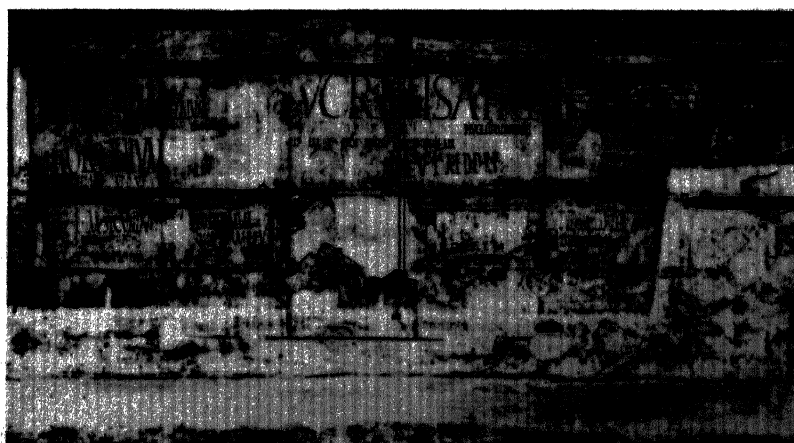
b: General View of the Ruins of Herculaneum

## PLATE 54

*Photographs Alinari*



a: Interior of the 'House of Menander'



b: Campaign Notices on house-fronts in Street of the Amphitheatre

PLATE 55. POMPEII

*Photographs Alinari*

PLATE 56

OSTIA



a: Apartment Houses

b: A Lunch Stand

*Photographs by C. E. Bennett*



c: Mosaic with Trademark of a Corporation

*Photograph by E. Richter, Rome*

A year of civil war ensued, and no lasting dynasty was established thereafter for many generations; few emperors had sons to succeed them. In the absence of a dynasty, the imperial succession was a serious problem. According to custom, either the prætorian guard at Rome or the legionary soldiers conferred the title of *Imperator* on the new ruler by acclamation; a decree of the senate, formally ratified by the comitia, was then required to confer constitutional authority upon him. Thus the selection and inauguration of the emperor depended on two opposing factions—the city of Rome, with its many cross-currents of local politics and intrigue, and the army, with its growing corporate consciousness and its increasing detachment from Rome and even from Italy. Individual emperors, however, might choose associates whom they designated as their successors by granting them the imperium and tribunician power; these coadjutors usually succeeded to the throne without opposition. The powers and titles which the senate conferred on each new ruler were based on those of his chief predecessors, while the emperors themselves, like the republican magistrates of earlier Roman times, consulted precedent in their administrative edicts. The lack of dynastic continuity was further offset by the growth of the imperial cult through the deification of worthy rulers after their death and the increasing tendency to grant divine honors to living emperors. (Plate 52: Reading List 64)

#### SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

The historians who wrote of the early empire were primarily interested in “high politics” at the capital and in military achievements. They denounced or praised an emperor according to their judgment of the impact of his policies upon the leading families of Rome itself. Tacitus, the chief historian of the period, emerged from the reign of Vespasian’s son Domitian with a bitter resentment of tyranny which colored his estimates of earlier rulers. His *Annals* and *Histories*, of which considerable portions are lost, covered the Julio-Claudian period and the year of civil war which followed. Though his interest was centred on Rome, and on the relations of princeps and senate, he was much concerned about the peoples in the border provinces and outside the empire, but his histories throw comparatively little light on imperial administration. Suetonius, who as one of Hadrian’s secretaries had access to the official archives, wrote a series of biographies of the twelve Cæsars from the dictator to Domitian. These memoirs deal chiefly with affairs in the city of Rome, well spiced with scandalous gossip.

For the later emperors, beginning with Hadrian, there is a series of biographies known as the *Augustan History*, written probably in the fourth century of our era, with a definitely propagandist purpose. Though far inferior to the works of Tacitus and Suetonius, these lives include more material on the lower classes and the provinces. (Reading List 50)

In general, however, our study of imperial policies and of conditions in the empire as a whole, depends on the many inscriptions, coins, medals, and sculptured monuments which have come down to us, eked out by passing references in the works of historians, biographers, and poets, and in the encyclopædic *Natural History* written by Pliny the Elder in the time of Nero and Vespasian. The bulk of monumental evidence is being steadily increased by new discoveries.

#### TIBERIUS: A.D. 14-37

Tiberius succeeded Augustus at the age of 56, after long experience as general in the northern wars. Since he already held the imperium, he assumed command of the army at once, but left to the senate the responsibility for transferring the civil authority to him. They set the stamp of permanence on the principate by granting him imperium and tribunician power for life, instead of the successive limited terms on which Augustus' tenure had rested.

Tiberius modelled his government closely on that of Augustus. He brought to his task full knowledge of the empire and the armies and sound administrative capacity, but was handicapped by inability to work with the senate, whose flattery and hostility bred in him contempt, distrust, and some degree of tyranny, however exaggerated the old tradition of the "Tiberian terror" may be. During the early years of his reign, he regularly consulted the senate and urged their active consideration of imperial problems. He transferred the election of magistrates to the senate from the comitia, which now almost ceased to function.

At the beginning of his reign, mutinies broke out among the legions in Dalmatia and on the Rhine, which demanded shorter terms of enlistment and prompt demobilization at the expiration of their service. After these revolts were suppressed, Tiberius' nephew Germanicus conducted indecisive campaigns in Germany, where tribal unity had continued under Arminius since the defeat of Varus, and later in the east, where he seems to have taken Antony as his model. Since Germanicus was far more popular than the morose emperor, his achievements were exaggerated, and his sudden death led to rumors that he had been poisoned at Tiberius' behest.

No further aggression was undertaken in spite of provocation from Parthia, since Tiberius held that the army was sufficient only to protect the existing frontiers, and could not be enlarged except by admitting undesirable volunteers. The Rhineland was organized in two military districts, Upper and Lower Germany, and Cappadocia, long a client-kingdom, became a province. Aside from a brief rising in Gaul and difficulties with the Berbers in Numidia, there was general peace.

Provincial administration was closely supervised. Districts which suffered from local catastrophes were given immediate aid and temporary relief

from taxation, and many roads were built in the west. The provinces thus benefited by the diligent watchfulness and moderate paternalism of the emperor.

In Rome, however, the breach between the princeps and the senate increased, until in A.D. 26 Tiberius withdrew to the island of Capri in the Bay of Naples, leaving the city prefect in authority over Rome, while the prætorian prefect Sejanus acted for the emperor in the senate and the imperial household. Tiberius seldom left Capri thereafter, and although his companions were sober scholars and philosophers whose worst vice seems to have been over-absorption in astrology, his absence bred suspicion and hatred, and scandalous tales were circulated at Rome. The growing power of Sejanus, whose prætorian cohorts were quartered in a permanent camp on the outskirts of the city, increased antagonism to the current régime. When Tiberius' son Drusus died, Sejanus was suspected of plotting to get rid of the whole imperial family in order to take the throne himself. In A.D. 31, the emperor gave him proconsular imperium, but was soon persuaded of his guilt, whether justly or not, and ordered his arrest and execution.

During his last years Tiberius was obsessed by the dread of treason and the senators by the fear of condemnation. The vile trade of the informers flourished and many men were brought to trial, though few were condemned, and those few, apparently, with justice. The imperial administration does not seem to have been adversely affected, but in Rome hostility to the princeps grew apace, and his death was greeted as the end of a reign of terror. The senate refused to deify him, and welcomed the accession of his grandnephew Gaius, who soon had Tiberius' grandson and sole direct heir put to death.

#### GAIUS: A.D. 37-41

Gaius,<sup>2</sup> the one surviving son of Germanicus, inherited his father's popularity with the people and soldiers. The joy with which the city and provinces hailed the accession of the new prince was increased by his lavish grants of pardons, games, donatives, and reduction of taxes, which would have emptied the treasury even without his more grandiose schemes. But his hatred of the senate and the pressing need of money, after the surplus funds left by the economical Tiberius were exhausted, soon led to renewal of accusations and trials and to widespread confiscations. Gaius' natural conceit and love of power may have been increased by association with oriental princelings, who were brought up in the house of his grandmother Antonia. He ruled without reference to the senate, rejecting the Augustan

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<sup>2</sup> The nickname Caligula, "Little Boots," given him in childhood by his father's soldiers, is often substituted for his real name.

theory, and calling himself Master and God. Many stories are told of his fantastic schemes for building and conquest. There is little sober history in the accounts of his reign, but we know that in four years he exhausted the financial resources of the state, stirred up bitter hatred among the Jews, and caused a serious insurrection in the friendly kingdom of Mauretania, while he gave lavish favors to the princes on the eastern frontiers. The senate was servile during his lifetime, but rejoiced when a prætorian killed him.

#### CLAUDIUS: A.D. 41-54

Germanicus' brother Claudius, a man of sound learning and clear judgment, but physically deformed and inept in personal contacts, had reached the age of 51 with no expectation of honor. But the prætorians hailed him as emperor after the murder of Gaius, and he acceded to their demand for a substantial donative. The senate conferred the imperial power on him at the instance of the guard. He gained the loyalty of the provincials and the legions, but not of the senate or knights. At home he was dominated by a group of powerful freedmen, who organized efficient administrative bureaus but trafficked shamelessly in appointments and the franchise. The last two of his four wives, the wanton Messalina and the imperious Agrippina, were equally unscrupulous.

Claudius reduced the powers of the senate somewhat, but was careful to consult them on matters within their scope and held them to conscientious performance of their duties. His constructive work was far more lasting than the scandals which he permitted in his court. His building program was extensive and practical, in contrast with the showy schemes of Gaius. Two new aqueducts increased the water supply of Rome, roads were repaired or built in Italy and the provinces, and the harbor at Ostia was greatly improved. The draining of the Fucine Lake turned the plague-spot of Italy into good farmland. His administrative decisions were equally sound.

Claudius undertook to bridge the gap between Romans and the more Romanized of the provincials by lavish but discriminating grants of citizenship, especially in Gaul, his birthplace. He also gave the aristocracy of Lugdunum (the modern Lyons), the chief city of Gaul, the right to hold office in Rome. He founded colonies in the frontier provinces of the west, and in Syria and Asia Minor many towns took his name as that of their second founder.

He completed the provincial organization of the Mediterranean lands by annexing Mauretania and Thrace, both of which were client-kingdoms in which trouble had arisen during the reign of Gaius. The annexation of southern Britain in 43 was a deliberate act of aggression, since the island had remained outside the Roman sphere since Cæsar's invasion a century earlier. The new province was rapidly settled by tradesmen and landholders

from the continent, but the enmity of independent tribes required a substantial army of occupation and gradual extension of the Roman territory.

Claudius died in 54, poisoned, it was said, by Agrippina, who could wait no longer for the accession of her seventeen-year-old son, Tiberius Claudius Nero. The senate reluctantly enrolled Claudius among the deified rulers, and applauded the mockery of Seneca's satire on his reception by his brother-gods. They resented his encroachment on their privileges, the power of his freedmen, and the suggestion of autocracy in the honors which they had been forced to grant his family, and they never forgot that he had been the butt of the palace. But their successors recognized that he was the first emperor after Augustus who contributed substantially to the growth of the imperial institutions and of centralized administration.

### NERO: A.D. 54-68

The poets' prophecies of a golden age at Nero's accession seemed to be fulfilled during the early years of his reign, when his decisions were directed by the prætorian prefect Burrus and the philosopher Seneca, his tutor. Agrippina's endeavors to dominate proved her undoing, and Nero's independent rule began inauspiciously in 59 with the murder of his mother. Burrus died within three years, Seneca's tutelage was abandoned for the advice of worthless favorites, and the senate experienced again the oppression of an irresponsible ruler. The emperor dealt lavishly with the city mob, who delighted in his extravagant spectacles. When a fire destroyed the greater part of Rome, Nero replanned the city on more modern lines, but appropriated so much land for the buildings and pleasure-grounds of his "Golden House," that men complained that the whole capital had been absorbed into this one dwelling.

Nero was accused of having set fire to the city to clear the space for his palaces; the fire was almost certainly accidental, but the surest way to quiet the unpleasant rumors was to fix the guilt elsewhere. A convenient scapegoat was found in the obscure sect of Christians, whose religious and social practices differed so much from those of their neighbors that charges against them would readily be believed. Nero knew little and cared less about Christianity, and the burning of the condemned Christians in his gardens on the Vatican Hill was counted in the early history of the Church as a tragic episode and not as an actual persecution.

It seems impossible to credit Nero with any real grasp of imperial problems or any consecutive direction of Roman policy. Through the excellent work of his subordinates, however, definite progress was made in the control of the east, especially in the reorganization of the Black Sea district and in relations with Parthia. War was provoked in 54 by the aggression of the Arsacid ruler Vologases, who disregarded Roman suzerainty in Armenia and put his own candidate on the throne there. Corbulo conducted the

Roman campaign with vigor and ability, though he was hampered by the conflict of his policies with Nero's ideas, and by the utter incompetence of a general who replaced him for a time at the emperor's wish; eventually Corbulo was forced to commit suicide. In 63, however, a workable compromise was reached which satisfied Nero's love of power and display, and gave occasion for an elaborate pageant in Rome when Tiridates, the Parthian candidate for the Armenian throne, received his crown from Nero.

The rule of an emperor with no military experience and no real interest in provincial questions fostered rebellion in the empire. A national rising broke out in Britain under Boudicca, queen of a prominent tribe. The Roman towns on the island, including London, were sacked, and 70,000 Romans are said to have been massacred—a significant indication of the rapidity with which men flocked to newly acquired territories, and the animosity that Roman tax-gatherers could arouse. A Jewish rising, far more difficult to suppress, gained strength through the activities of the Zealots, whose religious and nationalistic fanaticism overcame the arguments of moderate leaders that their gains from the Roman peace more than compensated for taxation and the oppression of occasional unjust governors.

Nero's real interest was in the arts, for which he so admired the Greeks. He demanded prizes and unstinted praise for his mediocre performances in music, acting, and poetry, and his single visit to the provinces was the tour of a travelling artist rather than of an emperor. He instituted Greek games in the west, and made the lavish gesture of freeing Greece from provincial burdens, but none the less exacted heavy contributions during his visits to the Greek cities. He posed as Apollo, Heracles, or the incarnate Sun according to his fancy.

Thoughtful citizens recognized the danger of such a situation, and conspired, under Piso's leadership, to replace him by a responsible ruler who would govern according to the Stoic principles of kingship. In 65 the conspirators were betrayed and executed; thereafter trials for treason were multiplied both by the emperor's fear and by his need of money.

In 68 Julius Vindex, legate of the largest Gallic province, gained ready support among the Gauls who groaned under the increasing burden of taxation and debt. Galba, the legate of Hither Spain, and others joined in the revolt. Verginius Rufus, commander of Upper Germany, defeated Vindex, but could not prevent the spread of the infection through his own army. His men vainly urged him to assume the imperial title. Galba had fewer scruples; Nero was now generally deserted, and having delayed too long to seek safety in flight, sought death at the hands of a servant. It was rumored that Nero was not dead; mysterious prophecies had long been associated with him, and in years to come several pseudo-Neros gained temporary power in the east. A more persistent delusion was the belief that he would return at some later time to rule the world, an idea which

the Christians adopted when they identified him with Antichrist. (Reading List 90)

### THE YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS: A.D. 68-69

Tacitus drew a gloomy picture of the years from Nero's death to that of Domitian, a time "fertile in disasters, terrible for its conflicts, torn by civil strife and dreadful even in peace," when successes were won only in the east, while earthquakes, fires, and revolts, false condemnations, and the plundering of undisciplined troops destroyed the prosperity of the west.<sup>3</sup>

Galba declared in a public address that the free choice of rulers was a return of liberty, but he himself failed to hold the powers bestowed on him. The troops resented his strictness and parsimony; in January the troops on the Rhine declared for Vitellius, legate of Lower Germany, while the prætorians murdered Galba and gave the throne to Otho. Vitellius' troops defeated Otho at Cremona in April, and sought the rewards of their victory by plundering the Italian towns. Vitellius proved unfit either to rule or to defend his imperial power against the new candidate of the Danubian and Syrian legions, Flavius Vespasian, legate of Judea and commander in the Jewish War.

The events of the year showed the disastrous results of the "fatal secret of the empire, that emperors could be chosen elsewhere than at Rome," but fortune and strategy enabled Vespasian to gain undisputed authority. The Danubian legions marched west and routed the Vitellians in a second battle at Cremona, and then captured and sacked the city of Rome. Vespasian won the allegiance of the eastern governors, and occupied Egypt, thus gaining the control of the chief food supply of Rome, while his brother and his son Domitian established his claims in Italy. Early in the year 70, the new emperor came to Rome. (Reading List 91)

### THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY: A.D. 69-96

Vespasian's power was established by arms, but was legitimized by a comprehensive decree of the senate which conferred on him the powers earlier granted to Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius. These alone among the eight emperors were now accepted as models for the principate.

The new princeps was experienced in military commands, but had not won such distinction as would make the aristocrats of Rome forget that he came from a family of money-lenders in a Sabine town, and had gained patrician standing only as an accessory to the principate. He had no delusions about their attitude; he revived the censorship and admitted enough distinguished citizens of provincial origin to the senate to offset the Roman cliques and give it a decidedly imperial aspect. He confirmed and extended

<sup>3</sup> *Histories* I, 2.

the lavish grants of citizenship made during the year of revolution, especially in Spain, where he gave Latin rights to all communities which were not yet ready for the full franchise. He definitely raised the status of the provinces in relation to Rome, and everywhere encouraged municipal institutions as the basis of Romanization. The increase of citizen communities widened the area of recruiting for the legions. Colonies were established in backward districts to foster the growth of municipal life.

Vespasian's general policy thus accelerated the transformation of Rome from a sovereign city, in which the interests of the local ruling class were dominant, to the administrative centre of the empire, in which local questions were subordinate to the complex problem of imperial rule. The fiction of dual control in the principate was virtually abandoned, but the senators had many functions in the administration. Vespasian's son Domitian held the censorship throughout his reign, and encouraged the use of autocratic titles forbidden by the Augustan theory.

Vespasian was determined that his family should rule after his death; he associated his elder son, Titus, with him in the imperium and tribunician power, while Domitian was given minor posts. Titus, however, ruled for only two years after his father's death in 79, a period too brief to indicate whether the popular prince would have made a wise ruler. Domitian, in spite of his ruthlessness and the hatred which he inspired in the senate, governed for fifteen years before his assassination again opened the question of the succession. Vespasian and Titus were deified, but Domitian's memory was condemned, and his name was removed from all public monuments.

The republican opposition to the principate was revived in a modified form. Though few men now seriously contemplated the restoration of the republic, those who worshipped the memory of Cato the Younger and Brutus sought to increase the power of the senate at the expense of the emperor, counter to the prevailing tendency of the principate. The Stoics commonly opposed any monarchy except that of an enlightened ruler, and itinerant Cynics preached outright anarchy. The growth of the opposition led Vespasian and Domitian, in turn, to banish philosophers from Rome for their subversive teaching. Under Domitian the opposition became an act of conscience to many virtuous men of the old Roman type. Their condemnation established Domitian's ill fame as a ruthless tyrant, the more since the revival of the tribe of informers made free expression of opinion perilous. But these drastic measures reduced the opposition to a harmless tradition, and thus made possible the era of good feeling inaugurated by Domitian's successor.

The patrimony of the Julio-Claudians had been viewed as their family estate; under the new dynasty it became imperial property. By strict economy and new taxes, with a thorough canvass of new sources of revenue, Vespasian restored public finance to a sound basis. He accumulated a surplus

in spite of ample expenditures for the armies and for frontier fortification, and an extensive and practical building program. The Capitoline temple, which had been burned during the recent disorders, was rebuilt, only to be destroyed again in a great fire during Titus' brief reign. Nero's Golden House was partially demolished and its grounds were restored to public use. Here the great Flavian amphitheatre known as the Colosseum was built, and the Baths of Titus. A poet of the period exulted: "Rome has been restored to Rome, and under Cæsar's guardianship the emperor's toy now serves the people's pleasures."<sup>4</sup> Vespasian's residence was simple, but he added a third to the series of imperial fora, and dedicated it to Peace. Domitian, in keeping with his open autocracy, added important structures to the imperial palaces on the Palatine.

#### IMPERIAL PROBLEMS: THE GREAT REVOLTS

The provincial rebellions which the Flavians inherited from their predecessors differed greatly in character. That of the Jews, as we have seen, was essentially a nationalistic and fanatical revolt, not only against Roman oppression but against the adoption of Roman customs; it originated in the constant antagonism of orthodox Jews and their Hellenistic neighbors, especially in Alexandria, and in the criminal folly of Gaius in his dealings with Judea. Vespasian had reduced the country before his return to Rome. Titus finally captured Jerusalem in the year 70 after incredible suffering and heroism on the part of the defenders. Judea was made a province under an imperial legate, and the political community of the Jews was dissolved, although they were still allowed certain immunities in consideration of an annual head tax. The possibility of Parthian support to the rebellious Jews had been a constant danger. The garrisons on the Euphrates frontier were now strengthened, and the remaining client-kingdoms were definitely annexed. With slight exceptions, peace was maintained with Parthia throughout the Flavian period.

Risings in the west began among the Batavian cohorts in Lower Germany who had supported Vespasian against Vitellius and had then sought aid from the free German tribes in open rebellion against Rome. Simultaneous revolts sprang up in eastern Gaul under the leadership of Julius Classicus and Julius Sabinus, who planned a Gallic Empire with its capital at the imperial colony of Trier (Augusta Treverorum). The Rhine legions gave them more support than the Gallic provincials in general, and the two movements were soon fused. The Roman names of the leaders, the Roman character of the coins they issued, and their general adoption of Roman organization show that the rising was nationalist only in their desire for independent rule. The state they planned was Roman, and their

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<sup>4</sup> Martial, *Epigrams* I, 2.

rebellion was not against the supplanting of Celtic by Roman institutions, for that was already a dead issue, but against the tyranny of the Roman officials.

The recent burning of the Capitol gave added weight to current prophecies that the rule of the Gauls would soon replace that of Rome, and the civil war encouraged the Gallic leaders to act while the sovereign power was still enfeebled. Tacitus describes the accusations against Rome as "the common charges brought against great empires," chief among which was the definition of the Roman peace as a wretched slavery. When it became clear that Vespasian's forces were stronger than their own, the Batavians at last accepted their destiny, in the conviction that "no single nation could avert the enslavement of the whole world," and that the alternative to Roman rule was submission to the free German tribes.<sup>5</sup>

### THE ARMY AND THE FRONTIERS

Vespasian replaced the mutinous legions by new units and assigned auxiliary troops to other districts than those in which they were enlisted. He also divided the frontier armies into smaller contingents than before. Under Domitian the soldiers' pay was increased, but the old habit of giving extra bonuses was discontinued, and improvements in frontier forts made it possible to reduce the number of men in active service. A system of frontier roads with forts regularly spaced, or, in less settled districts, an earthen rampart, was inaugurated; this frontier line was called the *limes*. The weak point in the European frontier had been the re-entrant angle between the headwaters of the Danube and the Rhine in the land of the hostile Chatti. The Flavians annexed this district by a series of campaigns, and constructed a frontier road of the new type. The frontier in Britain was also advanced by Julius Agricola and other generals, who conquered Wales and extended the Roman control to the highlands. The Romanization of Britain progressed rapidly during this period after the setback of the revolt in Nero's time.

### THE DACIAN WARS

During Domitian's reign, the Dacian tribes were again united by a strong chieftain, Decebalus, after the lapse of more than a century since Burebista's kingdom broke down. Decebalus attempted to conquer the Roman province of Mœsia in 85, and defeated the troops there in his first invasion. Domitian took command in person with varied fortune, but was forced to make peace in 89, when he was defeated by the Marcomanni, Quadi, and other free tribes on the middle Danube whom Decebalus had incited against Rome. Decebalus agreed to surrender his prisoners and

<sup>5</sup> For Tacitus' vivid account of the revolt, see his *Histories*, Book IV.

accept the nominal suzerainty of Rome in return for two dangerous concessions by Domitian, the assignment to him of Roman military engineers and the payment of an annual subsidy. When the temporary peace ended, Decebalus would be in a better position for war with Rome, but in the meantime Domitian could celebrate his dubious victory and turn his attention to the other necessities of the empire. The peace was execrated in Rome, where the compromise was viewed as an actual defeat, but the past history of tribal unions outside the Roman frontier suggested that the Dacian power might disintegrate before Decebalus was ready to renew his aggression.

Seven years later, Domitian was assassinated by a conspiracy in which his wife and the prætorian prefect took part, and the senate chose Marcus Cocceius Nerva, an elderly senator highly respected in Rome, as his successor. (Reading List 92)

### THE GOOD EMPERORS: A.D. 96-180

Nerva was a distinguished jurist, but lacked experience in handling the soldiers. Consequently he soon chose an able general, Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, as his coadjutor. Nerva's oath not to put any senator to death initiated a new period in the relations of senate and emperor. During the second century the emperors did not claim jurisdiction over the members of the senate. On the other hand, the senators accepted their diminished authority and were satisfied to have imperial legislation and treaties submitted for their formal approval, and to perform the individual services assigned to them. Tacitus voiced the new theory when he asserted that Nerva had united two elements formerly contradictory—imperial rule and liberty:<sup>6</sup> the liberty was that of acquiescence rather than independent action, but there was much sincerity in senatorial panegyrics. The material benefits of acquiescence were not to be overlooked, for the extension of the imperial bureaucracy provided many responsible and lucrative posts for trusted subordinates of the emperors. Providence, or foresight, and eternity became the regular attributes of the Augusti, as they had formerly been of Rome itself.

### TRAJAN: A.D. 98-117

Trajan (Plate 50b), born at Italica in Spain, was the first colonial to hold the imperial title. We have no consecutive record of his reign, but there are many inscriptions and coins, and sculptured monuments corroborate their evidence. The younger Pliny's glowing panegyric of Trajan was paralleled by the Greek rhetorician, Dio Chrysostom, in his *Discourses on Kingship*. In the fourth century the prayers of the senate at the accession of a

<sup>6</sup> *Agricola*, 3.

new emperor included the pious hope that he might be "more fortunate than Augustus, and better than Trajan," and mediæval writers on statecraft chose Trajan as the model of the perfect prince.

His civil administration continued and extended the principles established by Nerva and the best of his predecessors. Popular measures included cancellation of arrears of taxes, some tax reduction, and the extension of a system of rural credits and mothers' pensions initiated by Nerva. In addition to completing Nerva's granaries, he helped to insure the food supply of the capital by new harbor works at Ostia. He carefully supervised the municipal administration and appointed curators for this purpose in Italy. Municipal extravagance was rife in Asia Minor, especially in Bithynia, where some cities were on the verge of bankruptcy. Accordingly, Trajan took over the province from the senate and sent Pliny to govern it as a test case in financial reorganization.

Trajan's reign, however, was especially notable for the great campaigns which resulted from his revival of the policy of breaking down any strong powers which might be formed near the Roman borders.

#### THE CONQUEST OF DACIA: A.D. 101-106

Decebalus had increased his power since his treaty with Domitian. His influence was paramount among the free peoples of the middle Danube; he had established friendly relations with Parthia, and there are indications that Parthian troops aided him in his war with Trajan.

In the war which broke out in 101, Trajan, who commanded in person, reduced Decebalus to the status of a vassal liable to military service. A permanent bridge was built across the Danube in token of Roman overlordship. But the great triumph celebrated in Rome proved premature, for in 105 Decebalus again invaded Mœsia. Again he was defeated, and Trajan annexed Dacia. Enormous numbers of Dacians were killed or captured, and most of the survivors were forced out of the country. The new province was resettled by provincials from Asia Minor and other parts of the empire. The land available for the migration and settlements of free peoples was thus greatly reduced at a time when the northern stocks were moving into central and eastern Europe in increasing numbers.

In the same year, the last client-kingdom within the frontier, the land of the Nabatæan Arabs, was transformed into the province of Arabia, which was valuable in connection with eastern trade. Trajan acquired much booty from the Dacian conquest, and the state monopoly of the gold mines in the new province promised a substantial yearly increment, but the strategic value of this outpost of the Roman power north of the old Danube frontier seems to have been the major purpose of the formation of the province of Dacia. The profits of his campaigns enabled Trajan to confer many benefits on the people of Italy, which are commemorated in his monuments, and to

inaugurate an extensive building program. The Forum of Trajan was the last and most magnificent of the imperial fora.

#### THE PARTHIAN WAR: A.D. 114-116

There had been no serious conflict with Parthia since Nero's settlement, though Domitian had planned a campaign. When the Arsacid Osroës renewed Parthian aggression in Armenia, Trajan decided to annex not only that disputed territory, but all Mesopotamia as well. His triumphal march, which recalled that of Alexander, the favorite model of ambitious emperors, led through Armenia, Assyria, and Babylonia to Ctesiphon itself. The Parthian capital was taken and Osroës fled, but revolts broke out in the wake of the Roman army. Trajan's garrisons were massacred, and the superficial conquest had to be abandoned. The Arsacid was free to recover his lands, for a general rebellion of the Jews in the eastern provinces forced Trajan to withdraw his troops even from the frontier fortress of Dura. Risings in Mauretania, Britain, and the Danube provinces forced the emperor to return to the west, but he died in Cilicia on the journey. The army hailed as emperor Publius Ælius Hadrianus, a relative and protégé of Trajan, who had assumed control during Trajan's illness.

#### HADRIAN: A.D. 117-138

Trajan's conquests won the enthusiastic support of imperialists at Rome, but widespread revolts in the provinces while the emperor was engaged in foreign wars counselled a return to emphasis on security and peace. Whether Trajan's expansion was a sounder policy than Hadrian's abandonment of the new acquisitions, in view of general conditions at the time, has been much debated. Hadrian's ardent Hellenism may have contributed to his decision to concentrate on developing a homogeneous culture within the empire instead of incorporating oriental lands.

Armenia was restored to its king as a vassal state and the Euphrates thus once more formed the boundary between Rome and Parthia. Military discipline was restored, and frontier defenses were strengthened, notably in Germany and Rætia where a palisade was built along the line of Domitian's *limes*, and in Britain. Hadrian's massive stone wall from the Tyne to the Solway established the limit of Roman settlement in Britain, though his successor Antoninus built an earthen rampart farther north as an outpost against the unconquered Picts. Though the centurions were still Italian, the legionaries were now recruited chiefly from the provinces in which they were to be quartered, a practice which lessened the burden of military service as well as the friction between soldiers and civilians, but which would be dangerous if local interests conflicted with those of the empire.

The one serious war after the revolts of 117 was a desperate rebellion in Judea in 132. Two years earlier, Hadrian had founded a Roman colony, *Ælia Capitolina*, on the ruined site of Jerusalem, with a temple to Jupiter and the emperor where that of Yahweh had formerly stood. A leader appeared who announced himself as the Messiah who was destined to end this profanation of the holy places and restore his people to sovereign power. After several years of guerrilla warfare with heavy losses, the rebellion was suppressed in 135. Palestine was repopled by neighboring Gentiles, and the Jews became a nation without a state, although their religious privileges were restored by Hadrian's successor.

Much of Hadrian's reign was spent in journeys through the provinces, especially in the Greek lands which he loved. He encouraged the active revival of the institutions of the Greek city-state and the worship of the Olympian gods. He completed the great temple of Zeus which Pisistratus had begun centuries before, added a new quarter to Athens, which enjoyed a revival of prosperity under his patronage, and made many gifts to other Greek cities. The Hellenes repaid the emperor's benefactions by worshipping him as Zeus Panhellenios. Though he accepted identification with many gods, he followed the model set by Augustus in his dealings with the senate. Yet he was never popular with them, and yielded none of the actual powers which his predecessors had usurped.

Hadrian encouraged the growth of cities and confirmed their autonomy; he even held honorary office in various towns. Provincials from the Spanish and Gallic provinces, Africa, and Asia made up an increasing portion of the senate. Private citizens were led to follow the emperor's example by providing funds for buildings, festivals, and local charity. The great secretariships which had developed under Claudius were no longer staffed by the emperor's freedmen, but had an important place among the offices open to equestrians. The efficient organization of these and other equestrian offices which Hadrian added completed the transition from the personal household staff of the first princes to the centralized bureaucracy of the empire at its height.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN LAW

Hadrian's most notable service to the empire was the stimulus he gave to the development of civil law. The emperor was now the supreme source of law and the chief justice of the empire, to whom all citizens had the right of appeal. His legal decisions afforded constant opportunity to enforce and, when necessary, to amend the accepted legal precedents, which were vested primarily in the prætor's edicts, and to create new law by his interpretations. The imperial edicts in Justinian's Code begin with those of Hadrian. He chose eminent jurists for the office of prætorian prefect, and composed his imperial council of men skilled in the law. One of these, *Salvius Julianus*,

was given the task of codifying the prætor's edict to serve as the basis of civil procedure. The new impetus thus given to legal studies laid the foundation of Rome's most fruitful legacy to the mediæval and modern world. (Reading List 94)

#### THE ANTONINES: A.D. 138-192

Hadrian never fully recovered from a serious illness in 136. He became morose and distrustful and left Rome to live in the villa at Tibur, where his architects had copied all the famous pleasure-grounds of the eastern provinces. Senatorial dislike turned to open hatred before the emperor's death, but Titus Aurelius Antoninus, whom Hadrian had adopted as his successor to the throne, insisted that his predecessor be deified, and was given the name Pius in token of his filial devotion. Hadrian's great mausoleum on the Tiber became the official tomb of the emperors, and was transformed during the Middle Ages into a strong fortress, the Castel S. Angelo.

Antoninus Pius, who ruled from 138 to 161, sprang from a wealthy colonial family at Nîmes in Narbonese Gaul. He continued Hadrian's interest in municipal administration and in the development of Roman law, and ruled with diligence and marked ability. He spent most of his reign at Rome and was perhaps too readily deceived by the apparent peace and prosperity of the empire, and by the flattering envoys who came to him from Parthia and countries farther east.

From 145 sporadic difficulties arose on the western frontiers, and later in the east as well, the most serious of which, a rising of the Egyptian peasants, caused a shortage of food and serious rioting in Rome itself. At the end of Antoninus' reign the Dacians, Alans, and other peoples menaced the Danubian provinces, and Vologases III of Parthia invaded Armenia to assert his sovereignty over that debatable land.

On his accession Antoninus had adopted his nephew, Marcus Aurelius, together with Lucius Verus, whose father was Hadrian's first choice as his successor. When Antoninus died in 161, the two became joint emperors, but Marcus Aurelius was the real ruler even before Verus died in 169, though he scrupulously respected his colleague's rights. The new emperor was devoted to philosophy; his *Meditations* are a notable example of the contemplative Stoicism of the period.

The deceptive peace of the previous reign had given place to wars which threatened the whole fabric of the empire. While the revolts in the west were being suppressed, the Parthians overran Syria. Verus, accompanied by an able general, Avidius Cassius, cleared the provinces and restored Armenia to Roman overlordship. They invaded Parthian territory to forestall further aggression, and in 165 annexed northern Mesopotamia. After the return of Verus, Avidius Cassius kept the eastern provinces under firm

control during the wars in the west, but in 175 he assumed the imperial title, and ruled for several months as an oriental monarch.

The soldiers who returned from the east brought with them a deadlier weapon than any Parthian arrows, for they had become infected with an oriental plague which spread like wildfire among Romans and provincials who had no immunity against a disease hitherto unknown in Europe.

Before the army had recovered its strength, or the people their prosperity, the free tribes along the whole course of the Rhine and Danube united against Rome; others, fleeing from the aggressive peoples of the Baltic lands, tried to force their way into the empire. Marcus Aurelius sold the palace treasures to provide funds for the war, and enrolled in the legions any who would volunteer. The most serious danger came from the Marcomanni and Quadi, who invaded northern Italy and reached the Po at Verona before they could be checked. The border provinces were not fully subdued until 175, by which time their population was so reduced that many captives were settled within their frontiers as *coloni* to cultivate the abandoned farms and lessen the temptation which deserted fields would offer to the landhungry hordes outside the boundaries. The emperor planned to secure the existing province against further invasion by annexing Bohemia, but war broke out afresh and continued until shortly before his death, and his son cared nothing for imperial plans.

For twelve years after the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180, the Romans endured the caprices of the worthless and utterly irresponsible Commodus, who was fit for no profession but that of gladiator. When at last the prætorian prefect Lætus arranged for his assassination, the empire was once more at the mercy of rival claimants to the throne. (Reading List 93)

## XXVIII

### THE ROMAN PEACE

*Now diverse products from many places are carried to and fro throughout the world for the welfare of mankind, since the boundless majesty of the Roman peace acquaints men of different lands and races not only with one another but with mountain ranges that rise to the clouds and with plants and animals hitherto unknown. May the gods continue this grace forever! For indeed they seem to have sent Rome as a second sun to prosper the affairs of men by her light.*

—Pliny the Elder

IN THE SECOND CENTURY of our era "the boundless majesty of the Roman peace" enabled the countries of the Mediterranean world, together with the inland districts now brought within its sphere, to attain an unprecedented economic development. This expansion of commerce and industry was not stimulated by new forms of organization or technical improvements but by freedom of trade, security of communications, and the lack of artificial barriers throughout the empire. Greek and Roman writers, with few dissenting voices, agreed that the height of political development had also been reached. For oriental rulers, they said, had governed by sheer force, and the citizen democracies of Greece had been ruined by interstate wars: the Roman emperor, however, did not rule over subjects, but over free men. Rome, therefore, not only seemed universal and eternal by contrast with the restricted and transitory powers of the past, but it was considered "the common fatherland of mankind":

None is an alien who is worthy of power or trust, but a common democracy has been established for the whole world under one excellent ruler and governor. All men come together as to a general assembly in which each receives his just due. For Rome, the common citadel, has the same relation to the world that any other city has to its own boundaries and territory.<sup>1</sup>

### UNITY AND ROMANIZATION

Roman unity was not attained by means of rigid uniformity or enforced Romanization. The general principles of provincial administration formulated by Augustus and his successors were modified in their application,

<sup>1</sup> Aelius Aristides, 16, 60-61. This *Address to Rome*, which eloquently expresses the attitude of many contemporaries, was delivered at Rome by the Greek rhetorician in 154.

according to local conditions and traditions and to the function of the individual district in relation to the empire as a whole. Loyalty to the emperor was a cardinal point in imperial unity. It was given religious significance, not only by the increasing worship of the living ruler as a god, but by the cult of the deified emperors<sup>2</sup> which with that of Rome and Augustus was maintained both by the provincial councils and the cities throughout the empire.

The rulers of the early empire did much to justify Ælius Aristides' view of the Roman state as a democracy in which all shared according to their abilities. The extension of citizenship and the admission of members of the municipal aristocracies to the senatorial and equestrian orders enabled many provincials to share in the imperial administration. The legions and auxiliary troops were levied almost exclusively in the provinces after the time of Augustus, and military service opened citizenship to many men outside the enfranchised municipalities. The colonies established in the less urbanized districts were important centres of Romanization. Old cities sometimes sought the privilege of colonial status, for, as Aulus Gellius wrote in the time of Hadrian:

The colonies are offshoots of the state itself and have all their laws and customs determined by the will of the Roman people and not by their own. Though this condition may seem obligatory and un-free, it is yet considered a desirable distinction on account of the greatness and majesty of the Roman people, of which these colonies seem to be replicas and likenesses on a smaller scale.<sup>3</sup>

The movement of individuals within the empire was a notable factor in imperial unity. Toward the end of the Julio-Claudian period, Italian emigration to the provinces declined, and thereafter new districts were settled chiefly from the older provinces. The Greeks and Syrians, who led in commercial and industrial enterprises, were to be met with everywhere, and the possession of Roman citizenship released them from the old disabilities of alien businessmen. The great extension of the road system and the suppression of brigandage and piracy reduced the hazards of travel in unfrequented districts and lessened the time required for distant journeys. For official purposes, the organization of the imperial post provided rapid communication.

The degree of Romanization was much greater in the western than in the eastern provinces, and was least in the country districts of the east. Outside official circles, Greek and Aramaic continued to be the languages in common use in the eastern provinces. In the west, however, the Roman curriculum was regularly adopted in schools, and Latin became the uni-

<sup>2</sup>In addition to the first Augustus and Claudius, these now included all the rulers from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, with the single exception of Domitian.

<sup>3</sup>*Attic Nights* XVI, 13.

versal speech in the cities, even among comparatively illiterate classes, although native dialects persisted among the peasants. Vespasian's interest in the bourgeois population of the empire was continued by his successors, and made the encouragement of municipal activities a leading factor in imperial policy. Under Hadrian this interest was extended to the underprivileged classes also, but countless thousands remained who had never enjoyed citizenship of any kind and were little affected by the imperial régime.

Although social and political institutions in the western provinces were much more influenced by Romanization than were those of the Hellenic and oriental peoples whose civilization antedated the Roman in its full development, both east and west shared the prosperity afforded by the general security. Until the invasions during the reign of Marcus Aurelius wars seemed only "dimly remembered myths" to the majority of the civilian population, in spite of foreign conflicts which brought glory to the empire without disturbing its internal peace.

#### PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

At the death of Augustus there were 28 provinces: by Hadrian's reign annexations and subdivisions for administrative purposes had increased the number to 45. The eleven senatorial provinces were governed by proconsuls who were usually appointed annually, while the legates and procurators, in charge of the imperial provinces, served for indefinite terms at the will of the emperor. The emperor's authority in the senatorial provinces steadily increased, especially in financial and judicial matters.

Each province was an aggregate of self-governing communities with the provincial council as its only corporate activity. The councils probably served primarily to acquaint the governors with local opinion, but they also assumed responsibility for the annual festival of Rome and Augustus and the general conduct of the imperial cult. They sent embassies to the emperor, ordinarily to convey honorary decrees, but sometimes to prefer charges against unjust governors. The standards of provincial administration were far better than they had been under the late republic, and governors found guilty of extortion or other misgovernment were debarred from the senate and from all imperial offices.

Most emperors, as we have seen, encouraged the development of municipalities with full political responsibility. Many of the tribal lands in the west and the temple-states, feudal domains, and villages in the east were attached to the territory of a neighboring city. The combination of municipal freedom and imperial sovereignty was a signal contribution to the art of government and succeeded remarkably well in practice for a considerable period.

The active obligations of the provinces included payment of taxes, furnishing recruits for the army, and necessary services in connection with the army, the imperial post, and the officials. The system of taxation was substantially that established by Augustus, modified by the findings of the current census and by local conditions. Imperial agents gradually replaced the equestrian corporations in the collection of indirect as well as direct taxes. The army was now recruited almost entirely from the frontier provinces, and the rest, like Italy, were exempt from conscription in practice though still liable to military service in theory. The northern and eastern wars of the second century of our era greatly increased the number of irregular requisitions for transport, equipment, and provisioning of troops.

The avarice and cruelty of fiscal agents, and even of governors, were the chief grounds for complaint, and appear frequently in the histories of the period as the immediate causes of actual or contemplated revolt. Roman historians make no attempt to deny or condone the charge of greed, but recognize it as a dangerous fault in the administration, albeit one regularly incurred by great empires. The arguments of Dio Chrysostom, the "golden-tongued" orator of the Greeks, against anti-Roman agitation in the Asiatic Greek cities are typical. He pointed out repeatedly that the benefits of Roman rule far outweighed the extortions of individual officials, and that since the Roman authority was almost universally established, the only wise course was to accept it peaceably and profit by it.

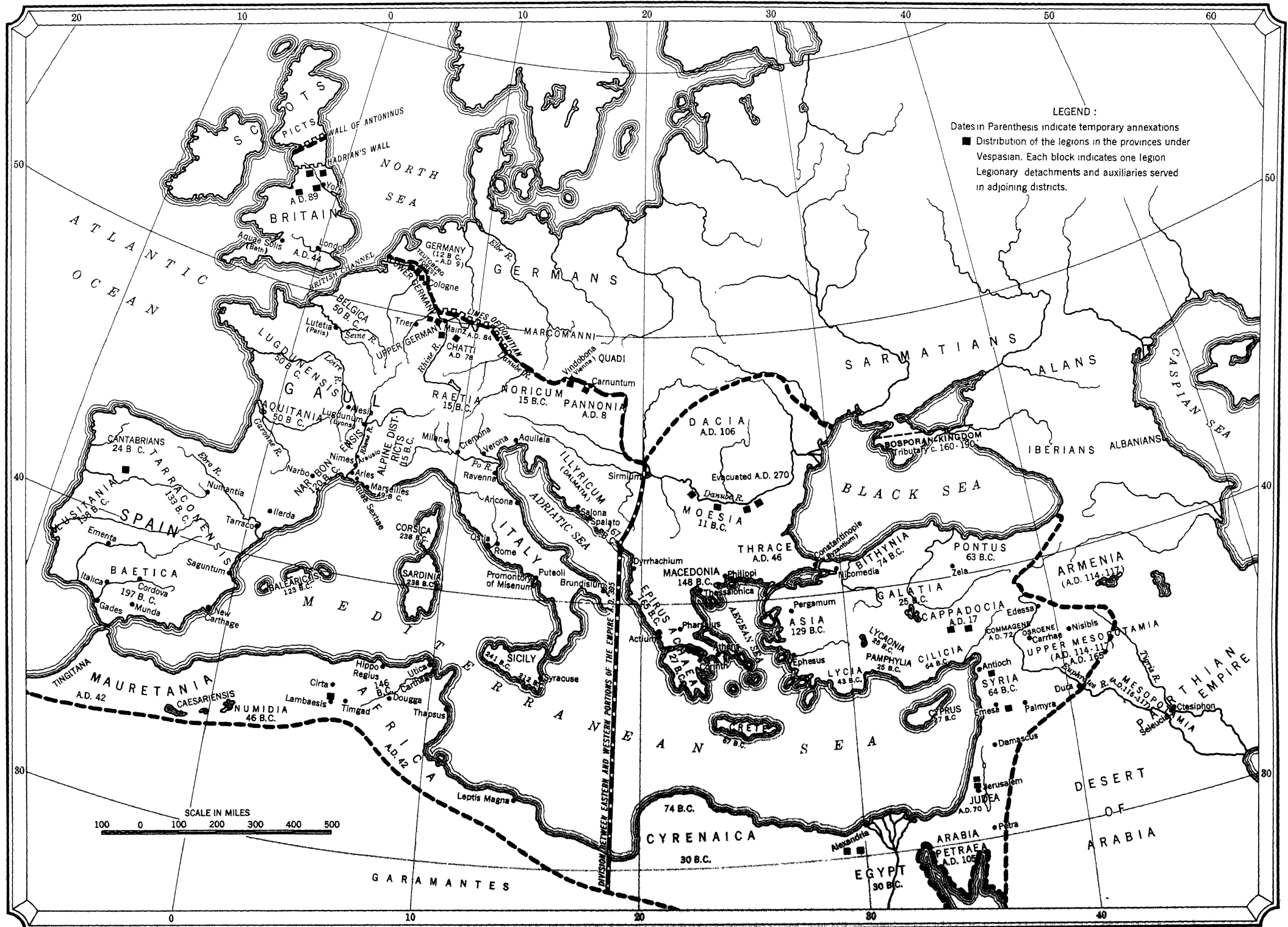
Provincial communities were expected to refrain from unauthorized war, and to live at peace with one another. Rivalries of long standing made the latter course difficult and often required the direct intervention of the governor or the princeps. These local difficulties were partly responsible for the increased paternalism of the emperors from Nerva's time, and for the limitation of autonomy in actual practice long before the principle was abandoned.

### THE DEFENSE OF THE EMPIRE

Since the empire was considered a coherent state to be governed but not to be controlled by force, the army was recruited and organized chiefly for frontier defense and foreign wars. The number of legions grew from 25 under Augustus to 30 in Vespasian's reign, with a corresponding increase in the auxiliary troops. At the end of the second century, about 400,000 men were under arms as the standing army for an empire containing over 2,000,000 square miles of land, with a population which had grown to about 100,000,000. By Hadrian's system of territorial forces chiefly recruited in the provinces where they were stationed, Bætica, Narbonese Gaul, Achæa, and Asia ceased to furnish troops and the less Romanized elements predominated in the army. There was consequently little distinction in personnel between the legions and the auxiliaries. Ælius Aristides attributed



# IX. THE ROMAN EMPIRE





the change to the unwillingness of the urban population to exchange their profitable pursuits and easy life for military service. He argued, however, that both the men who gained citizenship through their enlistment and the districts in which they lived were bound by special ties of loyalty to the empire.<sup>4</sup>

Hadrian added to the regular troops detachments from the non-Romanized frontier population who used their native weapons and tactics. Among these were the subject tribes who had been settled from time to time as coloni on farm lands within the frontier. Augustus and his successors made some settlements of this type, but their real importance began with the establishment of defeated Germans on the devastated lands along the Rhine and Danube after the Marcomannic wars in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. This course was expedient at the time, but its wisdom as a permanent policy was much disputed.

The fortified *limes*, as it was developed by the Flavian rulers, Hadrian, and Antoninus, was intended as a line of demarcation between the empire and the outer world, rather than as a defense against mass attack. It prevented petty raids, facilitated control of the customs, and was a visible symbol of the Roman power. But Decebalus' occupation of Moesia and the invasion of Italy by the Marcomanni showed how inadequate the frontier defenses on the Danube were against a strong army, and how difficult it was to concentrate a sufficient force at a given danger-point. The frontier system was effective against the Picts in the British highlands and the Berber tribes in Africa, where the problem was that of defense against recurrent raids of hostile neighbors. The security of the Syrian frontier depended primarily on diplomatic relations with Parthia, the single great power which still confronted the Roman Empire. (Reading List 95)

#### ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The curve of economic activity seems to have risen steadily from the reign of Augustus to that of Hadrian, when the prosperity of the empire reached its height. Even Greece, which lay outside the main currents of industrial and commercial enterprise, profited by continued peace and by the gifts of emperors and wealthy patrons. Rich men and women everywhere were ready to pay large sums for personal luxuries and for the festivals, public buildings, and monuments of their cities. The prosperous bourgeois class, the standing army, and the demand for Roman goods among the free neighbors of the empire created an expanding market for wares which could be produced in quantity at moderate prices.

During this period, the government did not attempt to regulate, subsidize, or protect individual industries, but commercial activity was directly

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<sup>4</sup> *Address to Rome*, 73ff.

favored by the extension of the great road system, the new harbor works, bridges, and canals, the general encouragement of town life, and the founding of colonies and market centres in rural districts. The annexation of new land may have been determined, in part, by commercial as well as strategic considerations, and the increasing trade with India and China seems to have affected the treaties made with eastern governments.

Greeks and Syrians, chiefly from Alexandria and the Syrian and Anatolian cities, led in commercial and industrial activity, banking, and money-lending. Though capitalistic organization on a large scale was not developed, there were numerous local associations of merchants loosely organized for mutual advantage, which maintained offices in the chief seaports and market towns of the empire. Ælius Aristides and other writers of the period stress the value of security and of freedom from internal customs barriers. Shipping could not be as well safeguarded as transportation by land: the *Acts of the Apostles* bear eloquent witness to the dangers of shipwreck, the delays occasioned by lack of regular sailing schedules, and the many annoyances of travel in small ships under rapacious captains, though wealthy merchants might avoid many of these difficulties. Journeys by land were safer and the great roads facilitated travel across the unprofitable desert, swamp, or forest tracts that separated productive districts, but transportation was slow except for the officials who could use the imperial couriers, and traffic congestion at times was very serious. Heavily laden donkeys, lumbering ox-carts, flocks of fat geese, which were driven on foot from northern Gaul to Italy, elephants, giraffes and more ferocious beasts for the animal shows and sports of the arena crowded the roads that led to the chief cities.

While the quantity of manufactured goods and the range of sale for local products greatly increased during the early empire, changes in technique and tools were relatively unimportant. Even in the chief centres of production small workshops predominated, for tools were simple and inexpensive, and most industries could be efficiently carried on in small shops, or in private houses, with light overhead expense. There was little occasion for large capital investment in industry when there were no machine tools, dynamos, or other expensive installations. While there were some large establishments, among which brickyards and potteries are notable, small workshops apparently competed with them successfully. Surplus capital was, therefore, invested chiefly in land, in commercial enterprises, and in loans, or in local benefactions from which honor and influence were the chief returns expected.

The most notable improvement in technique was the Syrian invention of glass blowing, in the middle of the first century B.C. The wide distribution of Syrian glass, in spite of its fragility and its bulk when packed for shipment, testifies to the profits derived from the sale of cheap standardized

goods. A similar case of mass production for the lower class market is that of the thin red pottery inexpensively stamped from moulds of graceful shape, with charming repeat patterns designed by clever artists, which was turned out in great quantities by the workshops of northern Italy. Like Syrian glass, this "Arretine ware" was sold throughout the empire, and was exported beyond the frontiers. It was gradually superseded by the similar products of Gallic potteries, for there was no means of protecting the process.

The decline in agricultural productivity in Italy and other districts long intensively cultivated was more than compensated by increased production in Africa, Gaul, and Britain, and by the revival of Egyptian agriculture. The cities demanded not only greater quantities of foodstuffs, but better quality and variety. Local types no longer sufficed for cultivated palates. The variety of fruits, vegetables, nuts, and spices now served in prosperous homes led to extensive importation and to experiments in improving local varieties and acclimatizing new plants from other districts. A similar desire for variety and luxury in personal adornment provided ready sale for special weaves of wool and linen, for richly dyed and interwoven goods, and for the cottons, muslins, silks, perfumes, and jewels brought from India, China, and Arabia.

The use of slaves in agriculture and industry declined during the early empire. There were fewer prisoners of war to be sold as slaves, and the suppression of piracy and brigandage reduced illicit sources also. But economic considerations contributed equally to the increased proportion of free workmen, for slave labor, even on the great estates, had proved unsound in practice. The transition came gradually and created no crises in the labor market. As we have seen, the use of slaves in agriculture on a large scale had been confined chiefly to Italy and Sicily. Homebred slaves continued to form the domestic staff of large establishments, and brawny barbarians were in great demand for gladiatorial combats and the wild animal hunts presented at city festivals.

The place of individual districts in the imperial economy can be most conveniently summarized by a brief survey of Italy and the chief provinces: the cities of the early empire and the eastern trade which contributed so much to their elegance and luxury will be discussed in the following chapters.

#### ITALY

Late in the first century the elder Pliny lamented that the great estates or *latifundia* had already ruined Italy and were now destroying provincial prosperity. His nephew's letters report recurrent difficulty in finding honest and industrious tenants for his many farms, and other vexations suffered by the landowner who hoped to profit by his estates without

giving them much personal supervision. Yet he continued to buy more property, and considered gifts of land a suitable way to provide an annuity for his old nurse or endowment for schools and libraries.

The latifundia of this period, worked by tenant coloni who were often former peasant proprietors, were chiefly given over to wheat, wine, and oil. An exception to the usual *laissez faire* policy of the government is seen in Domitian's attempt to protect Italian wine growers from overproduction and provincial competition by an edict which forbade the planting of new vineyards and ordered that half the old plantations be destroyed. Many exceptions were granted, but the edict continued in force until the middle of the third century in some provinces.

The Po Valley was probably the only part of Italy where agricultural prosperity actually increased during the early empire. Elsewhere evidences of decline led to attempts by Nerva and his successors to aid the many farmers who still owned and cultivated their small farms. An ingenious combination of rural credits and mothers' pensions, known as the *alimenta*, was apparently intended primarily to increase the birthrate in depressed districts and secondarily to aid the Italian farmer. Funds from the imperial treasury were entrusted to the municipal authorities, who loaned them to local landholders. The interest paid was used for the support of poor children by means of allowances which varied in amount in different sections, but were usually higher for boys than for girls. These "alimentary grants" figure prominently on monuments of Trajan's time, as examples of his benevolent paternalism.

The demand for Italian manufactures, as we saw in the case of Arretine pottery, was reduced by the competition of provincial manufactures, though the metal workers of Campania prospered, and Pompeii, when it was buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, had a wide variety of flourishing industries. But Italy did not depend entirely on her agriculture and industry, for the goods of the whole earth were brought to her crowded ports without the need of comparable export goods. Many Italians derived substantial incomes from land in Sicily, Africa, Spain, or Gaul, and received salaries in the imperial service, while wealthy provincials came to live in the land that was "at once the offspring and parent of all lands, chosen by the gods to make heaven itself more glorious . . . the single fatherland of all the nations in the world."<sup>5</sup>

#### SICILY, SARDINIA, AND CORSICA

The commercial activity of the Sicilian cities declined when the island became a Roman province in the third century B.C. Though a few cities increased in size under the Roman administration, and many continued

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* III, 39.

to be prosperous centres of urban life, agriculture was now the chief source of prosperity, and local industries existed primarily to supply domestic needs. The greater part of the population lived in villages which were made secure by the suppression of brigandage and civil war and were generally better built than in earlier times when the cities dominated Sicilian life. There were many Italian colonists, and much of the land was worked on contract for absentee landlords, including the large holdings of the imperial domain. Sicily continued to be an essential source of grain for Rome, although it contributed less than Africa and Egypt. It was also noted for its wine, horses, fish, sulphur, limestone, and other natural products.

Sardinia was chiefly valuable for its mines, and no attempt seems to have been made to Romanize the tribes of the interior or to develop municipal life. Corsica remained a backward land of forests and pastures.

#### THE AFRICAN PROVINCES

The province of Africa, with Numidia and Mauretania, which were annexed by Augustus and Claudius, was intensively cultivated and figured as a major source of grain for the city of Rome and of wealth for its capitalists. Nero's confiscations brought many private estates into the imperial domain. Both agriculture and stock raising were extended far beyond the Carthaginian scale, for the legionary camps on the southern frontier were the nuclei of large civilian settlements which developed into flourishing towns. Great irrigation projects gradually pushed the limits of agriculture farther south, and olive orchards and vineyards flourished in districts formerly arid, which reverted to desert when cultivation ceased with the withdrawal of the Roman troops.

The huge estates of the emperor and private owners were leased by individual contractors or companies who kept part of the land under their direct supervision and parcelled out the rest to *coloni*, originally free tenants. The status of these *coloni* was gradually altered by the obligation to perform labor on the domain land, as well as to pay a fixed percentage of their own crops. Hadrian encouraged the cultivation of waste land by offering the tenants reductions of rent on the fields reclaimed, and the right to bequeath the lease of such lands to their heirs. Inscriptions found in Africa show that the emperor often intervened in disputes between the tenants and contractors.

Industries were almost entirely local in character; the chief exports of the African provinces aside from wheat, wine, and oil were fruits, horses and mules, for which Punic Carthage had been famous, medicinal drugs and dyes, rare woods, wild animals for the arena, and the gold dust, ostrich feathers, and negro slaves of the transit trade from inner Africa. Impressive ruins attest the prosperity of the agricultural towns of north Africa and the rapid growth of their population. The villas of the great landowners

were notable for their luxury, which is still recalled by the mosaic floors that illustrate many phases of African life (Plates 58, 59a). The schools of Carthage were famous, and from the second century to the fifth, notable men of letters came from Africa. Punic speech and customs persisted beside the Roman. Although the imperial cult and Roman divinities in general were accepted, the Semitic deities, especially the "Heavenly Goddess" of Carthage, had greater influence on Roman colonists than the Roman cults gained among the older inhabitants.

The Romans did not exert a lasting influence on the Berbers of Africa. Like Carthage, Rome remained an alien power, whose citizens settled on the land and developed its resources without ever taking root. The tribes which remained within the provinces were divided into small groups and were settled in fixed districts under Roman supervision. Sporadic raids of the free tribes required constant supervision on the frontiers.

### THE PROVINCES OF SPAIN

Under the early empire Spain consisted of three provinces, Bætica, the southern district, almost indistinguishable from Italy in its urban culture, and settled by many Italians during the republic; Tarraconensis, which included the western and northern part of the peninsula; and Lusitania, the modern Portugal. The keystone of the economic life of Spain was its great mineral resources, which the seafaring peoples of the ancient world from the Minoans of Crete to the Carthaginians had successively exploited. Under Roman rule the gold, silver and lead, copper, tin, mercury, and cinnabar of the Spanish mines increased in importance as the mineral production of Greece and Asia Minor declined. The mines in isolated and barren highland districts, reached by solidly constructed roads, belonged to the imperial domain. They were leased to contractors and worked by native miners who gained less from the imperial prosperity, and contributed more to it, than the other inhabitants of Spain. The contractors were bound to provide baths, laundries, barbers and shoemakers, and schools for the workmen and their families, but the wretched conditions of life in the mining sections seem to have been little alleviated by these amenities.

Agriculture flourished to an extent hardly credible in view of the poverty of the land in modern times. Wheat, second in quality only to that of Africa, olive oil, and wine were exported, with such lesser products as honey and beeswax, pitch, the famous ropes and sandals of esparto grass, and linen and woollen fabrics. Like other lands with extensive pastures, Spain exported horses, donkeys, and mules. Its hams and fish were famous, and Spanish fish-sauce was a condiment no less esteemed by epicures than that of Campania. Manufactures, aside from textiles, were unimportant, but many cities in southwestern Spain flourished on the profits of the land and

the export trade, and imitated the luxury and culture of Rome, with which they kept up constant intercourse.

As we have seen, the process of Romanization was so far completed by the Flavian period that all the towns had full municipal organization with either Roman citizenship or Latin rights. Among the Spanish citizens, chiefly of Italian stock, who settled in Rome during the early empire were the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, the two Senecas, rhetorician and philosopher, the epic poet Lucan, the epigrammatist Martial, Quintilian, the great teacher of rhetoric, and noted writers on practical themes.

During the early empire, Spain contributed excellent cavalry and infantry to the armies, but in the second century enlistments declined. Bætica had long been practically exempt. Spain was protected from external invasion by the Roman control of north Africa and Gaul, and was little affected by the civil wars of the first two centuries. Augustus stationed three legions in northern Spain after his pacification of the native tribes there; by Domitian's time only one legion was considered necessary.

The Spanish provinces are an excellent illustration of the cohesive force of the Roman rule; for generations their prosperity was fostered by internal unity, as well as by their close relations with Italy, but the native tendency to disunion was reasserted in later years when the imperial power declined.

#### THE PROVINCES OF GAUL

The development of the "Three Gauls" in the early empire amply justified Cæsar's decision to annex the country. Like Africa and Spain, Gaul had a well-organized political and social system before the Roman conquest, but lacked any consecutive central authority to prevent local wars and secure it against German aggression. Its commercial and industrial activity, as well as its agricultural prosperity, expanded rapidly under Roman rule. The Gallic provinces performed especial service in the imperial system by furnishing soldiers for the legions in Britain and on the Rhine, by linking the frontier districts of Britain, Germany, and the western Danube to the older portions of the empire, and conducting trade with the non-Roman districts along the Baltic and North Seas, as well as in central Europe.

The older province of Narbonese Gaul was separately administered under senatorial authority. In the latter part of the first century it was described as one of the wealthiest provinces. Cæsar's conquests, the "three Gauls," were administered by the emperor; these comprised Aquitania, which still keeps its ancient name, the central territory of Lugdunensis with its chief city Lugdunum as the centre of Roman administration, and the Belgic province.

The Gallic provinces were not assimilated to the municipal plan, but kept their cantonal organization with tribal market towns as nuclei of population and trade. The tribal areas, which corresponded roughly to

modern counties, contained many villages also. Celtic elements in culture persisted with considerable vigor, although the Druid priesthood was suppressed, probably for political reasons. Native gods were worshipped side by side with Roman deities, and were to some extent assimilated with them.

The expansion of available markets with the increase of town life, the demand from Italy and the army for Gallic produce, and the growing trade with central and northern Europe stimulated agricultural development and the clearing of forests. The wines of Gaul became famous, and the best vintages of Languedoc, the Rhone and Garonne valleys, and Burgundy were widely exported. The Rhine armies were provisioned and equipped chiefly from Gaul, and army contracts were eagerly sought by Gallic capitalists. Wheat, barley, cattle, and pigs were raised for export, and Gallic cheese was famous. Though there was little mining, the craftsmanship of gold and bronze smiths was excellent. Industrial activity steadily increased, chiefly in family workshops with a few paid workers. Larger factories were founded for the production of red pottery in imitation of Italian Arretine ware, which ultimately outsold the Italian product and dominated the markets of the empire until the third century. Glass was also produced in large establishments, but was not widely sold except in the west.

Both farmers and artisans profited by the many navigable rivers which facilitated the sale of their products. The great landlords, who lived chiefly in the towns, became patrons both of peasants and artisans. Less distinction was made between town and country here than in other parts of the empire. The tombs of the great families are conspicuous among the ruins of Roman Gaul, while the gravestones of merchants and artisans illustrate many phases of business activity (Plate 57). The characteristic types of buildings, theatres, amphitheatres, temples, baths, and aqueducts, with many statues, reliefs, and inscriptions are best preserved in the cities of the Narbonese province, many of which have had a continuous history from their foundation in Roman times to the present. The schools of the Gallic towns were justly famous, and transmitted the traditions of Roman education to the mediæval period. Latin, which was naturally adopted first in the towns, gradually spread over the whole country, so that the vernacular spoken in the early Middle Ages, the basis of modern French, had comparatively few Celtic elements.

From 12 B.C. the three northern provinces united in an annual festival of Rome and Augustus at Lyons; the provincial council which developed in this connection came to have many official duties and formed a recognized corporation with its own treasury. This was an important link between the Gallic tribes and the empire, such as was furnished in Spain and some other districts by more intensive urbanization.

Gaul was thus a sound and profitable section of the empire, which first gained unity through the Roman administration. It was saved by Rome

from ruinous invasion by the German tribes, and did valuable service as long as the Rhine frontier was secure, although the Gauls were readily induced to take up arms in favor of their own candidate for the throne whenever the imperial succession was disputed.

#### BRITAIN

The annexation of Britain advanced the northern frontier from the British Channel to Scotland. Tacitus' biography of his father-in-law, Agricola, who governed Britain under Domitian, is a valuable commentary on the Romanization of the island. He noted the ready adoption of Roman rhetoric and the British fondness for wearing the toga, a cumbersome garment, but one which denoted the Roman dignity. He thought that the British were seduced by the demoralizing elegance of porticoes, baths, and banquets, and were thus led to disguise their actual servitude by the name of culture. Some Britons were ardent opponents of the Roman power: Tacitus ascribed to the chieftain Calgacus a speech which attacked Roman aggression against the free peoples who remained in the outermost corners of the earth: "They make a solitude," he said, "and call it peace."<sup>6</sup>

A generation later Hadrian's great wall was built to mark the boundary between the peaceful province and the Picts and Scots of the north. Roman Britain seems to have reached its maximum growth in the reign of Hadrian, and by this time Romanized natives began to take over the activities initiated by Gallic merchants and craftsmen. Each town now had its Roman temples, forum, and baths, though theatres were rare and amphitheatres were constructed of turf and wood, so that their ruins are now less impressive than those of southern Gaul. Many British cities grew up about military encampments, as their names, derived from the Latin *castra*, indicate. The chief city, however, was of civilian origin, for the Roman stimulus to British development gave London the commercial importance to which its location on the great estuary of the Thames entitled it.

The most notable remains of the Roman occupation of Britain, aside from the walls and camps, are the fine marble baths of *Aquæ Solis*, the "Waters of the Sun," for Bath was a fashionable watering-place in Roman as in more modern times.

Agriculture was increased by the desire for Roman luxuries and by the ready market afforded by the cities and the troops both in Britain and later in Germany. There was little change in methods of production: The mineral resources of the island, especially its silver and lead, iron and coal, were thoroughly exploited. At first Britain depended largely on the manufactured goods imported from Gaul, but in the second century local industries supplied the home market except for pottery, which was still imported

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<sup>6</sup> *Agricola*, 30.

from Gaul, together with wine and oil. The independent prosperity of the island increased in the third century, relatively unaffected by the civil war and anarchy prevalent elsewhere in the empire.

### ROMAN GERMANY

After the Elbe frontier was abandoned, the province of Germany was reduced to a small militarized zone held by eight legions, the strongest garrison of the empire. Under the Flavians two distinct provinces, Upper and Lower Germany, were formed. It was an established Roman principle to secure conquered territory by citizen colonies, which were chiefly settlements of veterans from the legions and auxiliaries, and became a valuable reservoir of soldiers. The sites for these colonies were so well chosen that they are occupied by the great modern cities of the district, Cologne, Mainz, Trier, Strassburg, and others. They developed a flourishing trade with the rural population and with the free tribes beyond the frontier. The native Germans had long been in contact with the more highly civilized Gauls, and readily adopted Roman ways of life. Gravestones in this area commonly show the husband in a Roman toga and his wife in native dress, but with Roman jewelry: the economic development of Roman Germany is also illustrated by the widespread worship of Hercules, the patron of industry and commerce, who was identified with the corresponding Celtic and German deities.

### THE DANUBIAN PROVINCES

The provinces along the Danube were valued chiefly for the defense of the empire, and were regularly administered by imperial commanders. Roman traders had prepared the way for Romanization before Augustus established the Danube frontier. The assimilation of Roman cultural elements proceeded steadily without loss of ancient local traditions and customs, though the military occupation intensified the process. Rætia, Noricum, and western Pannonia were chiefly Celtic in population, and were closely linked with the Rhine districts; eastern Pannonia and Upper Mœsia were of the same Illyrian stock as Dalmatia, formerly known as Illyricum. The people of Lower Mœsia were Thracians, and like the neighboring province of Thrace were subject to strong Greek influence. The greater part of the native population of Dacia was supplanted by colonists from Asia Minor and Syria as a result of Trajan's settlement, but the influence of troops from Noricum and Pannonia, and of the neighboring Latinized provinces, made Dacia essentially a Latin country. Eastern cults predominated, however, and oriental names occur frequently in local inscriptions.

Italians, Illyrians, and Celts made a fairly homogeneous group of provinces in which unity was fostered by the old trading connections along the

Danube and the influence of the six legions and their veteran settlements. There was comparatively little industrial development, but soldiers and civilians alike furnished a market for the products of the more industrialized provinces. In return, slaves, cattle, hides, bears for the animal shows and hunts in the arena, and various raw materials were exported. Timber and pitch from the forests, and iron, silver, and gold from the mines of Dacia were most important.

#### THE FREE TRIBES BEYOND THE FRONTIER

The establishment of a definite frontier, to be extended only by deliberate policy in individual instances, as in the case of Trajan's annexations, or by the gradual extension of the land that could be profitably brought under Roman control, as in that of the African provinces, made the establishment of consistently peaceful relations with the free neighbors of the empire an important point. In Africa, this problem was never solved; in Britain, the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus made it possible to maintain trade with the hostile Picts and Scots while protecting the province from their incursions. On the Rhine and Danube, mutual interest in trade and the strong standing army were ordinarily adequate to prevent attack, but imperial writers recognized the inherent danger of the decline of Roman discipline, which might make the legions a poor match for the wild courage of the barbarians. Tacitus looked upon the German tribal wars as a special favor granted Rome by the gods, and prayed sincerely:

If the nations cannot be taught enduring love of us, may their hatred of one another abide among them, as long as the fatal course of empire drives us on, for fortune can bestow no greater boon than the discord of the enemy.<sup>7</sup>

The invasions of the Marcomanni in the reign of Marcus Aurelius showed the grim truth: the Rhine and Danube frontiers, in spite of the concentration there of the greater part of the army, and the real success of Romanization, were to prove more difficult to maintain than the rest. For in these districts alone the peoples "at whose borders the Roman peace came to an end" were in frequent need of fresh land because of their own growth of population, their adoption of higher standards of living, and the increasing pressure of northern and eastern tribes.

#### THE PROVINCES OF THE GREEK EAST

In the eastern provinces, Rome's chief contribution was that of security and peace. The decline which set in under the later Hellenistic rulers was accelerated by the Roman wars of conquest in the second century and the

<sup>7</sup> *Germania*, 33.

civil wars of the late republic. But the early empire brought relief from the burdens of war, prompt aid in case of natural catastrophes, and economic expansion with new opportunities for colonization in the northern provinces. There was a general increase of prosperity in the reign of Hadrian, even in districts which had remained depressed up to that time. Dio Chrysostom and Ælius Aristides both stressed the benefits of the Roman peace and claimed that the occasional avarice and injustice of the imperial officials was a minor matter in comparison. The general tendency to bring all the land into the territory of the cities, and to foster ancient customs, coupled pride in the past achievement of the Greek city-states with adjustment to their present status under imperial rule. Hellenism thus enjoyed a late flowering which influenced contemporary culture and helped to establish a sound basis for the later Byzantine civilization.

#### ACHÆA, EPIRUS, AND MACEDONIA

Respect for Hellenic traditions and institutions especially marked the Roman administration of Achæa. Athens, Sparta, and other leading cities were officially free, and everywhere the older forms of city constitutions were revived. The old leagues served as the basis for the general administration and for the imperial cult. Hadrian fostered panhellenism in the interest of unity and made lavish gifts to the cities and sanctuaries; the Olympic Games were revived with great splendor. Athens became the university of the empire, with endowed chairs of rhetoric and philosophy.

Though Corinth, which had been rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, and a few other cities enjoyed profitable trade, Greece was relatively unimportant in imperial commerce and industry. The chief exports were marble from Attica, Eubœa, and the islands, textiles, and copies of famous statues; the mines were no longer productive. The rich pastures of Thessaly were profitable as of old, and Messenia and Laconia enjoyed considerable agricultural prosperity. The guidebook which Pausanias wrote for the many tourists who visited the famous sites of Greece gives many indications of the ruin of the great cities of the past and of the decline of population in different sections. Dio Chrysostom pictured the island of Eubœa as having reverted to a primitive state through poverty and anarchy: two-thirds of the land was now a wilderness and the people lived chiefly by hunting and tilling small plots for their own use. Dio's proposals for reclaiming the land, however, suggest that this desolation was not due to exhaustion of the soil. Other writers also comment on the decline of population in Greece in the second century, but the evidence is contradictory, and further study is needed before any sound conclusions can be drawn.

Epirus, which Hadrian organized as a separate province, made more progress in urbanization than before. Macedonia was important not only

for the defense of the southern Balkans but for imperial communications, and as a source of soldiers. Its mines were still productive, and its forests furnished valuable timber. Before the end of the second century, the raids of Gothic tribes which had settled in south Russia seriously threatened the security of the Greek and Asiatic coasts, but the crisis did not become acute until later.

### THE ASIATIC PROVINCES

In Asia Minor the land which did not belong to the imperial domain was gradually assigned to the cities, which thus absorbed the former free temple-states and feudal properties. The vast bulk of the people were peasants or craftsmen who had never had citizen rights and were resident in the city territory without sharing either the local or the Roman franchise. The old principle that such men belonged in their native districts and might not ordinarily move away was reenforced by the personal services to which they were subject for the imperial post, entertainment of officials, local police duties, and kindred liturgies, which tended to become burdensome obligations, especially in the poorer sections.

Though the country districts had little share in the Hellenism of the cities, both were permeated by oriental influences, as in earlier periods. Many Babylonians and other natives of the Parthian Empire lived in the Asiatic provinces, and oriental cults, including that of Mithra which was greatly increasing in popularity, were firmly established. The eastern provincials shared with the peoples beyond the Euphrates an eager expectation of a Messiah of oriental origin who should found a golden age. Such beliefs, supported by Greek, Jewish, and Parthian prophecies, were eagerly adopted by the proletariat who had little hope of gain under existing social and political conditions, and were ready for revolution whenever a leader appeared. Their resentment of the ruling class in the cities was naturally extended to the Roman officials as well. Oriental mysticism and magic were also popular, and the Babylonian and Persian astrologers made their way in considerable numbers from the eastern provinces to the imperial court.

The province of Asia was more prosperous than ever before, though the tendency to concentrate industry and commerce at a few cities, notably Ephesus and Pergamum, decreased the activity of the smaller centres. The Roman demand for their fine textiles, metal wares, jewelry, and other products was very great, and they profited also by the transit trade in far eastern goods brought to the Euphrates by Parthian caravans.

Active city life increased in Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pontus and Bithynia; in the latter province, however, the extravagances of rival cities made it necessary for Trajan to send the younger Pliny to restore solvency after the senatorial proconsuls and special curators had failed. Such measures, salutary in themselves, involved imperial encroachment on the jurisdiction of

the senate and of local governments, and forecast the transition from paternalism to autocracy.

The various peoples of Galatia maintained their tribal organization, and this district was the chief recruiting area in Asia Minor. Cilicia also furnished excellent soldiers; it was closely associated with Syria in culture. Its chief city, Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul, was noted both for its intellectual and its commercial activity. In Cappadocia, which Tiberius annexed, and client-kingdoms such as Commagene, which Vespasian reduced to provincial status, a thin layer of Hellenism was superimposed on the underlying Iranian culture of the cities.

### SYRIA

Syria, Judea, and lesser client-states which were definitely annexed by the end of Trajan's reign were far more oriental than Hellenic, in spite of the long domination of the Seleucids. Greek culture was confined to a few cities, and Romanization to the people in close touch with the army, while Parthian contacts provided cultural influences more congenial to the bulk of the population. Aside from the cities and the army, Aramaic was the dominant language. During the early empire, a serious reaction against Hellenism in Syria and Palestine necessitated firm control which was facilitated by the division of the country into small units, some of which were assigned to native dynasts with Hellenistic education and Roman training; the rule of the family of Herod at Jerusalem is a conspicuous example.

The Roman peace and the demand for Syrian and oriental products throughout the empire furnished a great stimulus to trade. Syrian merchants procured eastern goods at the termini of the Parthian caravan routes and from Arabian traders, and sold them everywhere, together with Syrian glass, textiles, fruits, and perfumes. This flourishing trade made it possible for the country to support a far larger population than it was able to do in later times. Syrian names on the tombstones throughout the empire indicate the wide dispersion of these active traders, who established their cult centres with their commercial offices wherever they congregated. Many returned to Syria to invest their profits in landed estates. Since the marginal lands were now protected from the raids of desert nomads and ample capital was available for irrigation, the desert blossomed like a rose with the great plantations and luxurious villas of wealthy merchants. Other Syrians, especially the descendants of slaves at Rome, were conspicuous among the great landowners of Italy, and acclimatized eastern trees and flowers there.

The traditional Roman fear of the east was intensified by jealousy of the successful Greek and Syrian merchants. The satirist Juvenal distrusted the oriental who was wafted to Rome by the same wind that brought his cargo of plums and cotton, and lamented that too much of the Orontes had already flowed into the Tiber. But the full realization of the commercial

possibilities of the new age, as well as much of its luxury, was due to the enterprise of these eastern merchants.

Northern Syria ranked next to the Rhine-Danube frontier in military importance, but here the empire was confronted by the single state of Parthia and not by disunited tribes. The broad swift current of the Euphrates formed the frontier; camps and forts crowned the strongholds of the hills and guarded the watering-places on the caravan routes. The country furnished excellent cavalry with which to confront the mounted archers of Parthia.

### PALESTINE

Palestine and the surrounding districts had declined in the Hellenistic Age, but made a rapid recovery under Rome. They were essentially rural in character and the towns were merely administrative and religious centres. The rich were landed proprietors with patriarchal flocks, or merchants who speculated in oil, or tax collectors; the poor were peasants or village artisans. The most valuable product was balsam, the choicest of perfumes, so prized that its propagation was an important function of the imperial financial agents.

The national institutions of the Jews, alien to Greek and Roman custom, caused them to be considered as distinct from the rest of mankind in every detail of life. Local friction was increased, as at Alexandria and other centres where many Jews lived, by Greek resentment of privileges given them in view of their traditional rules and observances. Difficulties in Judea were precipitated by Caligula's attempt to substitute his worship for that of Yahweh. Claudius maintained an uncertain peace, but by 66 the antagonism between the Jews and their neighbors, and Jewish resentment of the exactions of an unjust procurator resulted in open war. Many Jews were massacred by the people of Cæsarea, the Roman administrative centre; widespread violence followed in other cities, and the Jewish Wars which resulted were a long sustained and bitter rebellion against the Roman power. When Vespasian and Titus had restored order, the ancient religious symbols, the seven-branched candlestick and the table of the shewbread, were taken to Rome where they figure prominently in the reliefs of the triumphal arch of Titus. Jerusalem and Judea were now completely subject to Rome, and the priests offered sacrifices in the temple on behalf of the emperor. Judaism flourished, however, and the interpretation and study of the Law made notable progress. The rebellion under Hadrian led to the foundation of a Roman colony at Jerusalem and the suppression of Jewish national life. Their privileges were partially restored by Antoninus, but local synagogues took the place of the former national centre. (Reading List 97)

## EGYPT

Egypt was governed in the interest of the imperial treasury and of the food supply of Rome. The general outlines of Ptolemaic administration were kept, except for the extension of private ownership of land and flocks and the transfer of some of the Ptolemaic monopolies to private enterprise. Both land and business were still heavily taxed. However, the thorough repair and the extension of dams and canals increased the production of wheat fourfold and the great demand for goods brought from the east by way of the Red Sea, and from Ethiopia, together with the linen, papyrus, and other manufactures of Egypt itself strengthened the position of Alexandria among the world's markets.

The initial loss to Egypt through the Roman rule lay in the fact that while the Ptolemies spent much of their income within the country and maintained their court at Alexandria, the grain levies and other taxes were now taken to Rome. How far the prosperity of Egypt was affected is a disputed point, but although the production of grain was increased, at least for a considerable period, the condition of the peasants seems to have grown worse. The age-old oppression of the working classes was not relieved, and as before they were excluded from all political rights. The care with which the irrigation system was maintained in contrast with the slack administration of the later Ptolemies increased the burden of personal liturgies, since much of the labor was performed by the local peasants. Other liturgies, of which some involved actual servitude and others only required temporary labor, included work in the mines, the official transport service on the Nile, and the provision of animals for land transportation. The many personal services emphasized the traditional compulsion of peasants to remain on their ancestral holdings, as in Asia Minor. While the burdens imposed on the land were not so great as to deter individuals from investing in Egyptian property, the flight of peasants from the land was increasingly common in the second century, and was officially ascribed to the pressure of the liturgies as well as to individual misfortune.

There can be no doubt that the emperors exploited Egypt without regard for the welfare of the Egyptians, and that their personal control of its revenues was an important element in their power. The complicated system of taxes, requisitions, and liturgies imposed an additional burden on the people through the vast number of officials required. Thousands of papyri discovered in recent years in the dust-heaps of Egypt record the infinite detail with which even the small payments of the poorest peasants were entered in the accounts, and cast much light on conditions of life and work in Roman Egypt. The wealth of Egypt filled the imperial treasury, while the Egyptians themselves suffered from fiscal oppression, and lost more than they gained from the Roman rule. (Reading List 96)

## CONCLUSION

It is clear that any estimate of the Roman administration of the provinces must depend on the particular district under consideration and must take into account the probable conditions if that district had continued its normal development outside the empire. The charge that Rome destroyed the local governments and so left the provinces weakened when the imperial power broke down has little foundation if we consider the decadence of Hellenistic politics before the Roman conquest, and the failure of the western peoples to form unified and peaceful states in the long period between their settlements and the Roman conquest. From Augustus to Marcus Aurelius, a considerable part of the Mediterranean world enjoyed greater peace and prosperity than it had known before, with free intercourse over a wide territory, active local development in many sections, and a wide diffusion of Roman and Greek culture. Contemporary writers commonly emphasize the material benefits of the Roman peace, but there were, as we have seen, many groups in the empire which had little or no share in these.

## XXIX

### LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE CITIES OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

*Athenæus says one would not shoot wide of the mark if he called the city of Rome an epitome of the inhabited world. For in it one may recognize at a glance all the cities . . . Alexandria the golden, Antioch the fair, and above all Athens, the most radiant of all the cities which Zeus created. A day would not suffice to list the cities contained within the heavenly city of the Romans.* —Athenæus

THE GROWTH IN PROSPERITY and population of the older cities and of the new colonies and market towns was a characteristic feature of the early empire which contributed much to its stability. Local civic pride took the place of national patriotism both in districts where the old state systems had broken down and in those where no real national unity had been established. The unity and vigor of the empire depended in large measure on the successful fusion of its many cities under the central power of the princeps, which was a significant distinction between the Roman administration and that of earlier empires. Free from the threat of war, that "noble art of destroying cities," the municipalities of the early empire could devote themselves to their local activities.

The fact that even the free cities had now only the "name and shadow of liberty" left to them, as Roman writers admitted, did not prevent active interest in municipal politics, especially in the first century. In towns which had Latin rights, municipal office was sought not only as a local honor but as the means to Roman citizenship. Long after Rome itself ceased to be an effective training ground for statesmen, since the real functions of the assembly had ceased and the senate and magistrates were subordinated to the emperor, the municipal magistrates and councils furnished able recruits for the equestrian and senatorial orders and the imperial offices open to them.

#### MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

There was great diversity in local institutions under the early empire, but the government instituted in many Italian towns during the republic may serve as a general illustration, since it was widely imitated. Executive and judicial authority was vested in two annual magistrates called *duovirs*,

chosen from the free citizens whose record was clear and who could meet the stipulated qualifications as to age, property, and honorable calling. Every fifth year these duovirs were given additional powers analogous to those of the Roman censors. Two minor magistrates, the *ædiles*, regulated the supply and price of grain, enforced the use of standard weights and measures and protected the consumer from sharp practices on the part of shopkeepers. The *ædiles* also supervised the markets, streets, and public buildings. Precautions were taken against fraud in office; in some cases magistrates had to post bonds during their term, while in others they were debarred from moving away until a specified time after the expiration of their office.

Legislative powers and the administration of city revenues were assigned to the council, which consisted of about 100 men with property qualifications similar to those of the duovirs. This council might be composed of ex-magistrates or vacancies might be filled by cooptation or by nomination by the duovirs at the time of the census; the members of the council, usually called *decurions*, held office for life.

#### POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS IN POMPEII

The active popular interest in local elections in the first century is abundantly illustrated at Pompeii, where the names of many candidates for municipal office may still be seen, painted in red on the whitewashed walls (Plate 55b). New magistrates were elected each year and active campaigning legally began six months before the annual elections. Among the Pompeian electoral notices are nominations by prominent individuals and by neighborhood groups; though women did not vote, one woman publicly urged the election of her grandson, and the "women of the neighborhood" united to support their candidate. Other notices indicate the political interests of such local groups as the fishermen, muleteers, apple-sellers, scene-painters, dice-players, late sleepers, and bakers.

Though fortune has recovered these lively appeals to the voters of Pompeii in the period just before the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, we know little as yet of the decay of popular assemblies. In the Greek cities, they declined during the Hellenistic Age; in the west their active functions had generally ceased by the time of Trajan, except in Africa. But although the average citizen of the second century no longer participated in the local government, a large share of the budget was expended in his interest.

#### MUNICIPAL REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES

Direct local taxation was very rare. The territory of a city usually included public land which produced substantial rentals; local tariffs and monopolies on banking, ferries, fishing rights, and mining, fees for the

manumission of slaves, and the sale of priesthoods were also valuable sources of income. Householders and industrial establishments paid for the use of the city water. Many misdemeanors were punishable by fines. Magistrates were usually expected to pay a fee to the treasury when they entered on their term of office.

The major expenses were for the building and repair of public structures, the forum, and city streets, maintenance of public slaves, water works, education, and not least for festivals and for the distribution of grain in time of need. Some of these costs were met by the generosity of wealthy citizens, who followed the example set by the emperors and invested their income in temples, baths, or gymnasia, in schools, libraries, and other benefactions which brought them honor rather than financial returns.

#### MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATIONS: THE IUVENTUS AND THE GUILDS

From the time of Augustus, the *Iuventus*, the Youth Movement of the empire, was a significant feature of municipal life in Italy. In the second and third centuries it spread throughout the provinces. This organization provided regular physical and military education for its members throughout their adult life. Like other associations, the *Iuventus* had its own priests and festivals, and the Pompeian electoral notices show that it played an important part in local politics.

Tradesmen and craftsmen in the cities regularly formed colleges, or guilds, primarily for social purposes, although they might also provide funds for sick members and for funeral expenses, and some were founded as benefit associations. Normally, however, the guilds met for banquets or picnics, and honored their patron deity by processions on public holidays. Oriental cults were often introduced into the cities by clubs whose members were chiefly of eastern origin. Slaves as well as free men took part in their activities. The guilds were licensed by the state, although unlicensed clubs were tolerated, unless they were suspected of subversive activities. The guilds of boatmen and merchants aided in the imperial transport service; others cooperated with the local authorities in connection with the grain supply or served as a fire department. Such voluntary services were gradually transformed into compulsory liturgies which became very burdensome in the third century.

#### THE DECLINE OF MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY

The cities of the second century aroused general admiration. As a contemporary wrote:

They are all full of gymnasia, fountains, gateways, temples, workshops, and schools, so that we may truly say that the world is now reaping the

fruits of her labors from the very beginning . . . The cities gleam with radiance and grace, and all the earth is adorned as a paradise.<sup>1</sup>

But this radiance was sometimes dearly bought. Extravagant feasts and spectacles won popularity more readily than constructive benefactions, and rivalry between neighboring states led the decurions to begin handsome structures without money enough to complete or maintain them. Precautions against graft were not always effective, and funds sometimes disappeared without visible results. A temporary shortage of grain or violent partisanship at horse races and gladiatorial combats often led to serious riots. The demand for "bread and circuses" was not confined to the capital.

By the end of the first century many cities were dangerously close to bankruptcy, and widespread disorders led to imperial encroachment on local immunities. The situation in the Greek cities of Asia was complicated by class conflicts and by the antagonism of the poor to the Roman governors. The appointment of curators to restore order and financial credit, and the younger Pliny's commission to check the ruinous mismanagement of the Bithynian cities, together with the extension of the criminal jurisdiction of the governors to the free cities of the provinces, and of that of the Roman prefects to the Italian municipalities, subordinated the local administration to the central government and forecast the decay of municipal institutions. (Reading List 98)

#### THE GREAT CITIES OF THE EAST: ALEXANDRIA

Alexandria was called the golden city of the east, not only because of its magnificent buildings and the ships which brought merchandise from all the world to its harbors, but because of the ceaseless industry of its residents, who are described as a most factious and unruly people, all employed in glass blowing, linen weaving, paper making, or some other profitable craft. Early in the reign of Trajan, a Greek orator delivered a public address at Alexandria, in which he praised the great traditions of Egypt and the Nile, the worldwide commerce of the city, and its beauty. He listed the various peoples who thronged its streets:

not only Greeks, Italians, and men from neighboring Syria, Cilicia, and the more remote Ethiopians and Arabians, but also Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and a few from India.

These last, he said, when they returned to their distant homes, would describe the city as the fairest sight on earth, and its citizens as a race maddened by song and horse-races, utterly immoderate in their amusements and their religion.<sup>2</sup> From the time of its foundation, Alexandria had been

<sup>1</sup> Ælius Aristides, *Oration* xxvi, 97, 99.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xxxii.

a cosmopolitan commercial city, and in the Roman Age, as we have seen, there was little connection between the metropolis and the country districts of Egypt; in the early third century Egyptian peasants were excluded from the city unless they could show good cause for their presence.

### ANTIOCH

Antioch on the Orontes has been the centre of commerce and administration in northern Syria in many ages. The Greek buildings of the Seleucid period and the long colonnades characteristic of Syria were supplemented by a Roman forum with senate house, basilica, baths, and the popular hippodrome. When the orator Libanius delivered his panegyric in A.D. 360, Antioch was still at the height of its prosperity. It was enriched not only by its abundant natural products and the goods brought to its markets by land, river, and sea, but by the gifts of rulers, and the concourse of strangers who came for pleasure, business, or learning. The inns were unusually good, there were baths in each quarter of the city, and nearly every house in the central sections offered goods for sale. By night the streets were brilliantly lighted and the city resounded with music. At all times the fabulous pleasure-grounds of Daphne provided entertainment. It is small wonder that the Chinese mistook the city for the imperial capital and incorporated strange tales of "Antu" in their accounts of the western world, or that the officers stationed at Antioch found it impossible to maintain discipline among their troops.

Yet despite its reputation for luxury and dissipation, Antioch produced great scholars and rhetoricians. The streams of Greek and Semitic thought met fruitfully in its philosophical schools, and Antioch was the first Greek city to foster and propagate the teachings of Christianity. (Reading List 99)

### ROMAN SOCIETY

The fame of Rome, its leadership in western culture, the society of the court, the magnificent festivals and lavish donations to the proletariat, and the extensive market for every type of merchandise attracted men from all parts of the empire and fostered in the capital all the vices and virtues of a complex cosmopolitan society. During the first two centuries Rome had about 1,000,000 inhabitants, and there was serious congestion in building and traffic, especially since great villas and gardens in the outer parts of the city precluded the normal growth of suburbs, while the imperial buildings occupied an increasing area in the centre. Consequently rents were exorbitant, apartment buildings towered high, and speculation in cheap and crowded tenements enriched the contractors and endangered the life and health of the tenants, in spite of attempts at building regulation. Only the well-to-do could afford roomy quarters, or count on quiet sleep at night.

The court dominated the social, as well as the political life of the upper classes. The senators had become courtiers, and participated in the polished round of metropolitan life, the morning calls of friends, clients, and petitioners, tours of the shops, exercise or relaxation at the baths, a mock naval combat, gladiatorial contests or animal fights on holidays, or perhaps a scurrilous mime at the theatre, and banquets of many courses artfully contrived to whet the appetites and envy of the guests and the uninvited "shadows" whom they brought with them. For the serious-minded there were public lectures, literary or philosophical discussions, and authors' readings which must be endured, even at the cost of some boredom, by any who wished an audience for their own performances.

The deliberations of the senate and the imperial council, the manifold business of the law courts, and the study and interpretation of the law, occupied those whose interest lay in statecraft, while more frivolous minds were absorbed in the endless intrigues and scandals of the court, unless these were checked by a sober ruler like Vespasian. Those who took their responsibility as property-holders seriously lamented that even holidays at their villas were occupied by the countless problems of estate management and of advice and charity in the neighboring towns, while others were content to leave such cares to their stewards, provided that they could count on several days' good hunting when they invited their guests to their country estates.

Moralists found much to condemn in their contemporaries: their "cursed love of gold" which exposed childless millionaires to scheming fortune-hunters, the lax observance of marriage vows, the prevalence of divorce, and the insatiate craving for new sensations in amusement, art, and religion. The Romans who had conquered the world now spent more for useless luxuries than defeated peoples had paid as tribute, and merchants undertook dangerous journeys in order that a Roman matron might parade her charms in transparent silk. Harmless but futile pursuits also incurred censure: what could be accomplished by men who spent their days at checkers, ball-playing, or sun-bathing, or in the fruitless pursuit of trivial and pedantic knowledge?

Yet the old-fashioned virtues were still cherished in such conservative families as those of the younger Pliny and his friends, and the bourgeois Vespasian tried to make them characteristic of his court. Though the old senatorial houses had almost disappeared, many of the new nobility carried on the Roman traditions of public service, conscientious management of their households and estates, and serious study. There have been few periods when the fundamental principles of human conduct have engaged the attention of so many, and when ethical problems have claimed so conspicuous a place in general conversation, as well as in formal works on literature, philosophy, and religion.

## BUSINESS LIFE IN ROME

The plebeians had long since become a proletariat without political functions. Rome was even more a melting-pot for many nations than the great cities of the east, since western peoples, as well as orientals, contributed to the total sum of recent immigrants, freedmen, and slaves of non-Italian origin. Many workmen were needed to maintain and provision so large a city, and the incessant building operations of the emperors and private citizens furnished steady employment for industrious laborers. We are told that the great flood of the Tiber in 69 occasioned as great distress from unemployment as from shortage of food.

Though the city had few industries aside from those connected with the building trade, there were countless shops and markets, stocked chiefly with goods produced elsewhere. In addition to the small shops throughout the city which sold common necessities, there were markets in various sections for the sale of meat, fish, and vegetables. The market which Trajan constructed in connection with his forum (Plate 53b) was efficiently planned for the display of goods, with the many small salesrooms which opened off its wide arcades. Dealers in a single commodity tended to congregate in special quarters: for pearls one went to the shops in the Forum, for ivory to the voting-booths in the Campus Martius, for Indian and Arabian spices to the markets near Vespasian's temple of Peace.

Wholesale business was concentrated at the great port of Ostia where many provincial firms maintained offices. Here cargoes were transferred from sea-going ships to barges for transport up the Tiber, and reserve stocks were stored in great warehouses. Ostia ranked high among the commercial cities of the empire in its imports, though imperial efforts to make it equal Puteoli, the chief port of Campania, in its export trade proved futile (Plate 56).

## BREAD AND CIRCUSES

Though many of the populace earned an honest living, there would scarcely have been employment for all who flocked to the city, even without the competition of slave labor, and wages were low in proportion to the cost of living. The domestic staffs of the great houses and palaces were composed of slaves who fared better than free workmen, unless their owners were capricious and tyrannical.

Yet there were many compensations for the precarious and uncomfortable life of the poor. Police, sanitation, flood protection, parks, baths, and public amusements were provided from the imperial revenues without cost to those who gained most from them. The grain doles with which the politicians of the late republic had bribed the voters were moderate in contrast with the donations of food, wine, oil, and even clothing which the city

proletariat in the second century claimed as their right. The friend and tutor of Marcus Aurelius summed up the situation as follows:

It seems to have become a principle of political science that the emperor must be a connoisseur of actors and other performers of the stage, circus, and arena, for he knows that the loyalty of the Roman people is won by two means alone, bread and circuses. The empire is judged more by its sports than by its solid achievements, and though graver damage is wrought by neglect of serious matters, more odium is incurred by neglect of amusements. Even the distribution of food is less eagerly demanded than free entertainments, for only the individuals whose names appear on the charity lists are won by doles of grain, while the people as a whole applaud the shows in the circus.<sup>3</sup> (Reading List 100)

#### IMPERIAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Whatever the final judgment of critics as to the originality of Roman art may be, there can be little question that the imperial achievement set its mark on the work of contemporary artists, especially in the many portrait busts and statues of the emperors and their families, and in the fine historical reliefs on the arches and columns which commemorated their triumphs. Naturalistic ornament was second only to imperial symbolism as an artistic motif. Not only public buildings and state temples, but the meeting-places of private religious organizations, business establishments, and the houses and tombs of wealthy citizens, gave ample scope to the artists who followed Greek models or devised styles in keeping with their own day and age. Pompeii and Herculaneum in Italy, the deserted cities and villages of north Africa, and scattered ruins throughout the empire have preserved wall-paintings, mosaic floors, reliefs of stone or stucco for wall and ceiling decoration, handsome furniture and bibelots. Similar finds are often made in Rome itself and in other cities, when excavation for modern structures discloses ancient remains below the present ground level. Rare woods and precious stones, richly colored glass, and variegated marbles were much prized for their decorative qualities. Copies of famous sculpture were produced in quantity. Many of the artistic treasures of the Greek cities were taken to adorn the baths and palaces of Rome, a loss which was only partially compensated for by statues of the emperors, or by their gifts of aqueducts, roads, and public buildings.

The work of builders and engineers throughout the empire insured ready communications, an ample supply of water for the chief cities, and fine amphitheatres, temples, markets, basilicas, and baths. These generally followed the Roman models in the west, but kept closer to traditional styles in the east. The excellence of their construction and the development of

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<sup>3</sup> Fronto, *Principia historiae* 17, ed. Haines, Loeb Library II, p. 216.

building techniques in brick, concrete, and stone have preserved many of these Roman structures to the present day, in spite of the ruin wrought by neglect, war, and the greed or necessity which has stripped them of their more valuable materials and ornament.

### PRIVATE HOUSES

The dwellings of the Roman age are best known from the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Here land was less costly than at Rome, and substantial citizens could afford houses with an extensive ground plan, using the outer rooms for business or for rented apartments, while the quieter quarters about the inner courts served for family life and entertainment. Such houses were often two stories high, with second-story balconies overlooking the street, but their simple façades, flush with the pavement, gave little suggestion of the spacious halls and pleasant gardens within (Plates 54b and 55a). The country villas which are known to us through excavation and from the descriptions in Pliny's letters, as well as from wall-paintings and mosaics in which they figure, vary from manor houses which provided for the practical purposes of the plantation as well as for the owner's comfort and pleasure, to the most elaborate and extensive establishments that the ingenuity of the architect could devise, with summerhouses, formal gardens, porticoes and halls similar to those of the Renaissance.

In the larger commercial cities, as well as at Rome where the cost of land made houses in the Pompeian style prohibitive in price, large apartment houses, similar to those found in Italian cities at the present day, housed the greater part of the population. Such apartments are best seen at Ostia, where they were so substantially built as to survive long centuries of neglect. Though the upper stories are ruined, the walls which remain show the skill of their builders in varying the monotony of the long blocks of apartments by the placing and design of doors, windows, and cornices (Plate 56a).

### THE BUILDINGS OF IMPERIAL ROME

From the time of Cæsar to that of Trajan, the rulers of Rome counted the adornment of the city as one of their essential functions. The imperial palaces grew from Augustus' comparatively modest residence on the southwest side of the Palatine to the great constructions of Domitian and Hadrian, with their many state apartments, offices, colonnades, fountains, and formal gardens. The palaces have long since been stripped of their roofs and marble facings as well as of movable ornaments; only massive walls of brick now remain, with little to suggest their past splendors. The soldiers of the guard cut diagrams in the stone pavements for games with which to while away their tedious hours on duty, and scratched rude cari-

captures on the walls, but for the life of the court itself we must turn from the ruins of the Palatine to literary accounts.

Among the temples of the imperial age, Augustus' great temple of Apollo on the Palatine has already been mentioned. Vespasian's temple of Peace ranked with the Æmilian basilica and the forum of Augustus as the most beautiful monuments of the city. It housed the treasures of Jerusalem and many famous Greek statues, as well as a library. A marble plan of the city, of which considerable fragments are preserved, was later attached to its wall. Hadrian's reconstruction of Agrippa's Pantheon, a great rotunda "vaulted over with lofty beauty," has exemplified the achievement of Roman architects throughout the ages; it appears on all mediæval plans of the city (Plate 64), and was much admired during the Renaissance, when burial within its walls was a signal honor. Hadrian also built a double temple to Venus and Rome between the Forum and the Coliseum, which, recently cleared and partially restored, is one of the most impressive ruins of the city.

The parks, porticoes, amphitheatres, theatres, race-courses, and baths which provided for the comfort and entertainment of the people were no less notable than the imperial palaces and the temples. The conversion of Nero's Golden House to popular use in the Flavian period has already been mentioned. The Flavian amphitheatre, known to later ages as the Colosseum, could accommodate some 50,000 spectators, and was the favorite place for gladiatorial combats and wild beast shows. This great structure, which mediæval superstition associated with the fate of Rome and of the world itself, was never superseded, but the public baths built by Agrippa, Nero, Titus, and Trajan were far surpassed by those of Caracalla and Diocletian in the third century.

Julius Cæsar inaugurated the imposing series of imperial fora which extended from the north side of the Roman Forum past the Capitoline to the Campus Martius. The imperial fora provided spacious areas for state ceremonies, basilicas for the use of the law courts, and porticoes, offices, and shops for public and private business (Plate 53). Their buildings and the reliefs and statues with which they were adorned commemorated the achievements of the imperial city, as well as its artistic attainment. We may cite as illustrations of this point Cæsar's temple of Venus, the goddess-mother of the Julian house, Augustus' temple of Mars the Avenger, Vespasian's temple of Peace, and that of Nerva in honor of Minerva, patroness of peaceful arts.

Trajan's forum, alone, was not designed as the precinct of a temple, but housed the Ulpian Basilica, a column which bore the pictorial record of his Dacian wars in a continuous carved spiral (Plate 54a), and libraries flanking the column. A bronze equestrian statue of the emperor, similar in type to that of Marcus Aurelius which now stands on the Capitoline, was its conspicuous ornament. Hadrian added the temple of the deified Trajan.

This was the last and most admired of the imperial fora, the marvel of its own and later ages. (Reading List 76)

### THE SILVER AGE OF LATIN LITERATURE

The writers of the first and second centuries ranked their own productions below those of the great geniuses of the Ciceronian and Augustan periods, which had superseded Greek works as the models for Latin literature. Virgil was especially honored and imitated. Various emperors not only followed the example of Augustus in providing public libraries, but rewarded men of letters by offices and pensions which atoned for the decline of private patronage. Amateurs of literature were very common; though dramas were seldom produced on the stage, every young man must write his tragedy. "Learned and unlearned alike wrote poems on all occasions," and every new campaign provoked a flood of works which had at least the name of history. Individual brilliance and versatility produced many books of perennial interest, but without the grandeur inspired by the conscious sense of national greatness which pervaded the Golden Age.

Higher education was based especially on the study of rhetoric, in which the exact choice of words, figures, and cadences became more important as the practical uses of oratory disappeared, and public speeches served to praise imperial achievements, rather than to direct the policies of senate and people. Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*, written late in the first century, not only outline the principles and practice of rhetoric, but show how this apparently limited subject was extended to include the whole field of a liberal education.

The most notable writers of the Julio-Claudian age were associated with Nero's court. Seneca, the emperor's tutor, produced a wide range of philosophical and moral essays, seldom profound, but often penetrating and always urbane, which were widely read and imitated in the Middle Ages for their ethical judgments, akin to those of Christian thought. His tragedies, better suited for reading than for performance, are also preserved.

Seneca's nephew Lucan, whose Stoic republicanism led him to join the conspiracy of Piso, used his epic on the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey to express his conviction that Rome had lost her freedom and her true destiny with the end of the republic, and that civil war was the greatest disaster that could befall a state. Petronius wrote a long picaresque novel, the most notable episode of which is "Trimalchio's Dinner," a clever and ruthless satire on the extravagant follies of a rich freedman.

Pliny the Elder, who died while observing the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, compiled in his *Natural History* a wealth of curious and useful information on the world of nature and the arts devised by men. Though many of his statements have been disproved by modern science, he is our chief source of information on numerous topics, notably the history of Greek and

Roman art, and was the leading authority on natural science in western Europe until the seventeenth century. The epigrams of Martial betray the tyranny of Domitian's court by their gross adulation of the emperor, while the vices and foibles of those whom it was safe to attack are told off without mercy. Yet occasionally the poet's feeling for Rome in its outer beauty and its great traditions lightens the sordid picture of the society in which he lived.

In Domitian's reign, only a flatterer could safely publish, but Nerva and Trajan restored the security without which literature was doomed. Tacitus utilized the new freedom to publish his historical works, which, with the biographies of his younger contemporary Suetonius, have already been mentioned. The letters of Pliny the Younger, cited above for their information on Roman society and administration, present a sharp contrast to the satires of Juvenal, whose indignation inspired his verse. Juvenal's prayer for a sound mind in a sound body is scarcely more famous than the indictment of Roman life in his third satire. As a poor man, he found it intolerable to live in Rome, but he could not bring himself to move away.

Before the end of Hadrian's reign, Latin literature became academic in tone, and pedantic imitation of early writers was more highly valued than fresh inspiration.

#### GREEK WRITERS

Greek literature, which had been stagnant since the Hellenistic Age, had a late flowering under Nerva and his successors. Only a few products of this Hellenic renaissance can be mentioned here.

The speeches of Dio Chrysostom and Ælius Aristides, often cited above, are characteristic in their urbane and polished style, their conviction of the past greatness of Greece, and their constant effort to find acceptable substitutes for lost standards in individual and community life. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* of Greek and Roman statesmen and his *Moral Essays* exemplify the tendency of his age to seek present guidance in the great traditions of the past.

Appian's *Civil Wars* surveyed the history of Rome in the full consciousness of the prudence and good fortune on which her empire depended, and the lasting security and prosperity which it had achieved; he undertook to refute his countrymen's attacks on Roman sovereignty. The essays and dialogues of the Syrian Lucian display much versatility and a genius for irony in their mordant comments on gods, heroes, and philosophies revered in the past, and on the foibles and extravagances of the present. His *True History* is a brilliant burlesque on the fabulous romances which were published as actual adventures, and his essay on *The Way to Write History* is a notable contribution to historical criticism, inspired by the pseudo-histories of his time. (Reading List 75)

## SCIENTIFIC WORK

Literary history and criticism, æsthetics, and archæological and anti-quarian studies engaged the attention of many scholars. Few real additions were made to scientific knowledge, but the botanical works of Dioscorides and the treatises of Galen of Pergamum were fundamental in later medical practice. Galen's work won general acceptance for Hippocrates' doctrine of the four humors, sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic, and choleric, which were to be the basis of mediæval diagnosis and psychology.

Alexandria was the chief centre for mathematics and astronomy. Here Claudius Ptolemy (c. 150) gave final form to the geocentric theory in a work honored by Arabic scholars as the *Almagest*. The Ptolemaic theory was the fundamental conception of the universe until the establishment of the Copernican theory. The preponderant influence of astrology gave scientific study under the Roman Empire a character alien to that of the modern world.

## PHILOSOPHY

Philosophy and religion tended to converge, for the majority of philosophers were more concerned with the soul's welfare than with abstract speculation. The Stoic emperor, Marcus Aurelius, wrote:

Our life is a warfare and a pilgrimage; what then can give us friendly guidance? One thing and one alone, philosophy, which means keeping the spirit that dwells within us pure and unspoiled, master of pleasures and pains, doing nothing at random or deceitfully or insincerely, completely independent of other men's actions.<sup>4</sup>

Through religion men sought closer contact between man and God, definition of the true values of human life, and the soul's salvation. There was much in common between the eclectic philosophy of the period, in which Stoicism was the most fruitful force, and the mystery religions which had the widest appeal.

The Academy abandoned its sterile skepticism for more fruitful studies in line with Stoic and Peripatetic thought. There was no incongruity in applying the terms Platonist and Stoic to a single individual. The Jewish Philo, who was born at Alexandria at about 25 B.C., studied Greek philosophy as a means to the better understanding of Judaism, and founded a school of thought which contributed greatly to the union of theology and philosophy and to the development of mysticism. The syncretism of the age involved the study of different systems to determine the common elements which had universal value. While this did not lead to the foundation of new schools, it precluded mere slavish repetition of past thought.

<sup>4</sup> *Meditations* II, 17.

Stoicism was the most influential philosophy of the period, not only among philosophers themselves, but as a medium for disseminating ideas among the general public. The similarity of the *Discourses* of the Phrygian slave Epictetus (c. 50-120) and the *Meditations* of the emperor Marcus Aurelius is in keeping with the chief Stoic doctrines, the brotherhood of mankind and indifference to all externals which might harm the soul. Since these were also fundamental Christian principles, the general acceptance of Stoic doctrines facilitated the spread of Christianity.

While the itinerant Cynics, many of whom were philosophers only in name, continued to advocate anarchy, Stoicism lent itself both to a rational patriotism and to the wider view of the common citizenship of the world. The Stoic emperor wrote:

I am by nature a rational being and a citizen. As Antoninus I claim Rome as my city and my fatherland, but as a man I am a citizen of the world. My own advantage therefore is identical with that of these communities.<sup>5</sup>

#### RELIGION

Religion as well as philosophy was affected by an other-worldliness which was in marked contrast with the worldly extravagance of the age. The desire to control or at least to discover one's destiny in the after-life led many to intense preoccupation with astrology and magic; miracle-workers commanded an enthusiastic following, and soothsayers of varying repute could be found in any city. Merchants, sailors, and soldiers who returned from the eastern wars spread the oriental cults more widely through the northern and western provinces. Many men found satisfaction for their spiritual needs in the assurance of a god concerned with individual human life and of a personal immortality to be gained by ritual initiation and communion. Such assurance was given by the cults of Isis and Sarapis, by Judaism, which accepted as partial converts men who did not wish to submit to the full restrictions of the Jewish Law, by Christianity, and by Mithraism.

In Iranian Mazdaism, Mithra appears as the divinity who assists mankind in the eternal struggle between light and darkness. His cult was very popular in Anatolia and Syria, though it won little acceptance in Greek communities. It was established in Italy during the first century A.D., largely through the influence of Asiatic slaves and Syrian merchants and craftsmen, who made up the greater number of its adherents in civilian communities. Nero was much interested in the cult for a time and Commodus was actually initiated. Later emperors found Mithraism a convenient support for their autocracy, and used titles derived from the Mithraic cult of the "Unconquered Sun." The eastern campaigns of the second century won

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<sup>5</sup> *Meditations* VI, 44.

many converts among the legionaries. Before the end of the second century, the soldiers on the Rhine and British frontiers enlisted in the warfare against the powers of darkness with Mithra as their commander. Small underground chapels were constructed in camps and commercial cities for the ritual initiation into the seven grades of the Mithraic community, the communal feast of bread and wine, and the mystic sacrifice of the sacred bull, through which the initiates hoped to gain eternal blessedness when Mithra should come to judge the world at the end of the present age.

The cult of the goddess Roma declined, but the worship of the emperors was strengthened by general acceptance of monarchy as the established order and by the transition from the modified republicanism of Augustus to undisguised autocracy. It harmonized with the old traditions of the eastern provinces and with the general principles of Stoic philosophy and of the oriental religions, except Judaism and Christianity. The latter were debarred from the imperial cult by their extreme monotheism. (Reading List 101)

#### CHRISTIANITY IN THE EARLY EMPIRE

It was not until Christianity was firmly established in the Roman Empire that the birth of Christ in the reign of Augustus and his execution under Tiberius came to appear as significant events in the history of the world. To the outsider, Christianity was a perversion of Judaism and a secret sect which was distrusted, misunderstood, and subject to local suppression. Christian communism, though it was far more theoretical than practical, seemed a menace to property rights.

Nero's execution of the Christians in Rome after the great fire first brought the new sect into wide notice; thereafter we find mentions of penal regulations based on the assumption that the Christians were a Jewish group who had strayed from the recognized norm of Judaism and were atheists both from the pagan and the Jewish point of view, and that Christian congregations were unlicensed associations, which might be centres of disaffection and subversive doctrine. The spread of Christianity among non-Jewish communities in northern Syria and in Galatia, Pamphylia, and other parts of Asia Minor threatened to turn too many men from their normal life and from whole-hearted devotion to Rome.

Local antagonism to Christianity is clearly seen in Pliny's appeal to Trajan for advice on the procedure to be followed in Bithynia, when Christians were accused by their neighbors. Pliny had found the usual charges against them baseless, but the Christians stubbornly refused to recant and sacrifice to the emperor. Trajan ordered that those who were formally accused should be given a fair trial and a chance to demonstrate their loyalty, but forbade wholesale or anonymous arrests.

In the meantime the work of St. Paul and others developed Christian theology under the influence of current Greek philosophy and prepared the way for its wider acceptance among educated members of the upper classes. The city proletariat had been the most numerous early converts to the teachings of the apostles outside Judea. In Rome and other cities, the women of the great families were often converted to the new creed before their husbands, and played an important part in spreading its gospel. The many charities which the local churches undertook were supported in large part by the gifts of these devoted women, and were a practical means of stimulating interest in the spiritual values of Christianity and cementing the fellowship of Christian communities.

By the end of Marcus Aurelius' reign, the church was a well-developed institution with a regular diocesan organization under the bishops. It had many more adherents in the eastern provinces than in the west, and few as yet outside the cities. The New Testament was now practically completed. Heretical factions were already developing as a result of disputes which arose from the closer definition of fundamental doctrines and through syncretism with other religious cults. (Reading List 102)

### XXX

## PARTHIA AND TRADE WITH THE FAR EAST

*Mankind may be considered a genus, which has as its species the nations, Greek, Roman, and Parthian.* —Seneca

THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE was a major factor in the foreign policy of Rome, in her eastern trade, and in the administration of the oriental provinces. Armenia, over which both Rome and Parthia claimed overlordship, was a recurrent source of conflict, while the Roman market for goods brought to the west by Parthian caravans made friendly relations advantageous to both powers.

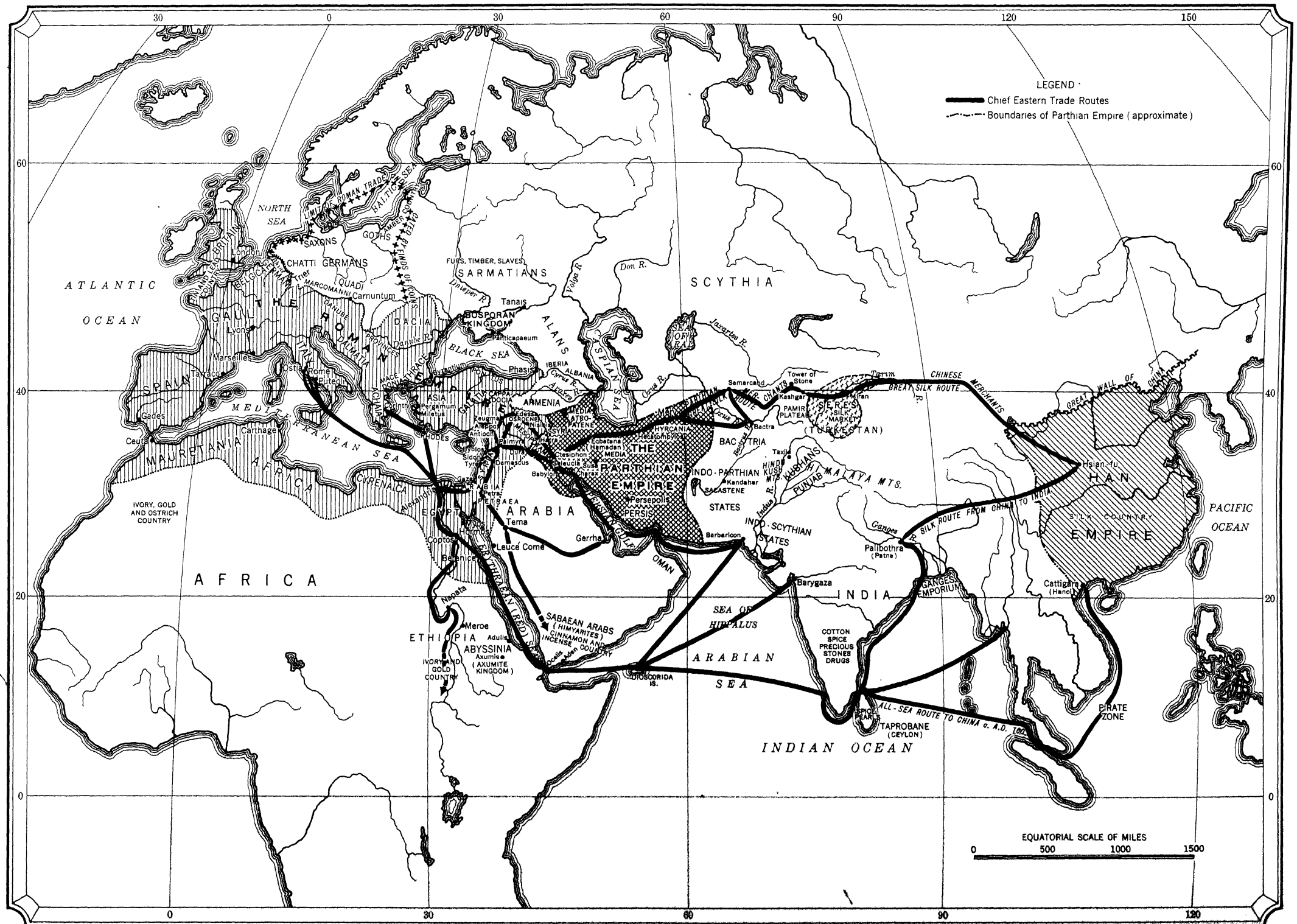
The desert bay of Arabia lay between Roman Syria and Parthian Mesopotamia, except in the north where Pompey had made the Euphrates the boundary of the Roman power. The Euphrates, however, served only as a political and military frontier; the lands on both sides of the river continued to be closely united in population and culture. As we have already seen, many of the non-hellenized inhabitants of Asia Minor and Syria were closely affiliated in culture, language, and religion with Mesopotamia and Iran. In their case, as in that of the thousands of Jews in the Parthian territories, the arbitrary frontier was a minor consideration. The organization of Mazdaism under the Chaldæan Magi on the one hand, and that of the Jewish church on the other, provided a bond greater than that of loyalty to an alien dynasty, and occasioned frequent intercourse between the scattered worshippers, pilgrimages to their chief religious centres, and the maintenance of a fairly homogeneous culture on both sides of the frontier.

The number of Jews in Babylonia and other Parthian satrapies was indicated by the great amounts of gold and silver which they sent annually to the Temple at Jerusalem. Josephus, the Jewish general who became the spokesman of Rome under the patronage of Vespasian and Titus, wrote a history of the Jewish Wars in Aramaic to give the Jews beyond the Euphrates a true account of Rome's policies in Judea. Among the significant indications of the community of thought between Jews and Magians are the widely circulated prophecies which foretold the coming of a conqueror from the east to overthrow the Roman Empire and restore the lost glories of Asia.

The extent to which the subjects of the two powers mingled is illustrated not only by extant descriptions of the commercial cities of the Roman



# X. THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE AND EASTERN TRADE





Empire, but by the Biblical account of Pentecost. "There were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven," who cried out in amazement when they heard the preaching of the Apostles:

How hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God.<sup>1</sup>

### MATERIALS FOR PARTHIAN HISTORY

Our knowledge of the "only people never to be despised by Rome in war" is limited by the inadequate materials at hand for the study of Parthian history and institutions. The Sasanid dynasty which succeeded the Arsacids was of Persian origin, and thought of the Parthians as alien interlopers. Their chronicles, therefore, throw little light on the Parthian period. Archæological research until recently has neglected Parthian levels in favor of the earlier remains. Parthian coins, however, are of great value for the names and chronology of individual rulers, and Syriac authors furnish supplementary material.

The history of Parthia was naturally a favorite subject with Greek and Roman historians of the early empire, especially when the two countries were at war. The Parthians, "who now rule the east by a sort of partition of the world between themselves and the Romans," were "the one nation that is not only a match for the Roman armies, but has even defeated them more than once."<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately most of these histories are lost or survive only in fragments and brief summaries by later writers. The frequent mentions of Parthia in general literature serve chiefly to illustrate the indifference of the reading public to the actual customs and character of contemporary Parthians.

### THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE

The achievement of the Arsacids deserves serious consideration in the history of civilization, for they built up and maintained a great empire in spite of powerful external rivals, the repeated revolts of vassal states, and dynastic wars. They protected the Near East against the Sarmatian Alans and other northern invaders. While Roman emperors tended to take Alexander the Great as the model and inspiration of their oriental policy, the Arsacids looked back beyond the Macedonian conquest to Darius the Great and his Achæmenid successors. From the time of Augustus, the superficial

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Apostles* 2, 5-11.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, *Epitome of Troges* XLI, 1.

Hellenism of the earlier Parthian period gave way before a strong Iranian reaction. The later Arsacids fostered the essentially Iranian culture of their subjects, with its strong admixture of Semitism, and transmitted it to the Sasanids. The Sasanids seem to have followed the same general policy as their hated predecessors; their greater success may be attributed both to the vigor of a new and passionately nationalistic dynasty and to the comparative weakness of their rivals.

#### DYNASTIC PROBLEMS

After their defeat of Crassus at Carrhæ, the Parthian dynasty was weakened by dynastic struggles which were an important factor in the internal disintegration of their power. For over 275 years, they retained their empire with little loss of territory and only a brief interruption of their independence, but were unable to build up a centralized administration. Dynastic intrigues also greatly affected their relations with the Roman Empire, as several incidents which have been recorded by Tacitus clearly indicate.

Since only members of the Arsacid house were accepted as legitimate sovereigns, several kings adopted the expedient of sending their sons to Rome to be educated. This prevented ambitious nobles from using young princes as pretenders to the throne and enabled the heir apparent to acquaint himself with Roman policies in the interest of future diplomacy. But rebellious factions lodged complaints at Rome against the "atrocious cruelties" of their king, and begged for a Roman-trained prince in his stead. When they gained their request, the new ruler enjoyed only a brief popularity, for his ignorance of horsemanship and archery and his inability to endure the prodigious drinking-bouts of his court soon bred antagonism and made him seem an alien.

#### THE ARMY

The Arsacids maintained royal troops under their direct command as the nucleus of their army, and used foreign soldiers as palace guards. The bulk of their forces, however, consisted of feudal contingents furnished by the great nobles in time of war, with some troops from the Greek cities. The latter kept up their Macedonian training; the native troops consisted, as before, chiefly of heavy and light cavalry, armed with spear, sword, bow, or lasso. Their equipment and tactics were very similar to those of the neighboring Sarmatians and were far better suited to campaigns in western Asia than those of the Romans. But the feudal character of the army made long campaigns unpopular, and would probably have prevented a policy of expansion at the expense of Rome, even if the kings had been free to concentrate on the western frontier.

## IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION

The feudal structure of the Parthian Empire was inherited from the Achæmenid kings of Persia, which was little affected, as we have seen, by the interlude of Seleucid rule. The central core of the empire, from Babylonia to Merv and Kandahar, consisted of satrapies under governors appointed by the king. Since, however, a few clans exercised suzerainty over vast tracts of land which included many villages and cities and furnished the bulk of the feudal contingents for the army, the heads of their chief families practically held the satrapies as a hereditary office.

Within the satrapies were many small units which enjoyed substantial autonomy; some of these were petty kingdoms. Among them were various tribal units, a few small Jewish principalities, and the Greek cities founded by Macedonian colonists under Alexander and the first Seleucids. The latter seem to have kept their Hellenistic laws and institutions, and had their own garrisons, but were under the general authority of the local satrap. They were agricultural and commercial settlements.

The empire also included numerous vassal kingdoms of varying size under native dynasts, whose rank was indicated by differences in their royal insignia. Some of these were privileged to issue their own coinage. Dynastic struggles were frequent in these states, and led to direct intervention by Parthia and sometimes by Rome. Among the larger vassals, Media Atropatene and Armenia were ruled by members of the Arsacid house; Hyrcania, Persis, and the Indo-Parthian state of Sacastene kept their own dynasties. Control of this fringe of vassals was one of the most serious problems of the Arsacid kings, especially in the case of Armenia, where the conflicting interests of Rome and Parthia were the chief occasion for war between the two powers.

## ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Little is known of the economic structure of Parthia except that it varied greatly in different districts, since the Arsacids retained both the complicated system of land tenure which had persisted since early Babylonian days, and the Persian respect for the ancestral customs of their subjects. Below the successive ranks of the feudal nobility, there were many small land-owners, free craftsmen, and slaves. Greek and Babylonian elements were conspicuous in the law, and the chief languages were Pahlavi, Babylonian, and Greek. The system of taxation is not known, but the customs duties levied on the caravans probably formed a substantial proportion of the total revenue. The control and extension of the caravan trade with China, India, and Rome, on which Parthian wealth chiefly depended, was a major factor in Arsacid policy.

## RELIGION

Almost every aspect of Parthian culture illustrates the strong Iranian reaction which began early in the first century of our era, and helped to prepare the way for the completely Persian dynasty of the Sasanids in the third century. It was probably in the reign of Vologases I (51-77) that the official revival of Zoroastrian Mazdaism led to the completion of the *Avesta*, of which a new edition was compiled, with a commentary in Pahlavi. Since Mazdaism became the official religion of the dynasty, the divine character of the kings was not stressed thereafter. Strict monotheism, however, was relaxed to permit the intrusion of popular elements, such as the worship of the Sun, Moon, and other deities, perhaps as phases of Mazda. Orthodox Zoroastrians in Persia condemned this contamination of their national faith. The most influential element in this revival of Mazdaism was to be the cult of Mithra, which, as we have seen, spread throughout the commercial cities and the legionary camps of the Roman Empire during the second and third centuries of our era.

Outside the court there was great diversity in religion, with considerable mingling of Semitic and Iranian elements in the city cults. The Iranian masses seem never to have deserted their many ancient deities and demons or their superstitious magic in favor of Mazdaism. The Semitic population continued to build temples to their gods and to use personal names which indicated their devotion to them; they even preserved Sumerian hymns in their ritual.

Babylonia was second only to Jerusalem as a centre of Judaism, and the Talmudic literature compiled here exercised a powerful influence on later Jewish thought. The Parthians were tolerant of Christianity, which seems to have become established in Mesopotamia at an early period. Local persecutions, however, sometimes arose from the hostility of Magian priests. A curious instance of Parthian interest in an alien religion is shown by a Chinese record of A.D. 146, which ascribes to a Parthian merchant the introduction of Buddhism into China.

## THE ARTS

The Arsacids had Greek secretaries, and some of the men educated in the Greek schools of the Macedonian colonies are known to have gained distinction in the Hellenic world by their writings. Parthian annals and commercial itineraries were used by Greek scholars, and later oriental epics reflect the adventures of the kings and nobles of the Arsacid period, but no Parthian literature seems to have escaped the indifference or hostility of the Sasanids.

Recent discoveries have definitely established the character of Parthian art as a transitional phase in which Iranian features far outweigh Hellen-

istic elements. The foundation of Sasanian art is clearly discernible here. Notable instances in architecture are the fire-temples and the characteristic palaces with four porticoes opening from a square central court. Not only religious sculpture and painting, but the secular hunting and banqueting scenes based on the heroic epics are essentially Iranian in feeling and technique. This influence is clearly seen at Dura and Palmyra, where Roman and Parthian influences mingled for generations.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

The chief tasks of the Arsacids were defense of the frontiers, control of the great vassals, and management of the overland trade with China and India. Greek and Roman historians were interested only in the western frontier of Parthia. The earlier Roman emperors seldom thought it desirable to annex land east of the Euphrates or to risk too much for the sake of overlordship in Armenia. The Roman wars of the second century, however, hastened the disintegration of the Arsacid power, although Rome did not gain enough by them to compensate for her heavy loss of men.

Neither power fully controlled the desert which separated Roman Syria from Parthian Mesopotamia, but the Arab tribes of this district were not sufficiently organized, as a rule, to do more than plunder the weaker caravans. Beyond the Iberian and Albanian tribes of the Caucasus, which were under Parthian protectorate, was the powerful feudal monarchy of the Iranian Sarmatians. Though a king might seek refuge among the Sarmatians if he were expelled from Parthia by dynastic war, or might ask their help in Armenia, their attacks were a recurrent danger. On at least two occasions the Sarmatian Alans invaded Parthian territory in full force. In 73 the king vainly asked Vespasian to help him against the common danger, but in 135, when the Alans even invaded Cappadocia, the governor of the Roman province joined forces with Vologases II to expel them. The value of Parthia's services in protecting western Asia from these northern invasions is indicated by the severity of the Sarmatian attack on the Roman provinces under Marcus Aurelius and by the prominence of the Alans in the later Germanic invasions of the Roman Empire.

Even less is known of the Parthian wars with the Scythians and other peoples east of the Caspian Sea. Before 125 the Bactrian Kushans established their power in the Punjab, and ended the Parthian influence over the Indian states. At about the same time Bactria became independent of Parthian control.

#### THE ROMAN WARS

From the reign of Augustus to that of Trajan, the Armenian protectorate was the chief occasion for conflict between Rome and Parthia. Neither power could afford to risk a serious defeat in order to gain additional terri-

tory, for the Parthian organization was not adequate to control the eastern Roman provinces, and Roman policy did not favor the annexation of further oriental districts. Neither, however, wished to relinquish all control over the strategically situated territory of Armenia, nor to permit the revival there of an independent kingdom like that of Tigranes. Public opinion in Armenia was divided, for while the country was linked with Parthia by the common culture, by intermarriage, and, as Tacitus said, by its ignorance of free government, opposing factions gave their dubious allegiance to Rome through jealousy of Parthia, or to Parthia through hatred of Rome.

The course of the conflict may be briefly reviewed at this point. Augustus and Tiberius supported Hellenized client-princes in Armenia. Phraates' consent to this arrangement alienated many Parthians, and his successors, members of the secondary branch of the Arsacids, who had ruled in Media Atropatene, opposed its continuation fruitlessly. Gaius seriously mishandled the problem, and in Nero's time Vologases I was willing to risk a long war in order to establish a Parthian king in Armenia. Nero's solution, after Corbulo's successful campaigns in the east, was a compromise which lasted until the close of the Flavian dynasty. Parthian honor was satisfied by the coronation of the Arsacid Tiridates, and Roman pride by the fact that the new king of Armenia received his crown from the hands of Nero as a vassal of Rome.

The origins of Trajan's war with Pacorus and Osroes of Parthia in 114-117 are uncertain. His decision to make Armenia a province and Mesopotamia and Media Atropatene buffer states controlled by Roman garrisons, and to set up a client-king in Parthia was a complete reversal of earlier Roman policy. It has been suggested that Trajan hoped not only to settle the Armenian question, but to gain control of the profitable overland trade routes. He was helped by the outbreak of dynastic war in Parthia, but the nationalist reaction which followed the capture of Ctesiphon provoked widespread revolts throughout the east. The new acquisitions were lost before they could be organized, and do not properly belong among the territories governed by Rome.

The severity and extent of the revolts probably determined Hadrian to restore the legitimate Parthian king and to return Mesopotamia to his control. Armenia was to become once more a vassal under a king appointed by Rome. A few years later Vologases III of Parthia (148-191) renewed hostilities by setting up his own protégé on the throne of Armenia. Lucius Verus duplicated Trajan's campaign in 163-164, reestablished the Roman protectorate in Armenia, seized the chief cities of Mesopotamia, and extended the Roman frontier south of Dura. The Roman success was, as we have seen, discounted by the disastrous incidence of the plague which the returning legions spread through Europe. During Marcus Aurelius' campaigns in Bohemia, Vologases made fresh preparations for war, for the

recovery of Mesopotamia was a vital issue. In the Roman civil wars after the death of Commodus, Parthian troops supported Pescennius Niger, the candidate of the Syrian legions for the principate. Consequently, in 196 Septimius Severus, the victor in the imperial conflict, made a brief expedition against Parthia. In 198 he returned and captured all the chief cities of southern Mesopotamia except Hatra, which was defended by engines that shot two arrows at once at long range. His campaign was costly for Rome, since the casualties were utterly disproportionate to the lands gained. But his son Caracalla took advantage of dynastic troubles in Parthia to annex the former vassal-state of Osroëne. The possibility of further aggression beyond the Euphrates was ended by Caracalla's assassination. The Roman fortunes in the east declined thereafter, and the Severi retained their holdings in Mesopotamia only by paying an indemnity to Parthia, while the Parthian Tiridates ruled in Armenia as a nominal client of Rome. (Reading List 103)

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SASANID DYNASTY

The long reign of the Arsacid kings of Parthia was now nearly at an end. Risings in Iran and Media Atropatene as early as 197, during the campaigns of Severus, seem to have been connected with the beginning of the Sasanid revolt. We know nothing of the Persian Sasan who gave his name to the new dynasty, nor of the internal course of this significant event in the history of the Near East. A newly discovered inscription seems to indicate that the official Persian dynasty dated from about 208. The final dissolution of the Parthian rule took place between 220 and 224, and Ardashir, the first Sasanid to control the whole empire, was probably crowned in 226.<sup>3</sup> His name recalls the Achæmenid Artaxerxes. National pride in the restoration of legitimate Persian rule infused fresh vigor into the weakened frame of the eastern empire without drastic changes in its organization.

#### ROMAN TRADE WITH THE FAR EAST

The development of active trade between the Mediterranean world and the Far East was greatly stimulated by the expansion of the Roman world in the late republic and by the establishment of the imperial peace. Pompey seems to have been fully aware of the commercial opportunities offered by his eastern conquests, for Pliny the Elder frequently refers to his maps and memoranda, which included the records of a mission sent out in the interest of trade with India. The route which Pompey's men explored required seven days to transport goods from India to Bactria, and led thence

<sup>3</sup> For this reconstruction, which differs somewhat from the older chronology, I am indebted to Dr. Neilson C. Debevoise.

by the Bactrus and Oxus Rivers to the Caspian Sea, and by the Cyrus River and an overland journey of five days to Phasis on the Black Sea.

The Roman civil wars and the Parthian wars of Crassus and Antony interrupted trade with the east, but the Augustan peace led to its rapid revival under the stimulus of the mounting demand for oriental goods throughout the cities of the empire. During the first two centuries, the volume of trade with the Far East greatly surpassed that of the Hellenistic Age.

The enterprise of Parthian merchants greatly facilitated this development. The silk trade by the overland route to Chinese Turkestan, which was established before the end of the second century B.C., was a Parthian monopoly. Chinese annals of the Han dynasty give us some glimpses of the shrewdness and efficiency of Parthian merchants, who would haggle about the least fraction of a penny, and had developed their road system so well that they could use carts instead of pack animals to transport their merchandise. It is impossible to determine the precise influence of trade on the foreign policy of Rome, but commercial interests may have been an important factor in the diplomatic intercourse of the two empires which together controlled the markets from the Chinese border to the Atlantic. Despite Arsacid taxation and the profits of Parthian middlemen, the overland route was the most practicable.

Imports from India, which included both local products and goods in transit from the East Indies and from China, were brought by ships either to the head of the Persian Gulf and thence up the Tigris or the Euphrates to the caravan cities of Parthia, or else to the ports of the Red Sea for transport to Alexandria or Syria. Until the time of Augustus, the Red Sea trade was in the hands of Arabian merchants almost exclusively. The Sabæans or Himyarite Arabs of southern Arabia successfully closed the straits of Bab el Mandeb both to Egyptian and Indian shipping during the late Hellenistic Age and won great wealth from the transit trade, as well as from the frankincense and myrrh of their own land. Gallus, whom Augustus sent on an expedition to Arabia, failed to subdue the country, but made a commercial agreement which enabled Alexandrian merchants to sail directly from the Egyptian coast to India. Strabo says that 120 ships a year sailed from Egypt to India thereafter, and that Indian merchants began to frequent the Alexandrian markets, but until the use of the monsoon route was fully understood the tedious coastwise voyage did not attract many of the Greek and Syrian merchants who carried on the eastern trade of the empire. Arabian ships, therefore, continued to handle most of the Indian commerce. The Himyarite kingdom was thus scarcely less important than Parthia in Roman commercial diplomacy. Rome's control of the Mediterranean markets increased her influence over the western centres of the transit trade, whether they were directly subject to her authority or not.

## EASTERN COMMODITIES IN ROMAN TRADE

Silk accounted for perhaps nine-tenths of the imports from China; raw silk, thread, and fabrics were imported. The latter were seldom used in their original form, but were sent to the cities of southern Syria, Berytus, Tyre, Sidon, and Gaza, where they were reworked to produce the gauzy textures that Roman taste demanded. These cities were, therefore, the western termini of the silk trade. Other imports from China included furs and the special Chinese variety of cast iron, which was highly prized. Chinese rhubarb for medicinal purposes was brought by a northern route and was therefore associated in the minds of Roman purchasers with the Volga district and not with China.

Cotton and condiments probably made up the bulk of Indian exports to the West, although costly luxuries are more commonly mentioned in Roman literature, since they served to illustrate the extravagance and vanity of contemporary society. Pearls, sapphires, and other gems, semi-precious stones for use as seals, costly fabrics and embroideries, ivory, ebony, and mother-of-pearl, rare spices and perfumes, and wild animals for the circus were all sought in the Indian markets, to which they were brought from the inland districts and from the East Indies. Among more practical importations, aside from cotton, pepper, and ginger, we may note asbestos for lampwicks, indigo, rice, and sugar, or "honey from the sugar cane," which was used for medicinal purposes.

The cinnamon trade is a remarkable example of a carefully guarded commercial secret. The Romans had long obtained it from southern Arabia, which they called the cinnamon country, and the Arabian merchants who brought it from the east succeeded in maintaining their monopoly even after Roman ships reached the native markets.

## ROMAN EXPORTS TO THE EAST

Roman goods for which there was a demand in the Far East included lead, tin, and copper from the western mines, different brands of wine, and coral, which was greatly prized in India. The establishment of more regular trade with the Baltic region during the early empire enabled Roman merchants to obtain plentiful supplies of amber, which was readily sold in the eastern markets. Ivory, tortoise-shell, and pearls were among the non-Roman goods purchased for re-export to China. The manufactured goods exported to the Far East were nearly all produced in the eastern provinces: linen from Egypt, fabrics of Tyrian purple, Syrian embroideries, and even the transparent Syrian silks, metal wares, pottery, cheap goods for the Indian bazaars, and above all Syrian glass, which the Chinese greatly admired. As in the days of the first intercourse between China and the

Hellenistic world, Syrian slaves, singers, and jugglers were also popular in the court of the Han emperors.

Roman writers complained that the Himyarites would take no Roman goods in exchange for their precious frankincense, and it is clear that the balance of trade with India was also unfavorable to Rome. The moralists, however, who were more inclined to attack the huge sums spent on useless luxuries than to draw up a balance sheet, say very little about the cargoes shipped to India. Probably a considerable part of the difference between Roman imports from China and exports to that country may be accounted for by the Parthian consumption of Roman goods, especially the products of Syria and Asia Minor, districts which had traded with Mesopotamia since very early times. The total sums expended in Rome for silk, jewels, perfumes, and condiments were in any case far greater than the amount of gold exported to pay for them, even if no Roman goods had been sold beyond the empire, for we are told of cases in which a merchant obtained 100 times as much for his cargo as he had paid for it in the eastern markets. The drain of gold to the east was a less significant factor in the economic decline of the empire than has sometimes been assumed.

#### THE SERES AND THE PARTHIAN CARAVANS

The great overland silk route ran from Hsianfu through Kashgar, Samarcand, and Merv to Mesopotamia. It was immensely profitable both to the Parthian government which levied tolls on the goods that passed the frontiers in transit from China to Syria, and to the caravan merchants who acted as middlemen in this lucrative commerce. Although Parthian merchants were familiar figures at the Chinese court and diplomatic relations between the two powers had been well established since the end of the second century B.C., the great centre of the silk trade was in Chinese Turkestan, the land of the Seres, whom Roman writers confused with the Chinese. At one of the trading stations in the Tarim Valley, Sir Aurel Stein found a roll of silk dropped from a caravan at some time between A.D. 67 and 137, which still bore a label with its place of origin, width, length, weight, and value. A Buddhist shrine which was abandoned at the close of the third century was decorated with frescoes Buddhist in theme, but Hellenistic and Roman in treatment, one of which was signed by a painter with a Roman name. In spite of Parthian attempts at monopoly, Roman traders occasionally visited the land of the Seres.

#### MÆS TITIANUS AND PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY

One such case is preserved for us in the famous *Geography* compiled by Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria in the middle of the second century. Ptolemy, the best known to us of the successive scientists who undertook the

# PLATE 57

## BUSINESS LIFE IN GAUL

### a: Mosaic from Orbe

*From Inventaire des Mosaïques  
de la Gaule et de l'Afrique;  
Courtesy Académie des Inscriptions  
et Belles Lettres, Paris*

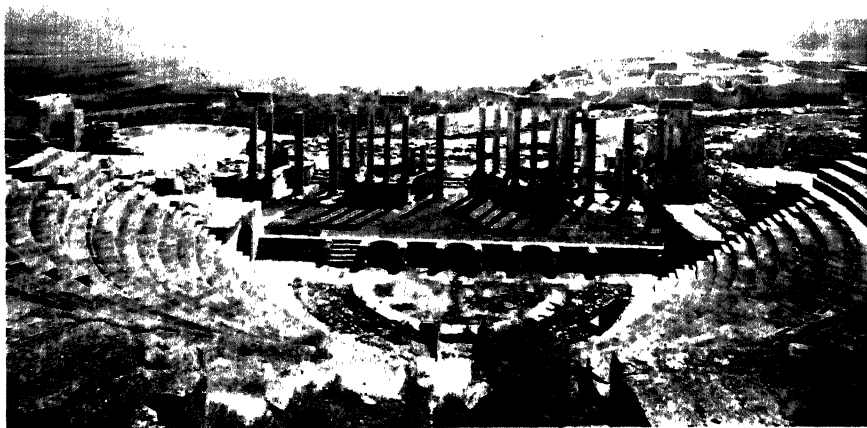


b: Gravestone of a Cloth Dealer at Sens



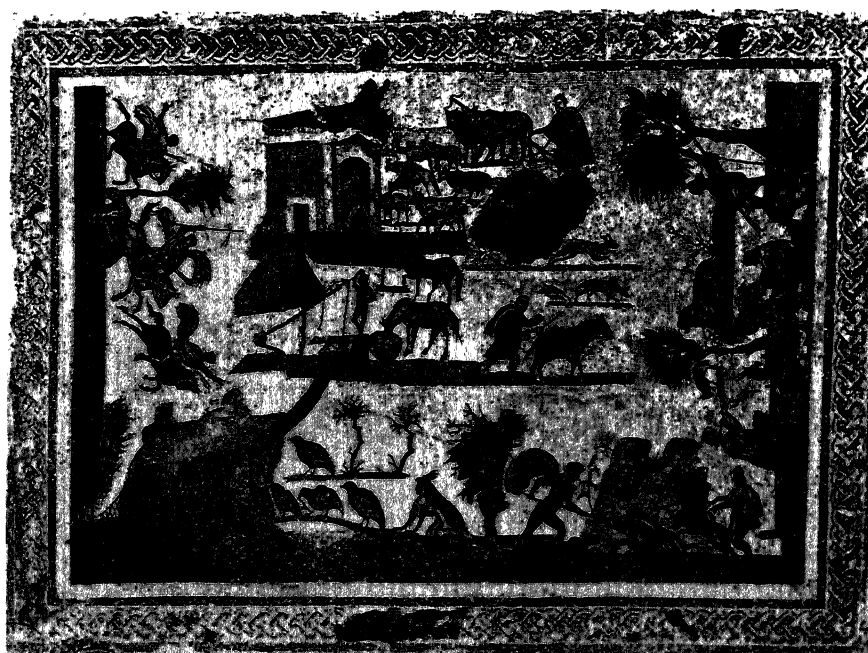
c: Gravestone of a Shopkeeper at  
Lillebonne, now at Rouen

(b, c) Courtesy of E. Esparandieu



a: The Theatre at Dougga

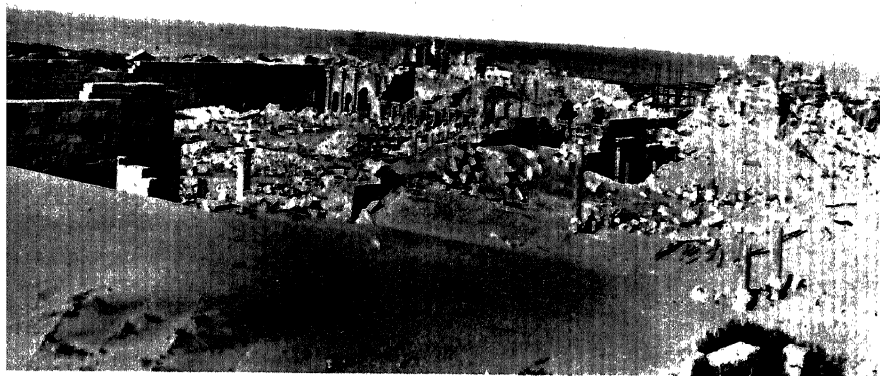
*Photograph by G. R. Swain, Courtesy of the University of Michigan*



b: Mosaic from Uthina, showing the work of an African villa, with hunting scenes

*From Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique; Courtesy Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*

## PLATE 58. ROMAN AFRICA



a: Leptis Magna

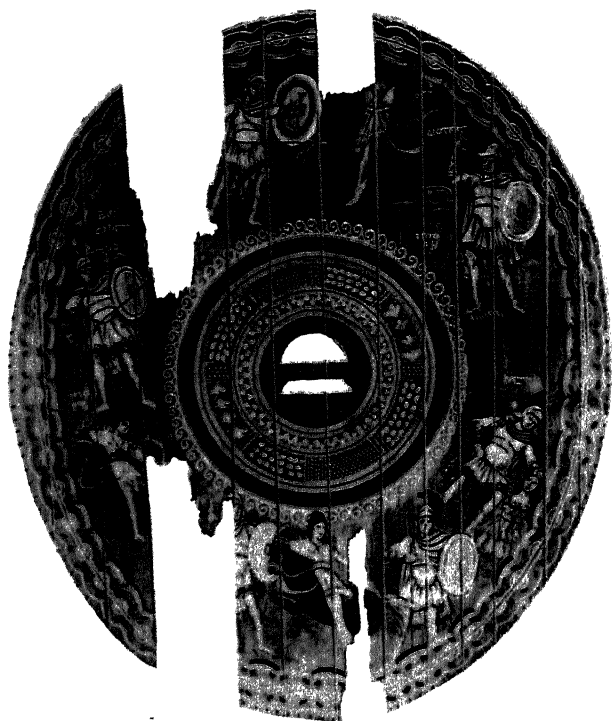
*Photograph by F. M. Carey*



b: Roman Ruins at Baalbek, Syria

*Photograph by G. R. Swain, Courtesy of the University of Michigan*

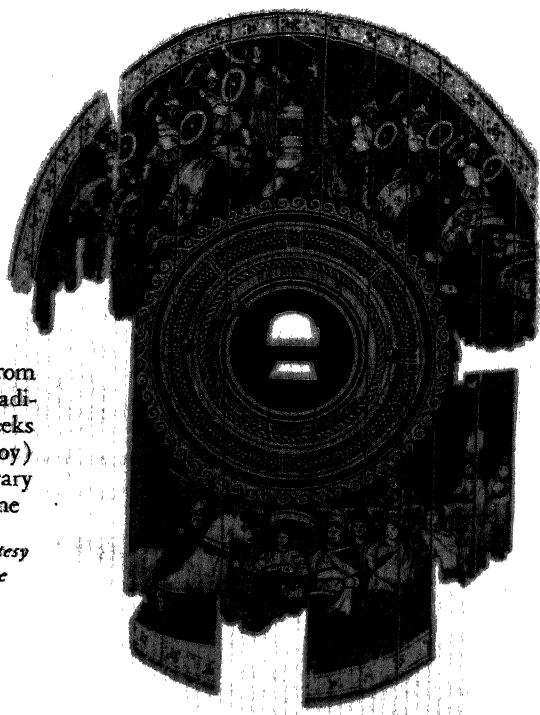
## PLATE 59

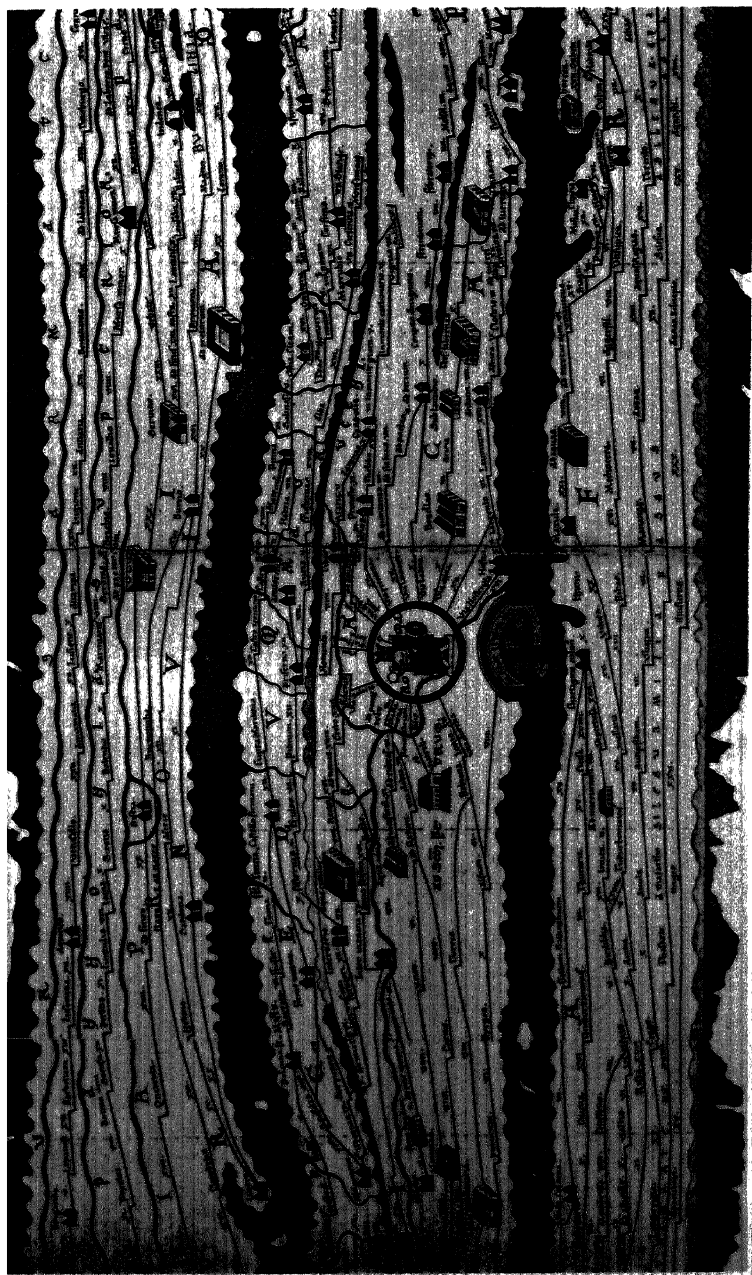


## PLATE 60

Painted Wooden Shields from  
Dura, 3rd century, with tradi-  
tional subjects (Battles of Greeks  
and Amazons, Capture of Troy)  
represented in contemporary  
Roman and Parthian costume

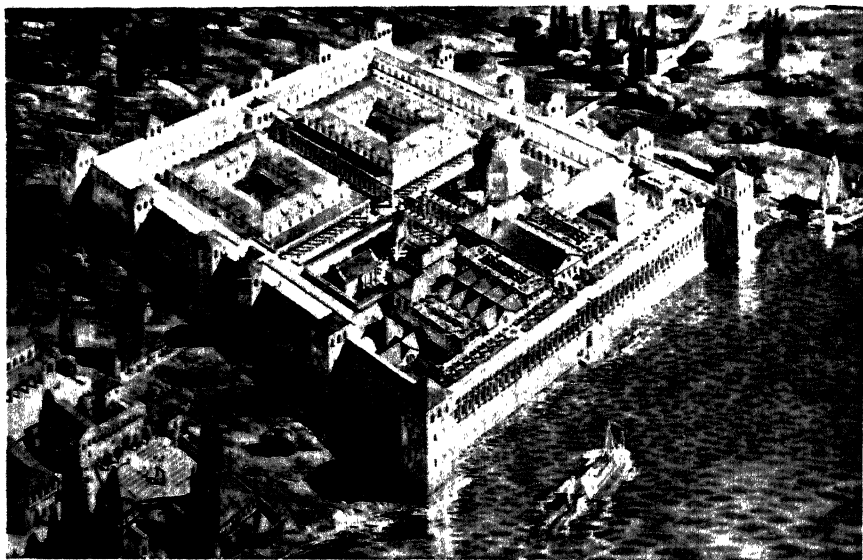
*From Drawings by H. J. Gude, Courtesy  
of the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale  
University*



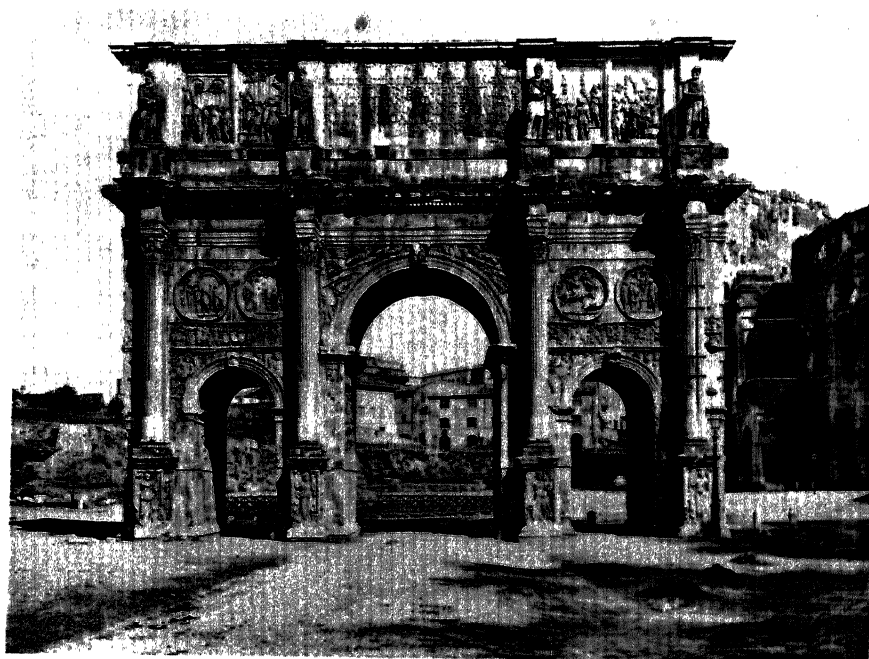


The Peutinger Table. A 13th century copy of an ancient road-map of the Roman Empire: above, Pannonia; centre, Rome and Italy; below, Africa

From K. Müller, *Weltkarte des Castorius*; Courtesy Salzburger Hochschulwochen  
National Library, Vienna



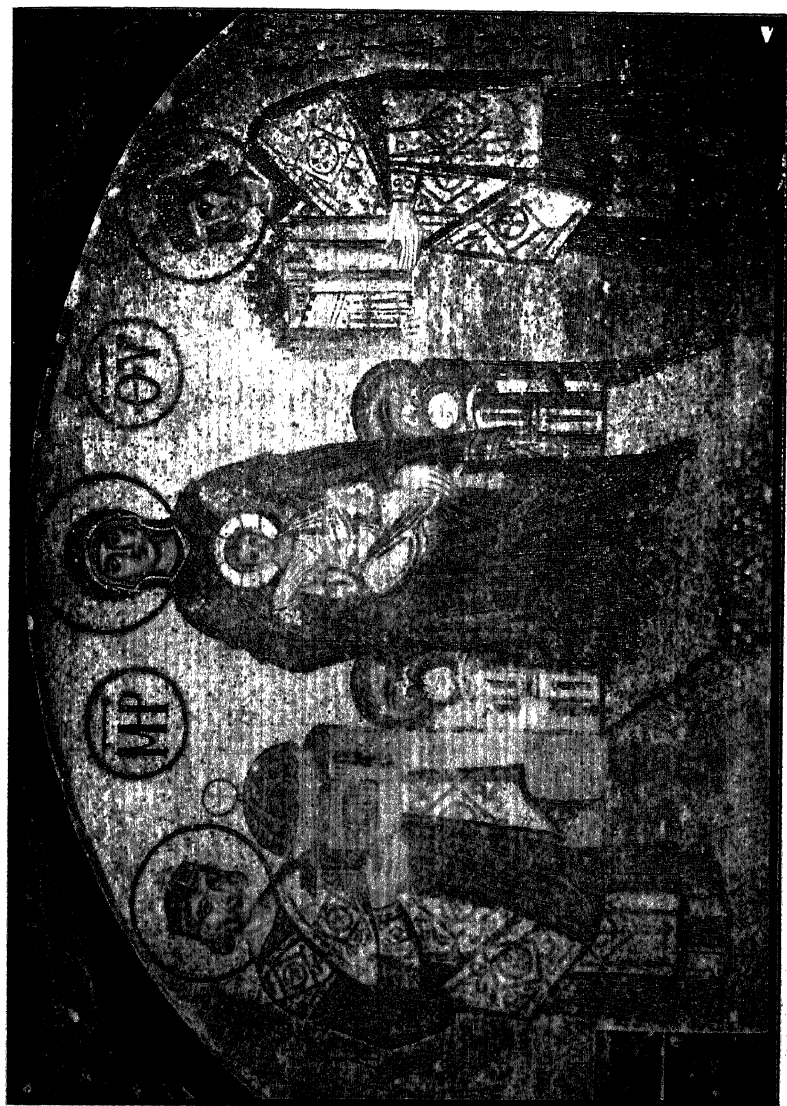
a: Reconstruction of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalato



b: The Arch of Constantine, Rome, with reliefs from 2nd century monuments

*Photograph Alinari*

PLATE 62



Mosaic in the church of Santa Sophia, Istanbul, 10th century: the Virgin enthroned, Justinian presenting the Church, and Constantine the city. Parts of the Turkish painting which covered the mosaic remain at the lower left. *Courtesy of the Byzantine Institute, Boston*

## PLATE 63



A 15th century miniature showing Rome as an old woman among the ancient and mediæval buildings of the city

*MS Fonds Ital. 81, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Photograph, Office de Documentation*

# PLATE 64

task of "rectifying the geographic map" in the light of contemporary exploration and study, made use of the unfinished work of Marinus of Tyre, which included the memoirs of a Macedonian trader, one Mæs Titianus. Whether Mæs Titianus was a merchant from one of the Syrian cities, as has been commonly assumed, or from one of the Greek colonies in Parthia, his contribution to this cooperative task of the geographers is significant. About A.D. 100 he sent out experienced men to explore the northern route to China. These men mapped the roads and stations from the Tower of Stone in the Pamir plateau to Hsianfu in China, a seven months' journey. Many other memoirs of commercial enterprises were incorporated in the new maps of the world (Plate 6r).

#### THE MISSION OF KAN YING

The Chinese were equally interested in exact information about commercial routes. In 97 Pan Ch'ao was sent to conquer Chinese Turkestan and secure the route through the Tarim Valley. He dispatched Kan Ying to obtain firsthand information about Parthia and Syria, the post-stations and distances between them, and the products of the several countries and lists of the goods in chief demand. Kan Ying's report praised the Syrian merchants: "they are honest in their dealings, and there are no double prices." But the envoy found that the Parthians were anxious to maintain their monopoly of the Chinese trade and prevented the Romans from sending embassies to China. A later account adds that the Parthians discouraged him from his contemplated journey to Rome by exaggerated tales of the length and dangers of the voyage thither.

#### THE CARAVAN CITIES: PALMYRA

The direct route from Seleucia and Ctesiphon to the cities of southern Syria, where Chinese silk was reworked for the western trade, led across the desert to Damascus. In late Hellenistic times, few caravans ventured to use this route, which was exposed to the attacks of nomad tribes. The longer road by Edessa and Zeugma, or by Aleppo, to Antioch was therefore preferred. During the early empire, however, the free city of Palmyra, situated on a fertile oasis half-way from the Euphrates to Damascus, organized convoys for caravans on the short route through the desert, and gained great wealth as a market for Roman and Parthian merchants. Both powers seem to have guaranteed the security of this caravan city, although Rome regulated the tolls and gradually increased her authority until Palmyra was definitely annexed early in the second century.

Pliny the Elder summed up the situation of Palmyra as follows:

A city noble in its location, made lovely by the gifts of earth and water, whose fertile fields are ringed about by the desert; cut off from the world

by nature, it has gained its individual place between the two empires of the Romans and Parthians, and is always the first anxiety of both when war breaks out.<sup>4</sup>

The many roads from Seleucia, Babylon, and the Syrian cities to Palmyra converged in a single great caravan way through the heart of the city. This road was lined with columns, many of which still stand, and was further adorned with monumental arches. The temples and other important buildings, as in the cities of Roman Syria (Plate 59b), were essentially oriental in character, with minor Hellenistic elements, and the local speech was an Aramaic dialect. The great open caravanserai was identical in plan with those of modern caravan cities. The Arabian and Syrian divinities who were worshipped in the city were conceived primarily as protectors of the caravans.

The chief buildings of Palmyra were erected in the reign of Hadrian, who made the city a colony with Italian rights and was considered its second founder. At this time, the merchants of Palmyra were no longer content to be merely middlemen in the trade between Parthia and Syria, but carried on extensive ventures of their own, and sent out agents to the chief commercial cities of the world. They furnished the Roman army with special detachments of mounted archers which served in many parts of the empire. In the third century, when Rome was weak, Palmyra ably defended Syria against Sasanid aggression, at first as the representative of Rome, and later as an independent power.

#### DURA

The main road from Palmyra to the cities of Mesopotamia led through Dura, a frontier city on the Euphrates whose history is now being recovered by the American excavations on the site. This ancient settlement occupied a most strategic position at the junction of desert and river traffic. It was fortified by the Assyrians to protect the Euphrates route, and became the Macedonian colony of Europos under Seleucus I in 280 B.C. A Parthian garrison was stationed at Dura from the end of the second century B.C. until the city came under Roman control in Trajan's time or slightly earlier. Parthian control was restored during the revolts that followed Trajan's eastern wars. In A.D. 165, however, Lucius Verus recaptured the city and established a Roman garrison there, and under Caracalla, early in the third century, Dura acquired the status of a colony. It suffered from the general decline of commerce and from Persian attacks during the troubled years which followed, and was lost to Rome before the end of the century. In 363, when the emperor Julian passed the city during his Persian wars, it was a desolate ruin.

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<sup>4</sup>*Natural History* V, 25.

The houses and shops of Dura conform to the unchanging type of the country, still to be seen in modern Iraq. The Hellenistic elements introduced by the Seleucid colony were overshadowed by the dominant influence of Parthia, which was particularly notable in the religion and art of the city. The Christian community, which numbered many soldiers among its members, had a chapel decorated with frescoes crudely executed, but significant for the history of early Christian art. The dependence of Dura on the transit trade of Palmyrene merchants led to close association with the greater city, which is recalled by the great temple of the Palmyrene gods, with its remarkable frescoes. The *prætorium*, or headquarters of the Roman forces, and the military archives deposited in an adjoining temple illustrate the life of a Roman garrison stationed in an alien community. The succession of powers in northern Mesopotamia and the mingling of contemporary cultures could hardly be more vividly presented to us than they are at this frontier fortress and caravan city on the Euphrates (Plate 60).

#### PETRA

"A rose-red city, half as old as time," Petra has stirred the imagination of later ages by the fantastic beauty of its rock-cut tombs and temples, but its importance in ancient days was based on very practical considerations. It was situated at the junction of roads from the Red Sea, Sinai, and the Syrian cities with the old southern route across the desert to the oasis of Tema and thence to Babylon, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon. It furnished convoys to protect the caravans against nomadic tribes, and was a favorite exchange place for merchants since its impregnable position, approached through narrow gorges in the surrounding cliffs, made it a safe depot for precious goods.

During the Ptolemaic period, Petra was the capital of the independent kingdom of the Nabatæan Arabs, and had a much larger population than this district can support at present. It controlled the caravan route south to the Sabæan territory, and had its own ports on the Red Sea. Under the Julio-Claudians Petra became a vassal of Rome, whose control was gradually increased until Trajan annexed the Nabatæan kingdom. After this time, the power and wealth of Petra declined, since the short route from the Persian Gulf to Palmyra proved more profitable for the Indian trade.

#### THE SEA ROUTE TO INDIA

The advantages of the direct route from Egypt to India by way of the Red Sea depended on the full understanding of the monsoon winds, which enabled ships to reach India from Arabia in a much shorter time than was required for the old voyages along the coast. A Syrian or Alexandrian trader had sailed from Aden to India with the southwest monsoon in the

late Ptolemaic period, but it was not until about A.D. 50 that this route came into general use among western merchants. Thereafter, the voyage from Italy to India could be accomplished in sixteen weeks, allowing for the stages along the Nile from Alexandria to Coptos and thence by land to Berenice on the Red Sea.

Since Roman merchants could now tap the silk trade at its Indian outlets, the sea route enabled them to control the prices charged by Parthian middlemen. They became familiar with the eastern as well as the western coasts of India. Embassies from India to Rome became more numerous, and travellers' descriptions of the strange people of this eastern land, their fondness for trade, their excellent judicial administration, and their skill in the training of elephants, mingled with the fabulous tales which had been told when India still lay beyond the borders of the known world.

#### THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRÆAN SEA

An anonymous handbook composed in the reign of Nero, the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, supplied a variety of practical information for merchants who wished to profit by the new opportunities of the Red Sea trade. The author describes the harbors of the Red Sea, the distances between them, the formalities of the ports, and general political conditions. He tells which of the natives are quarrelsome, which are piratical, and what nationalities are to be found among the resident merchants. On the desert island of Dioscorida, Arabian, Indian, and Greek traders, attracted by the lucrative trade in tortoise shell and cinnabar, outnumbered the scanty native population. The goods in most demand at each trading station are listed, together with those which the prudent merchant will offer as gifts "to gain the goodwill of the savages." The handbook gives a clear account of tides, currents, and prevailing winds, and of the best season for the different voyages. The most distant land of which it tells is China, for the regions beyond were "not easy of access," either because of their extreme cold or because the divine influence of the gods prevents voyages thither.

#### ROMAN VOYAGES TO CEYLON AND CHINA

The island of Taprobane (Ceylon), known in the past only as part of the fabled Antipodes, was now visited by Romans. The elder Pliny records the voyage of a freedman in the time of Claudius, who was driven out of his course by the north wind to Taprobane, where he was hospitably entertained. Having learned the language, he described the imperial government of Rome to the king, who had long been puzzled by the different portraits on Roman coins of identical weight. This is perhaps the earliest case of the study of an unknown people on the basis of their coins.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* VI, 84-91.

The voyage to China was too long to compete with the overland routes by way of Parthia and India, but in the reign of Marcus Aurelius the Han annals record a Roman "embassy," which was probably a private merchant venture. The envoy presented the Han ruler with gifts of ivory, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. The Chinese dated their direct intercourse with Rome from this event. But since the volume of Roman commerce was already diminishing, the establishment of direct trade with China was less fruitful than it might have been. From the third century of our era to the middle of the sixth, the Romans bought their silk from Persian traders.

#### THE CLOSING OF THE RED SEA

Western voyages to India and China were brought to an end in the third century by the aggression of Abyssinia. The Abyssinians, whose land had formerly been colonized by the Arabian Himyarites, now established their authority on both sides of the Red Sea, and took advantage of the Roman anarchy to close the straits to Alexandrian and Syrian merchants. They avoided price competition with the Persians by leaving the silk trade to them and were content with the wealth derived from the sale of Indian spices and their own valuable products. The loss of the direct trade with India, together with the competition of Palmyra and the general falling-off of commerce caused a serious decline in the prosperity of Alexandria. Over a thousand years were to pass before the ships of a European state again reached the ports of India. (Reading List 104)

## XXXI

### MONARCHY, ANARCHY, AND AUTOCRACY

*We, too, pray for the emperors and their ministers, for the civil authority, for the security of our age, for the world's peace, and for the delay of the end.*  
—Tertullian

THE PRÆTORIAN PREFECT LÆTUS, instigator of the murder of Commodus in 193, proposed as the new ruler Helvius Pertinax, who had held a high office under Marcus Aurelius. The senate confirmed the appointment, and Pertinax instituted a program of financial reform, which was much needed after the extravagance of Commodus, though it was not irreproachable in method, since he even resorted to the sale of offices in order to replenish the treasury. He also undertook the long-delayed task of rehabilitation of districts devastated by invasion or plague. The new régime of discipline and economy engendered the hostility of the prætorians. Within three months of Pertinax' accession, they murdered him and sold the throne to the highest bidder, one Didius Julianus, distinguished only for his wealth. The open scandal occasioned by this auctioning of the imperial power led the legions once again, a century and a quarter after their first intervention in the imperial succession, to create emperors outside Rome.

#### THE WARS OF SUCCESSION: A.D. 193-197

Three able generals were hailed as Augustus by their respective legions: Clodius Albinus in Britain, Septimius Severus in Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria. Of the three, Severus was closest to Rome. He marched on the city with a well-conceived program and a strong army. Like another Octavian, he undertook to free the city from the tyrannical faction which had murdered its legitimate ruler, Pertinax. The time-serving Lætus, with the senate, accepted the verdict. Didius was killed, a state funeral was held for Pertinax, and the new emperor announced to the senate his intention of following the model of Marcus Aurelius in his administration. The murder of Pertinax gave him an excuse to replace the Italian prætorians by men drawn from the Danubian legions.

In the meantime, Pescennius Niger gained the support of the eastern provinces. Severus came to an agreement with Clodius Albinus, giving him the title of Cæsar, which implied the succession to full imperial power. The details of their agreement are uncertain. With the west thus temporarily

secured, the emperor spent the winter in a campaign in the east; after crushing Niger's troops on the historic field of Issus, he pursued his rival to the Euphrates, restored Roman control over Osroene, and made a treaty with Parthia. Antioch and Byzantium were punished for their adherence to Niger by the loss of municipal status, and the latter city was subjected to a long siege, followed by utter ruin. The sacrifice of this strategic stronghold to the enmities of civil war exposed the Hellespontine district to the ravages of the Goths, until the city was refounded by Constantine a century later.

A similar act of vengeance ruined the old administrative and commercial centre of the Gallic provinces. Septimius indicated the insincerity of his promises to Clodius Albinus by elevating his own son Bassianus to the rank of Cæsar. Albinus' troops at once acclaimed their general as Augustus, and the first consequence of Septimius' decisive victory near Lyons was the destruction of that great city, which never regained its old prosperity in ancient times.

The senate was now forced to condemn the adherents of Albinus and Niger, and the Severan dynasty was firmly established.

#### THE MILITARY MONARCHY OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

Commodus had conspicuously neglected the essential task of maintaining close relations with the legions and their commanders; the new régime, established by armed usurpation, was not a principate, but a military monarchy. Its founder came of a north African family which had gained equestrian rank before its native town, Leptis Magna, received the Roman franchise. His wife, Julia Domna, was a native of the temple-state of Emesa in northern Syria, devoted to the cult of the Syrian sun-god. The Severi were thus far more alien to the Italian traditions of the principate than the emperors of the second century, who came of Roman families in the provinces most closely associated with Italy.

Septimius Severus governed as an autocrat, despite the pains which he took to associate his dynasty with that of the Antonines. His son Bassianus is better known by his nickname "Caracalla," derived from the Gallic military cloak which he wore, than by his official name, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. The senate, on the theory that it had surrendered and not merely delegated its authority to the emperor, lost all corporate functions, though the old senatorial offices were retained. Commodus' appointments had lowered the calibre of the senate; its character was to be further changed during the next century by the addition of distinguished equestrian officers who had risen from the ranks of the legions. Until the cleft between the two classes was thus bridged the emperors favored the equestrians at the expense of the senate. The senate could no longer propose decrees or appoint magistrates, and the republican magistracies were mere local offices. The

revenues from the senatorial provinces were diverted from the *ærarium*, now a municipal treasury, to the *fiscus* and the new privy purse, which was considered as the personal fortune of the emperor.

The standing jury courts also disappeared when the city prefect was made chief justice for criminal cases within 100 miles of Rome, and the prætorian prefect was given similar jurisdiction throughout the rest of Italy. The Antonine tradition was most fully maintained, however, in the department of justice, for the greatest Roman jurists, Paul and Ulpian, as prætorian prefects, continued the task of interpreting and organizing the vast mass of earlier legislation and formulating the principles of Roman law. The emperor's edicts show a spirit of equity and mercy sharply contrasted with his ruthlessness in civil war.

A conspicuous feature of the new legislation marked an early step toward the rigid class distinctions which were to dominate the later empire. Offenders were classified in two groups, the upper class, or *honestiores*, and the common people, or *humiliores*. Penalties for identical offenses were graded according to this distinction of persons, with minor divisions within the two classes. The equality of citizens no longer existed in the eyes of the law.

The supremacy of Rome now rested on a new basis, for the city, like everything else which was closely associated with the imperial house, was designated as "sacred"; it was the possession of the emperor rather than the capital of the empire. The customary largesse to the pensioners of the state was continued. Public games were never more magnificent, free medical service was provided for the poor, and the alimentary grants, which had lapsed under Commodus, were revived. The monuments of Septimius in Rome include the triumphal arch which dominates the lower end of the Forum, and additions to the imperial palaces, now represented by the fantastic ruins of the astrological fountain called the Septizonium. Leptis Magna, recently recovered from the sands which covered it for centuries, testifies to the emperor's lavish generosity to his native city (Plate 59b).

#### PROVINCIAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

Italy now differed from the provinces chiefly in its lack of a provincial governor. It even received a permanent garrison, when Septimius built a camp on the Alban Mount for one of his new legions.

Grants of colonial or municipal status to provincial towns and the use of provincials, especially Syrians, in administrative posts, lessened the distinction between the more Romanized districts and the provinces in general.

The chief wars of Septimius' reign were the Parthian campaign of 197 to 199, which restored Upper Mesopotamia to provincial status, and the wars in Britain, which had been overrun by the free northern tribes when Clodius withdrew his best troops for the civil war. Severus restored and

strengthened Hadrian's Wall as the single defense for Roman Britain, and abandoned the outer defenses of the wall of Antoninus. *Rætia* and Upper Germany were also protected by continuous ramparts, and strategic outposts were built in the oases of Africa. This consolidation of the frontiers was accompanied by the thorough repair of military roads.

### THE ARMY

The defense of the empire, however, as well as the strength of its ruler, depended primarily on the legions, who were the first consideration in Septimius' administration. Three new legions, raised for the Parthian War, were added to the permanent forces; these were commanded by equestrian prefects instead of the usual senatorial legates. There was no longer any obstacle to promotion from the ranks; the equestrian order was recruited from the centurions, and civil posts were given to prominent veterans. Though Romans who resented the supplanting of the crack Italian guards by provincial legionaries described the new *prætorians* as "savage in appearance, with a horrible accent and uncouth habits," there seems no reason to doubt that the legions were still recruited chiefly from municipalities with full citizen status.

The rate of pay for the army was substantially raised and the service was made more attractive by the legalizing of marriages between soldiers in active service and the women of the districts in which they were quartered. This policy ultimately tended to immobilize the frontier garrisons by making local considerations more vital to the troops than imperial necessity. It was, however, merely the formal recognition of a well-established custom, and the sons of veterans, reared in the traditions of the service, were the best of the voluntary recruits. The real menace to the security of the state did not result from changes in military organization so much as from the soldiers' sense of power.

### CARACALLA

Septimius Severus died at York in 211, leaving his sons, Caracalla and Geta, as co-rulers. Caracalla, one of the most cruel of emperors, soon had Geta murdered and his name removed from all public monuments. He saw himself as a new Alexander, whose magnificence justified any extravagance. In order to raise the soldiers' pay still higher, and to construct his magnificent baths at Rome, he increased taxes and debased the currency, issuing his new coins at an arbitrary valuation substantially higher than the current price of their silver content. His open hostility to the senate led him to encourage the pernicious activity of informers.

His reign is chiefly remembered for the famous edict by which in 212 he gave Roman citizenship to all free men throughout the empire. This

was the logical conclusion of the extension of the franchise to provincials by Julius Cæsar, Claudius, Vespasian, and others. Caracalla's motives are much disputed, but the major consequences of his edict are clear. The recruiting area for the citizen legions now included the whole empire. The 5% tax on inheritances and manumissions, required only of citizens, could now be collected from all the provincials. Conversely, if it is true that Roman citizens resident in communities which lacked the franchise had been exempt from local taxation and requisitions, this immunity now ceased. All men were alike at the service of the state and the army, and the once-coveted "freedom" conveyed no exemption or privilege. This final levelling of the provinces without respect to degrees of Romanization was compensated in some measure by the uniform application of a single system of law throughout the empire.

The edict stated one exception. A class described as *dediticii*, or "surrendered men," was still debarred from citizenship. The exact application of this term is uncertain, but it probably referred to the lower classes on the estates of Egypt and Asia which had never enjoyed full civil liberties, and to the barbarians settled as *coloni* within the frontiers.

The greater part of Caracalla's reign was spent in defensive wars on the Danube and in a successful campaign against Parthia. His victories were ended in 217 by a conspiracy which elevated to the purple Macrinus, the first emperor not of senatorial rank.

#### ELAGABALUS AND ALEXANDER SEVERUS

The senate, resenting Caracalla's despotism, welcomed a change of masters, until they found that the military upstart was more cruel than his predecessor. In 218 the Syrian troops set up as emperor a fourteen-year-old grandnephew of Septimius, whose devotion to the solar cult of the Syrian Baal led him to take the name Elagabalus, and to neglect all else in favor of his oriental priesthood. His lack of interest in affairs of state, his orientalism, and his debauchery resulted in a fantastic parody of a reign, which alienated his subjects. After four years Elagabalus was lynched, and his cousin Alexander Severus, a boy of thirteen, was acclaimed as Augustus.

Julia Mamæa, the mother of the new emperor, acted as regent for her son. The reaction against military despotism which marked her administration increased the prestige of the senate as a counterweight to the excessive power of the army, without diminishing the autocracy of the ruler. The privy council which helped to direct imperial policy consisted of 70 members, the leading jurists, the great equestrian officials, and eminent senators chosen by the emperor.

Economic recovery was the major consideration. The palace staff was reduced and military discipline was reestablished. Alexander's public works consisted chiefly of baths and an aqueduct at Rome and necessary engineer-

ing projects elsewhere. Grants were made to enable the poor to purchase agricultural land, and to stimulate industrial development in the towns. The alimentary system and state subsidies for education were extended. In the effort to check the decline of commerce, interest rates and the taxes imposed on merchants were reduced. Roman artisans, however, were taxed for the upkeep of the baths and for oil to light them at night so that the working classes might make fuller use of them. This economic program involved further tampering with the currency, since no additional sources of revenue were available to meet the increase in the budget.

The empire now seemed to have regained something of its former stability. In 231, however, this peaceful interlude was terminated by the Sasanids, who hoped to regain for Persia all the lands over which the Achæmenids had ruled. Panic seized the eastern provinces when Ardashir besieged Nisibis. Alexander's campaign in 232-233 was indecisive, but his successes warranted a triumph at Rome. His attempt to stave off German invasions on the Rhine by diplomatic negotiations provoked the resentment of the legions, who in March, 235, renewed the military despotism by acclaiming their Thracian general Maximinus, the first barbarian to become emperor. (Reading List 105)

#### THE MILITARY ANARCHY: A.D. 235-284

The accession of Maximinus inaugurated a period known as the military anarchy. For half a century, emperors were made and deposed at the will of the legions. Many who were hailed as Augustus never reached Rome, only one died a natural death, and the very number of those who can be counted as actual sovereigns is difficult to estimate. Economic decline was hastened by the heavy costs and widespread destruction of the civil wars, and by the ravages of the plague in the reign of Gallienus. The enemies of the empire were stronger than before; not only was the eastern frontier menaced by the national ambitions of the Persian dynasty, but the northern tribes were coalescing to form new and powerful units, which sought land and booty within the Roman Empire.

#### THE GERMAN TRIBES

On the lower Rhine, remnants of the older enemies of Rome joined with more recent arrivals to form the Frankish tribes; another mixed group, the Alemanni, threatened the upper Rhine and the Danube provinces. An east German group, the Goths, were migrating from the Vistula toward the Black Sea. Their numbers constantly increased, and they not only overran the Balkan provinces, but ruined the old Bosporan kingdom and used its ships as the nucleus of a fleet with which to plunder the islands and coasts of the Ægean. They merged with the Iranian Sarmatians, including the

powerful Alans, to form a feudal monarchy in south Russia, which took over the northern caravan trade.

During the third century the inroads of these peoples into the Roman territory were regularly repulsed more or less quickly, according to internal conditions in the empire. The German losses were heavy, not only in deaths, but in the number of warriors who were incorporated into the Roman auxiliary forces, especially the cavalry, or settled as *coloni* on the frontier land which they had devastated. The booty which they gained, and their occasional success in exacting subsidies as the price of peace could not have compensated for these losses. The persistence of their attacks, therefore, indicates that the overcrowding of their own lands, whose great tracts of uncleared forests and of marshes limited the arable fields available for their primitive economy, and pressure from their northern and eastern neighbors, were the controlling factors in their expansion. The internal disruption of the empire gave them greater chance of success, but did not determine their general movements. Under the most favorable circumstances, the Roman defense of the frontiers in the third century would have required constant vigilance and great expense, and would necessarily have been the dominant consideration in imperial policy.

#### THE ARMY AND THE PROBLEM OF DEFENSE

The legions had to face severe hardships and heavy losses in incessant campaigns; it is not surprising that in spite of their relatively high pay and their political power they failed to attract an adequate number of volunteers. The loss was made up in two ways. Land near the permanent stations of the legions was assigned to soldiers to be held as family property so long as their descendants served in the army; a hereditary class of soldiers was thus formed. Compulsory recruiting was also resorted to, and at the end of the century Diocletian required that each unit of productive land should furnish a fixed number of recruits. Since the landholders naturally sent their least promising men for this compulsory service, or bought cheap slaves to supply their quota, the government often commuted the requirement for a money payment, and hired barbarians to fill out the ranks. Barbarian *coloni* were also numbered among the compulsory recruits. The crack forces were the mounted units among the barbarian auxiliaries. The rigid training which had enabled Cæsar's legions to throw their Gallic enemies into confusion had disappeared, and there was little to distinguish Roman and German methods of fighting. Cavalry manœuvres dominated in military strategy after the middle of the century, and in these the native Roman troops were seldom a match for their Persian or German foes.

The chief territorial loss was that of Dacia, which Aurelian abandoned in 274, in order to concentrate his defenses along the Danube. Some land was also surrendered along the upper Rhine and Danube, where the Flavian

frontier could no longer be maintained. In Africa, on the other hand, new outposts were fortified to protect the great cities which had sprung up about the Roman encampments from the attacks of the Berber tribesmen, and the Syrian frontier was also extended somewhat for greater security against the Persians. But the frontier defenses were no longer a guarantee of security to the civilian population, and the recurrent invasions of Franks, Alemanni, Goths, and Sarmatians led many landholders to fortify their villas and many cities, including even Rome, to construct strong walls which might withstand a siege.

The general sense of insecurity is best illustrated by the praise that a certain governor earned for stocking all the cities under his administration with supplies of food, fodder and other necessities sufficient for the needs of their people for periods varying from two weeks to a year, in case of siege.

Though the responsibility of the army was great, its misuse of power was a serious charge, for not only did the soldiers often precipitate civil war in time of grave external danger, but their insolence and lack of discipline made them a terror to the civilian population, and the quartering of soldiers was the most disastrous requisition exacted by the imperial administration. In 282 the emperor Probus was murdered because he employed the soldiers on public works whenever they would otherwise have been idle, and perhaps also because, as we are told by his biographer, he promised that peace would soon be so completely reestablished that there would be no more soldiers, and country and city would be freed from their despotism.

#### THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE CITIES

The empire as a whole suffered from usurpation, civil war, and foreign invasions which not only ruined great cities and extensive rural areas, but imposed a heavy burden on the districts not directly attacked. Commerce between different parts of the empire dwindled, direct sea trade with India ceased, and the Sasanids injured Alexandria and Palmyra by diverting overland trade to more northern routes. Byzantium, Lyons, Aquileia, Antioch, and Alexandria were sacked by Roman armies when the decline of trade made it impossible to revive normal industry. Brigandage and piracy, no longer effectively suppressed, hastened the decline of commerce.

The old rivalry between citizens and cities was at an end, and local benefactors were few. Municipal office had become a compulsory burden, instead of a coveted privilege. The poor of Rome fared well, however, for the dole was still a recognized lien on the *fiscus*. The proletariat of the third century, accustomed to daily rations of bread, pork, salt, and olive oil, would have scorned the cheap grain with which politicians bribed the simple voters of the late republic.

Economic difficulties were increased by frequent issues of fiat coinage. The want of an adequate supply of gold and silver made it impossible to

restore a sound standard for the currency. Real prices rose, even if we make allowance for the inflation, and much speculation and bankruptcy resulted. The lack of sound currency was partly responsible for the policy of paying government salaries largely in kind; food, wine, clothing, and in the case of high officials even silver plate and other luxuries were duly prescribed to supplement money payments. Requisitions for this purpose and especially for the maintenance, equipment, and movement of troops were a heavy burden from the time of the Severi, and became the dominant factor in governmental control of city and country. The distinction between senatorial and imperial provinces, which had been weakened during the early empire by the emperors' supervision of municipal affairs, completely disappeared.

#### LITURGIES AND GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF THE GUILDS

The emperors depended on liturgies, or, to use the Latin term, *munera*, rather than on new taxes, to meet the increased expenditures. The "honorable" liturgies assessed against substantial estates included certain priest-hoods, as well as the transport and billeting of troops. They amounted almost to a capital levy, since men of property were also subject to heavy taxation. Boards of ten men, chosen from the wealthiest citizens, were made responsible for the collection of taxes in their respective towns, and a similar responsibility rested on the great landowners.

The personal services exacted from humbler citizens included milling flour and baking bread for the army, carting and river transport, repair of roads and public buildings, provision of shoes and cloaks for the army, fire protection, and other tasks. This system of *munera* was an outgrowth of emergency requisitions, transformed by recurrent crises into standing obligations.

In the second century, voluntary associations of shipowners, merchants, and firemen frequently received exemption from taxes in return for the special services which they were qualified to perform. As voluntary services became compulsory liturgies, these guilds or *collegia* became subject to state regulation. Under Alexander Severus, dealers in wine and vegetables, shoemakers, and many others were added to the list of compulsory guilds subject to regular liturgies. Eventually these state-controlled guilds included all trades which were of service to the state, and imperial requisitions had to be fully met before any other work could be undertaken or goods sold for private profit.

Individual immunity from liturgies was granted chiefly on grounds of other public service, as in the case of imperial officials and soldiers, or on that of age. Doctors, teachers, and philosophers also benefited by similar exemptions.

## AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS: THE GROWTH OF THE COLONATE

In the comparatively peaceful provinces, Britain, western and southern Gaul, and Spain, the era of urban growth was over, and the population of many towns was smaller than it had been in the second century, but rural development was still in progress, and country villages increased in prosperity and resources. Equestrian officials and other ex-soldiers were prominent among the great landholders, who had become more influential than the municipal aristocracies, and made up the bulk of the senate.

The devastated areas, however, and those in which unsound agricultural methods and overintensive cultivation had diminished production, steadily increased, and edicts providing for reclamation of waste lands are prominent in the imperial legislation of the period. From the time of the Severi, farmers were subject to constant requisition of hides, wood, draught animals, and grain for the armies, for which payment was long delayed, if it was forthcoming at all. The personal liturgies exacted from the lower classes in the country, as well as in the cities, increased this burden. The workers on imperial estates, however, were exempt from requisitions and liturgies, that they might be "more suitable tenants of the fiscus."

Since the landowners were held responsible for goods and services due to the fiscus, they made every effort to keep a stable working population on their estates. During the third century, imperial edicts forbade landed proprietors to retain tenants against their will, but those of the fourth century forbade the coloni to leave the land. The example of the peasants on the imperial domains, who had already become a fixed hereditary class, probably hastened the general development of agricultural serfdom. The colonus, once a free farmer and later a tenant, became a serf who was personally free, but bound to the soil. He had legal title to personal property, however, and might even hold land in his own right. Such agricultural slaves as still survived in the west attained a quasi freedom which merged them with the formerly free coloni.

The full development of the colonate during the fourth century was the final stage in the effort to maintain continuous cultivation of the land in order to feed the cities and the army, however unprofitable agriculture might be under the adverse conditions which prevailed. Consequently no change was made in districts where a stable peasantry produced adequate crops without compulsion, as in Sicily, or in Egypt and Asia, where the age-old subordination of the peasants to the land and the treasury approximated the new status of the coloni in the rest of the empire.

Thus in the country, as in the cities, the third century inaugurated a régime of status which supplanted the individual initiative of earlier times, and was intended to maintain a fixed standard of production and to establish each man in the place and occupation which his father had occupied.

before him. This development originated in the crises of the third century, and was legally recognized by the edicts of Diocletian and his successors in the more stable period which followed. (Reading List 106)

#### THE EMPERORS FROM MAXIMINUS TO GALLIENUS: A.D. 235-268

Maximinus spent the three years of his reign in suppressing mutinies and repelling the Germans on the Rhine and the Sarmatians on the Danube. The greed of his procurator in Africa provoked revolts, and Gordian and his son were hailed as Augusti. Both these, with Maximinus and two other claimants of the imperial power, were murdered before peace was restored. The elder Gordian's grandson, a boy of thirteen, came to the throne in 238. The able prætorian prefect who acted as his regent defeated the Goths in Mœsia, and for the last time in Roman history had the gates of Janus closed in token of peace. But since 238 the Persians had inflicted heavy losses on the eastern provinces, which inspired terror in Italy. The walls of Dura show with what frantic haste the border fortifications in the east were strengthened against the attacks of Ardashir. In 242, Gordian's army expelled Ardashir's son Sapor from Syria and recovered Osroene.

Two years later Philip the Arabian had the young king murdered and deified. He made peace with Persia in order to protect the Danube against the Carpi, but his reign ended in widespread rebellions, during which various pretenders attempted to supplant him. His general, the Pannonian Decius, who was made emperor against his own will, had only two years in which to begin the task of reorganization, before the treachery of Gallus led to his death in battle with the Goths.

Gallus bought peace from the Goths by payment of tribute and the sacrifice of the Roman prisoners, but the next three years, with three emperors, were full of disaster.

The reigns of Valerian and his son Gallienus (253-268) were the darkest period of the century. Saxons, Franks, Alemanni, Marcomanni, Sarmatians, Persians, and Berbers invaded the provinces, piracy and brigandage were rampant, Asia suffered from a disastrous earthquake, and the plague raged throughout the empire for many years. The Goths invaded the Balkan and Ægean territories by land and sea.

In 259 the Roman general Postumus set up an independent state in Gaul, and soon gained the allegiance of Spain and Britain as well. He ruled excellently, concentrating on the security of his own provinces without seeking universal power. He restored the frontiers and the ruined cities near the border, suppressed piracy and brigandage, and renewed commercial activity. In 268, however, Postumus was murdered; his successors were weaker men, but the empire of the Gallic provinces survived until 273.

In 260 Valerian was treacherously captured by the Persian Sapor during a truce. He lived for several months as the prisoner and servant of the

Sasanid king. This supreme disaster discredited the dynasty, and led Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt to support usurpers. In a single year nine men claimed the imperial title, some by voluntary usurpation, others only under pressure from their troops. In 260 Gallienus actually ruled only in Italy, the Danubian and Balkan provinces, and Africa.

#### THE KINGDOM OF PALMYRA

The task of expelling the Persians from Syria and restoring control of the eastern provinces was ably handled by Odænathus, who ruled the great vassal-city of Palmyra. He was rewarded by Gallienus with the title of Duke (i.e., general) of the East, and for several years gave the emperor valuable aid. He died in 266, however, at a time when revolts were again widespread in the east, and his widow Zenobia, one of the most brilliant and able of eastern queens, ruling for her infant son Vaballathus, took advantage of the emperor's preoccupation with the Gothic wars to extend her power. She seized Antioch, invaded and occupied Lower Egypt, although she did not establish her authority in Alexandria itself, and gained a large part of Asia Minor. In 271 Vaballathus assumed the title of Augustus, but the emperor Aurelian was now free to suppress this rival power. His campaign in 272 was made difficult by the support which the neighboring nomads gave Zenobia, as well as by the hazards of attack on a strongly fortified oasis in desert territory, but at last the queen was captured and the city was forced to surrender. Zenobia was held captive until she had graced the emperor's triumph, but for the rest of her life she dominated Roman society as she had once dominated the eastern provinces.

#### THE PERIOD OF RECOVERY

The energy and determination of Gallienus accomplished a considerable measure of recovery during the later years of his reign, but in 268 the Goths launched their greatest attack, and terrorized the Balkan and Ægean districts, besieging and sacking the chief cities. The Illyrian emperor, Claudius Gothicus, won his surname by the skill with which he defeated the Gothic host. Some of the Goths were taken into the auxiliary troops, many were settled as coloni on the lands which they had recently overrun, and others died of the plague or were killed on their way home.

Claudius had able assistants in his two Illyrian generals, Aurelian and Probus; all three won the devotion and loyalty of the troops. In 270 Claudius died of the plague and was granted divine honors. Aurelian, who soon succeeded to the throne, had to complete the restoration of order in the Balkans and repel mass invasions of the Vandals, Alemanni, Marcomanni, and others in Pannonia and Italy. It was at this time that the great walls of Rome were built, almost 500 years after the last real danger that

the city might be attacked by a foreign host (see Plate 64 for the appearance of the walls of Aurelian on a fifteenth-century view of Rome). When the western provinces were once more secure, Probus and Aurelian reestablished Roman authority in the east by the capture of Palmyra and a brief campaign in Mesopotamia. The disintegration of the Gallic Empire restored the unity of the Roman Empire, except for Dacia, which Aurelian had abandoned as no longer strategically valuable after the heavy losses in the Danubian provinces. The Roman citizens who survived north of the Danube were settled in Mœsia, where a smaller province was given the old name of Dacia.

In 274 Aurelian celebrated a great triumph, and was proclaimed as "Restorer of the World" by enthusiastic throngs. The Roman Empire was now more secure than it had been for half a century. The final year of Aurelian's reign was devoted to civil reconstruction. It was not yet possible to establish a sound currency, but Aurelian's new coinage, a compromise between the standards of Caracalla and Gallienus, at least established a fixed norm, though it was still a debased currency of little intrinsic value. Financial credit was restored, and the civil administration was carefully supervised.

In 275 Aurelian was murdered in a senseless intrigue; Probus, the logical successor, was shelved in favor of the elderly Tacitus, whose reign lasted only a few months. Probus then ruled from 276 to 282, and continued the recovery so ably begun by Aurelian. The most serious dangers to the empire at this time were the invasions of the Franks, Burgundians, and Alemanni in Gaul, and of the Vandals in Illyria, all of which were finally repelled. Civil disturbances in Persia made it possible to keep peace in the east until the general restoration of order justified an attempt to recover Mesopotamia. On the eve of his eastern campaign, Probus was killed, and his able successors perished during their invasion of Mesopotamia. In November, 284, the Illyrian Diocletian was nominated by the officers who murdered his predecessor. The anarchy had run its course; the new emperor ruled for 20 years and abdicated to enjoy a period of retirement. (Reading List 107)

### THE ORIENTAL AUTOCRACY

The new régime established by Diocletian and his chief successor, Constantine, during the half century from 284 to 337, involved a thorough reorganization which, like that of Augustus, sought to establish peace and security, but discarded Roman traditions for principles based both on the emergency measures of the third century and the irresponsible autocracy of oriental monarchies.

The first necessity was to develop loyalty to the legitimate ruler of the empire, and to establish the conviction that the welfare of all the provinces

depended on him and would be jeopardized by usurpation or revolt. Diocletian chose Nicomedia in Bithynia, instead of Rome, as the seat of his government, since Gothic and Persian aggressions and recurrent risings in Egypt necessitated constant watchfulness. He spent most of his long reign in active supervision of the eastern provinces, where the dangers to the empire were most complex and required shrewd statesmanship.

Several of the previous emperors had sought to restore unity and loyalty by emphasis on a single state religion closely associated with the imperial cult. Diocletian emphasized, in this connection, the characteristically Roman deities. He chose Jupiter as his especial patron, though he built or restored the temples of Greek and oriental divinities as well. Hitherto, the practice of the imperial cult in the army had been a corporate act, but Diocletian made it an individual obligation for the soldiers as well. It therefore became increasingly difficult for Christians to serve in the army.

#### THE REVOLT OF THE BAGAUDÆ AND OF CARAUSIUS

Shortly after his accession, Diocletian chose a colleague, Maximian, to whom he gave full powers as Augustus, since a serious crisis required direct imperial authority in the west. Many Gallic peasants had recently revolted against imperial requisitions and taxation. They formed their own army with the herdsmen as cavalry. They seized control of the country, gained many recruits among artisans, deserters, and barbarians, and set up their own emperors. The difference in efficiency between their motley forces and the legions was far less than it would have been in the days when the Italian centurions still enforced rigid training and discipline in the regular troops. It took Maximian two years to suppress the rising, which spread like wild-fire among the Gallic and Spanish provinces. His success was only temporary, for the *Bagaudæ*, as they were called, continued to terrorize the countryside at intervals until the middle of the fifth century.

While Maximian was occupied with the *Bagaudæ*, Saxon and Frankish pirates ravaged the coasts of Britain and Gaul. The emperor therefore appointed Carausius as naval commander to suppress them. Carausius used his authority to establish an independent state in Britain, gave captured pirates posts in his fleet, and formed alliances with Frankish chiefs beyond the Rhine. The next year he assumed the title of Augustus, and the emperors were forced to recognize him, though they did not accept him as co-ruler. The security and prosperity of Britain under Carausius recalled the best days of the Gallo-Roman empire of Postumus.

#### EMPIRE IN COMMISSION

In 293 the Augusti co-opted two younger men as Cæsars with the promise of the succession, in order to cope more effectively with the problems of internal unity and frontier defense. The four men ruled jointly over

an undivided empire, but each was individually responsible for a given section. Diocletian governed Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; Galerius, his Cæsar, had the Balkan and Danubian provinces. Maximian governed Italy, Rætia, Spain, and Africa, while his Cæsar, Constantius, commanded Gaul and in 296 defeated Carausius and added Britain to his provinces. The emperors established their respective capitals with a view to frontier defense and mutual cooperation; Nicomedia, Sirmium, Milan, and Trier all had the strategic importance which the city of Rome now lacked.

The four rulers were constantly occupied with frontier defense and administrative problems. In 305, twenty years after his accession, Diocletian abdicated and forced Maximian also to resign. Galerius and Constantius became the senior emperors, but dissatisfaction with Diocletian's choice of Cæsars soon led to the renewal of civil war.

#### THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE

When Constantius died in 306, his son Constantine became the candidate of the legions in Britain, while the prætorians at Rome hailed Maximian's son Maxentius as emperor. For a time there were five Augusti, and anarchy again seemed imminent, but by 313 Constantine was the sole ruler in the west and Licinius in the east, and they chose their sons as Cæsars. Ten years later, a civil war between them resulted in the victory of Constantine. From 324 to 337 he ruled alone, and consolidated the imperial administration along the lines formulated by Diocletian, with several important innovations. Chief of these was his decision not only to tolerate the Christians, but to ally them to the state and give official sanction to the growth of the Christian church.

He rebuilt the city of Byzantium and dedicated it in 330 as Constantinople, "the city of Constantine," which was to be the second Rome and the stronghold of the empire for over a thousand years (Plate 63). To its superb location on the Bosphorus, its strategic strength, and fine harbors were added public buildings, temples, churches, and festivals to rival those of Rome. As the chief market for luxury goods, Constantinople accelerated the diversion of eastern traffic to the northern routes favored by Persia instead of the southern ones on which the commercial life of Alexandria and Palmyra depended. Although Latin continued for several centuries to be the official language, Greek influence predominated at the new capital.

Peace was secured by the creation of Frankish and Gothic marches outside the frontier under native chiefs subsidized by Rome, a dangerous device which worked well until the pressure from the north and east became too strong. The chief danger at the end of Constantine's reign was the impending war with Persia.

## THE EMPERORS AND THE BUREAUCRACY

The new government sought to safeguard the throne by exalting the rulers above ordinary men, not only through the imperial cult but by ceremonial borrowed from oriental usage. The ruler wore a Persian diadem and robes of oriental cut and splendor. Court ritual was carefully prescribed and included prostration before the emperor. The members of the palace staff had rank equivalent to that of the great imperial officers, and were organized on a military basis.

The council was now known as the Sacred Consistory, since its members, the highest officials, were required to stand in their lord's presence. The elaborate bureaucracy under the authority of a Master of Offices comprised many officials carefully graded in functions, honor, and salary. The graft and corruption inevitable in a complex hierarchy of officials and in the provincial administration were checked to some extent by the *agentes in rebus*, the secret police whose ostensible duties as couriers and transport officials took them everywhere in the empire.

## PREFECTURES AND PROVINCES

The separation of military and civil authority was finally completed when the prætorian prefects lost their military functions. Diocletian and his colleagues each had a prætorian prefect for his district, who headed the civil administration when the emperor was in the field, and had supreme jurisdiction over cases appealed from lower courts. The four prefectures of Italy, Gaul, Illyricum, and the East continued when the number of emperors was reduced. The empire was now subdivided into 100 or more provinces grouped in 12 dioceses, each of which was under a vicar. The size of the basic administrative unit was thus reduced and a hierarchy of officials was formed, with the governor responsible to the vicar, the vicar to the prefect, and the prefect to the emperor. The system left no real function either for the senate or the citizen, but only for the imperial bureaucracy. Provincial assemblies, attended by men of senatorial rank and the leading curials in the cities, provided some measure of direct contact between the emperor and the provinces without the mediation of the higher officials, and Constantine addressed some of his edicts to the provincials in general.

The imperial senate now consisted of the great landholding nobility throughout the empire, which had special privileges but no corporate existence, though Rome and Constantinople had each a local senate. Members of this nobility were graded as *clarissimi*, "most glorious," if their offices and honors entitled them to highest rank, and *perfectissimi*, "most perfect," if they held lesser offices. High dignitaries and favored individuals might also receive patrician rank or the honorary title of *count*, which also accom-

panied specific offices. The old distinction between senatorial and equestrian standing had vanished.

### THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY

In addition to renewing the frontier defenses, Diocletian enlarged the army, probably to 60 legions, with similar additions to the auxiliaries. The cavalry, on whom success in pitched battles now chiefly depended, was organized in separate units. Fleets on the frontier rivers and on the sea played an important part in suppressing naval raids and piracy as well as in transport.

The frontier troops had been too thoroughly immobilized by local enlistment, the combination of camp and family life, and hereditary service, for the safety of the empire as a whole. Constantine, therefore, reduced them to the proportions and status of local militia by drawing off the best troops for a separate field army which Diocletian had probably begun. The new field force of about 200,000 men, both cavalry and infantry, included many volunteers from the barbarian tribes, whose best men were attracted by the conditions of Roman service. A special force, the palatine troops, constituted the imperial guard. Court ceremonial and the exaltation of the emperor did not interfere with his personal command of the troops or his intimate understanding of military problems.

### FINANCIAL POLICY

The increase of the bureaucracy and the army, the largesse given to the soldiers, usually at five-year intervals, the upkeep of Constantinople, Rome, the other great administrative centres, and the imperial households, raised the regular budget to staggering proportions and made the emergency requisitions and liturgies of the third century a permanent feature of the fiscal policy. As Lactantius said, there began to be more government employees than there were taxpayers. The great imperial edifices of the period, Diocletian's palace-city<sup>1</sup> near his native Salona, his many buildings in Nicomedia, the baths at Rome which surpassed even those of Caracalla, the basilica of Maxentius and Constantine in Rome, and not least the splendors of Constantinople increased the financial burden of the empire. The builders of the triumphal arch near the Colosseum which commemorates Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312 supplemented the cruder sculpture of their own time with masterpieces from second-century monuments (Plate 62b), but imperial architects could still produce massive and impressive work.

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<sup>1</sup> Now Split, the capital of Jugoslavia; the old name, *Spalato*, is derived from the palace, still the central portion of the modern city (Plate 62a).

The gold mines of Armenia, the melting down of old treasures, and precious metals confiscated during Diocletian's persecutions, together with rigid control of the mints, made currency reform at last possible. Diocletian still used a fiat coinage for bronze issues, and in the effort to check the resultant rise in prices which made the provisioning of the army difficult and encouraged hoarding, issued his famous Edict of Prices, fragments of which have been found at numerous eastern sites. The regulation of prices was an old device which had been much used in the eastern world, but never on so extensive a scale. The detailed list of the maximum prices that might be charged for all types of food, clothing, and manufactured goods, and for labor and professional services sheds much light on relative values and on the organization of industry and retail sales. Even the prices for different grades of writing, the amounts paid to a barber for a haircut and to a lawyer for a brief are set down. But the edict was poorly conceived; it made no allowance for different local conditions, for variations in supply and demand, or for transportation, and made no distinction between wholesale and retail sales. This attempt at rigid control of daily transactions resulted in the closing of shops by owners who feared the extreme penalties imposed by the edict, and even in riots and bloodshed. Apparently no attempt was made to apply the edict outside the Prefecture of the East, and it could not be enforced even there.

Constantine's gold coins gained a justifiable reputation throughout the ancient world, but the problem of securing adequate imperial funds was still serious. The necessary revenue was provided chiefly by a direct tax in kind, the *annona*, which was based on small units of land and of human and animal labor, so graded as to be roughly equivalent to each other in productive value. This system of taxation required an elaborate census which had to be frequently revised. From 312 this census, called the *indiction* from the imperial decree which authorized it, was taken at intervals of fifteen years, and the successive periods of the indiction became a convenient basis for long-term chronology, in the absence of a fixed era.

The *annona* weighed heavily on the *coloni* who owed regular liturgies as well, and on the landholders who had to make up the quota exacted from their estates, whatever changes had taken place since the last census. The *curiales* were made jointly responsible for the taxes levied on the land in their municipal territory.

The need of money for largesse to the soldiers transformed the voluntary payments in money formerly made by the senatorial nobility and the *curiales* into a regular tax collected every five years, and occupation taxes were also levied in the towns, so that all except the soldiers and bureaucracy were drawn into the fiscal net. The fixing of hereditary status on the basis of occupation and of relation to productive land and the final development of the colonate reflected the desperate efforts of the *fiscus* to maintain

government income, and contributed greatly to the economic stagnation and social unrest of the times. (Reading List 108)

### CHRISTIANITY AND THE EMPIRE

The crisis of the third century intensified interest in religion as the one real safeguard in a troubled world, and the search for a creed which would give assurance of personal salvation. Under Alexander Severus, Christian doctrines became more widely known than before, through the interest of religious pagans who identified the gods of many races as aspects of a single supreme deity. Monotheism appeared also in the dominant philosophy of the period, which was founded by Plotinus to unify Greek philosophic thought on a Platonic basis. This Neo-Platonism defined God as the Absolute in both thought and action, and laid much stress on the problem of evil, which so deeply concerned Christian theologians. Christian literature, which included apologetic tracts written for the information of pagans, and saints' lives and theological studies for their own people, shows that some of the leading minds of the time were attracted to the faith.

The church was still strongest in the eastern provinces, but was attracting more adherents than before throughout the empire, in the army and the cities. Although some of the old excuses for suppression of Christianity disappeared with a more accurate understanding of its nature, and with the increasing number of respected citizens among its adherents, the pagan reaction after Alexander Severus was intensified by the effort to give added reality to the idea of the state by associating it with a single religion. The refusal of Christians to participate in the worship of the Roman gods, in that of the Unconquered Sun which Aurelian made the basis of his religious propaganda, or in the imperial cult, raised grave doubts as to their loyalty. Yet Tertullian, the greatest Christian writer of the early third century, declared:

A Christian is no man's enemy, least of all the emperor's, for he knows that he must love, reverence, and honor the ruler appointed by his God, and must earnestly pray for his safety, together with that of the Roman Empire as a whole, which is to endure until the present age comes to an end.<sup>2</sup>

Persecutions in the reigns of Maximinus, Decius, and Valerian had little effect on the spread of Christianity. By the time of Diocletian, there were many Christians in high imperial positions, including the women of the emperor's own family, and the church controlled extensive properties. Its works of charity attracted many disciples in an age when the impersonal

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<sup>2</sup> *Ad Scapulam*, 2. Cf. the quotation from Tertullian's *Apologeticus* 39, at the head of his chapter.

machinery of the secular administration disregarded widows, orphans, and other victims of war and economic depression.

In his early years Diocletian tolerated Christianity, but in 303 he issued decrees intended to make it unpopular by depriving Christians of their rights as citizens, and ordering the destruction of their churches and their sacred writings. The emperor Galerius was a bitter foe of Christianity; many Christians had deserted from the army rather than participate in the worship of the emperor, and it has been suggested that Diocletian feared a plot to put a Christian emperor on the throne in his stead. Whatever the motives for his persecution may have been, it seems clear that he considered the strength of the church a threat to the unity and stability of the empire and to the power of its rulers. His edicts increased in severity, but although many recanted, others were converted to the faith for which men gladly suffered martyrdom.

In 311 Galerius, on his deathbed, strangely repented and issued an edict of toleration. In 313 Constantine and Licinius restored the confiscated properties and the civil rights of Christians. This edict of toleration was soon followed by Constantine's decision to mobilize the great influence of the church with God and man in the service of the state. The jurisdiction of the bishops' courts and the right of the church to receive inheritances and to function as a legal corporation was fully recognized. The emperor built and endowed Christian churches in Constantinople and elsewhere, but he also built and restored pagan temples. He himself was not baptized until shortly before his death. He presided at the great church councils which were called to settle controversies on doctrinal questions. Chief among these was the Council of Nicæa in 325.

#### THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY

This council was summoned primarily to decide between the conflicting views sponsored by Arius and Athanasius on the fundamental question of the physical nature of Christ. Athanasius, whose creed was given the seal of orthodoxy by a majority of those present at the council, held that Christ was of the same substance as God the Father. Arius, whose teachings had won a very large following, maintained that he was not of identical, but only of like substance. The citation of scriptural authority was rendered indecisive by the fact that the Greek terms for the two doctrines were almost identical and were very easily confused in the written transmission of the Gospels. The decision of the council branded the Arian creed as heretical and required true Christians to adopt the Athanasian doctrine as the official basis for the orthodox articles of belief.

In this, as in so many later doctrinal disputes, partisanship played a very significant rôle. Religious controversy took the place of political rivalries in

many instances, and the proponents of rival doctrines gained wide support among men who would not normally have been interested in theological questions, and who were loyal to their chosen leader even if they could not expound clearly the difference between his views and those of his opponent. Many who had taken Arius and his chief disciples as their spiritual leaders continued to support them in defiance of the decision of the council. Arian missionaries converted many of the German tribes outside the empire, a circumstance which was to produce great difficulties in later times when Arian Germans and Catholic Romans lived side by side on Roman territory.

It became a fundamental principle of Christianity that there could be only one true and apostolic doctrine on any theological question, and that whenever conflicting theories became prominent, an absolute decision must be made between them. Christians who refused to accept the doctrines approved by the central authority of the church were excluded from the Christian communion. This principle, alien to the earlier religions of the ancient world, was a powerful factor in maintaining unity in doctrine, ritual, and organization, but was also productive of bitter hatreds and of many acts of violence.

The organization of the church, the development of its theology and ritual, and the results of the inherent contradictions between the literal teachings of Christ and the policies of a richly endowed institution allied with the imperial power of the state lie outside the scope of our present study. The later course of the empire was profoundly affected by Constantine's decision, although for several generations pagans were to share with Christians the control of its destiny. (Reading List 102)

## XXXII

### THE DECLINE AND SURVIVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

*Nor should anyone think it strange if an empire founded with such labor, increased by so many eminent men over so long a period, and confirmed by such great wealth, shall at last fall. For there is nothing created by human forces which these same forces cannot also destroy, inasmuch as all the works of man are mortal. The long rule of earlier powers did not prevent their fall, for history tells us of the Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and Assyrian empires, and how the Romans gained supremacy after these were destroyed. As the Roman Empire far surpasses all those of the past, it will cause greater ruin than they by its fall.*

—Lactantius

THE DECLINE OF ANCIENT civilization was a long-continued process which was checked for several centuries by the strength and unity of the Roman Empire, and was accelerated by the breakdown of this cohesive force. The dissolution of the comprehensive political framework which held the Mediterranean world together was itself only one of the changes that we describe as the "Fall of Rome." Of like importance was the decline of the classical city-state, whose basic principle of local autonomy had long been maintained with apparent success within the empire, and which yielded at last to the oriental principle of despotism, without the vitality that had formerly been derived from expansion of territory and resources. Barbarians of Germanic, Slavic, Mongolian, and Berber stock, tribes literally "uncivilized," since they were not organized in cities, overran many districts and formed ephemeral successor-states and a few lasting powers. The partial survival of classical institutions in the west depended in large measure on the policies of these new states and of the Christian Church, while the east reverted to the old Semitic and Iranian patterns which had never been completely superseded by Hellenic or Roman influences.

This process of decline was forecast by ancient writers long before the Roman power reached its height. As Polybius watched the phenomenal rise of Rome, he plotted the course of the decline which he believed the new empire must inevitably undergo when internal changes should make it too weak to resist external attack. Eastern prophecies engendered by hatred of Rome forecast its destruction by an oriental conqueror, but loyal subjects who attributed Rome's greatness to the happy conjunction of Virtue and

Fortune believed that the empire could only be destroyed from within. During Cæsar's dictatorship the historian Sallust wrote:

This is my belief: inasmuch as all things that are born must likewise die, at the time appointed by fate for the fall of Rome, the citizens shall make war on one another, and thus, worn out and exhausted, shall be an easy prey for some king or tribe. Otherwise, not the whole world nor all the nations together can shake or injure the Empire. Therefore harmony must be established and evil discord be destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Cicero's idea that Rome was already weakened by old age recurs in later writers, in spite of the rebirth under Augustus and the renewal of strength in the second century of our era. Many men, on the other hand, made the eternity of the empire an article of faith, as did those who identified Rome with the fourth empire in Daniel's prophecy, as the last and greatest power, which was destined to endure until the end of the world.

### INTERNAL DISSOLUTION

The internal dissolution of the Roman Empire was forecast in the second century by the decadence of municipal institutions and the emperors' inability to preserve sound political life among the diverse peoples of their vast territory. This failure gave greater force to contemporary accusations of the extravagance and vice of the rich, the greed of the proletariat, who were defined in Roman law as men who contributed nothing but their offspring to the state, and the general diminution of individual and collective responsibility on the part of Roman citizens.

In the third century, the empire felt the full effects of the change from expanding to contracting markets, from territorial annexation to a fixed frontier, and from wars which filled the treasury and provided for expensive public works to wars which exacted heavy tribute from Roman taxpayers and brought neither glory nor security in return. The enormous requisitions of money and labor for essential defense, for aggressive wars in the east, for the salaries of imperial officials, and for support of the proletariat at Rome and Constantinople led to a greater degree of regimentation than most parts of the world had known before. This intensified the lack of common interest between classes, and increased the distinction between privileged and unprivileged groups. Industrial and commercial activities, together with agriculture, were no longer controlled by private enterprise, but became virtually liturgies under state regulation. The sterile régime of status which resulted offered little opportunity for individual ambition outside the bureaucracy and the army.

Local disasters, earthquake, pestilence, invasion, and brigandage, with the sacrifice of future production to immediate needs, reduced great tracts

<sup>1</sup> Sallust, *Suasoria* I. 5. 2.

of land to marginal or unproductive condition and increased the burdens imposed on fertile areas. A noble of the fourth century complained that the land which once fed its owner now ate up his other sources of income, for the urgent need of food for the armies and the cities required that all arable land be cultivated even though the cost of production exceeded the value of the crop. Many edicts record the constant efforts of the emperors to bring waste land under cultivation and to check the serious depopulation of country districts. A decree of Theodosius and Valentinian cites

the inexorable compulsion of the laws, by which everyone is bound to submit his own fortune without exemptions due to office or privilege, in order that the public interest may not suffer any injury or loss, and to render such bodily service as his father's or ancestors' status or his own may require.<sup>2</sup>

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that "sturdy beggars" were forced to become agricultural serfs, or that municipal officials were under such strong compulsion to render the full amount due from their district to the fiscus that the once-honored name of curial became synonymous with tyranny and with bondage to the central government.<sup>3</sup>

Barbarian soldiers, once a useful supplement to the Roman troops, now formed the major part of the army, and scarcely a vestige of the old legionary organization remained. Of all the obvious symptoms of decline, this was perhaps the most bitterly lamented by Roman writers. In the words of Jerome:

The fourth empire, which is clearly that of Rome, is made of iron, which breaks down and conquers all else. But its feet and claws are partly of iron and partly of clay, as the present time makes very apparent. For as in the beginning nothing could have been stronger and more powerful than the Roman Empire, so at the end of its history nothing is weaker, since both in civil and foreign wars we depend on the help of barbarian nations.<sup>4</sup>

### THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH

Christianity has sometimes been accused of accelerating the decline of Rome by substituting an ascetic other-worldliness for practical activity and undermining loyalty to the state. In a recent study, however, the Christian Church is seen as an institution which gained universality by adopting the basic organization of the empire and absorbing its "internal proletariat," and which had the vitality and strength no longer possessed by Rome itself.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Code of Justinian* X, 71, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Salvian, *On the Government of God* V, 4: "What cities are there . . . in which there are not as many tyrants as curials?" *Code of Justinian* V 27, 2: "Any man, whether free or bound in the toils of the curia . . ." See also the *Theodosian Code* XII, 1, for general decrees on the obligations and status of curials.

<sup>4</sup> *Commentary on Daniel* 3, 40 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* XXV, 504).

<sup>5</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (Oxford, 1934) I, 52ff.

According to this theory, the universal church was not an instrument of destruction, but a creative force in the transition from the dying empire to the new societies which eventually took its place.

The church gained the loyalty of men throughout the empire as no other institution had been able to do, and could thus supply the need of a cohesive power in the Mediterranean world during the breakdown of Roman unity.

#### EXTERNAL FORCES IN THE DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE

Various German tribes had been neighbors of Rome since the time of Cæsar; Roman merchants had traded far beyond the frontier even earlier, and continued to extend the influence of Roman culture to peoples outside the political sphere of the empire. Since many Germans were eager for the advantages of service in the Roman army and land within the frontiers, their attacks were motivated rather by the desire to enforce their claims to these benefits, than by actual hostility to Rome. Others, especially during the fourth century, were proud of their status as federate allies of Rome, and did notable service as buffer states. Still others were hostile throughout their history, and like the Chatti on the upper Rhine in the Flavian period and the Dacians under Decebalus, could only be controlled by the subjugation and annexation of their land.

By the end of the principate, the great number of Germans in the provinces along the Rhine and Danube diminished the racial distinction between Roman and barbarian territory and made this frontier, like that between the Romans and Persians, an arbitrary boundary with peoples of kindred stocks on both sides. The weakness of the empire made it seem easier for barbarian chiefs to claim land within it for their growing population than to clear and develop their own territory or to carry on the endless conflict with their aggressive neighbors. Though the Germans did not seek to destroy the empire, but only to live in it and profit by its resources, during the fifth century they occupied so much of its area that the Roman administration in the western provinces was superseded by their successor-states. Only two of these, the Franks and the West Saxons in England, survived as independent powers.

The Roman administration continued in the eastern provinces, aided by a succession of strong rulers, and by the diversion of the German tribes to the west. The defense of Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor against Sasanid aggression was a serious problem. During the sixth and seventh centuries, a new group of tribes from the northeast, the Bulgars, Gepids, Slavs, and Avars, overran the Balkans and greatly changed the racial character of the district, although they were finally brought under Roman control. Early in the seventh century, the emperor Heraclius inflicted a crushing defeat on Persia and regained control of Syria, but his victory was soon made fruitless by the amazing conquests of the Arabs, who incorporated into the new

Islamic Empire all the old possessions of the Achæmenid Persians except Asia Minor, and also conquered northern Africa and Spain. The Roman emperors of the seventh century and later ruled in the Greek lands of the southern Balkans and Asia Minor, while the Latin West was under German control and a Semitic power once more dominated the ancient lands of the Near East. (Reading List 109)

#### THE EMPIRE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

The records of the fourth century indicate a substantial degree of recovery, which, despite the continuance of serious economic and military problems, led many men to believe and hope that the crisis of the empire was ended. When Constantine died in 337, the army was determined that none but his family should reign; unfortunately, his three sons engaged in fraternal conflicts during which several usurpers claimed the throne and an indecisive war was fought with Persia. Constantius, who reigned alone for ten years after his brothers died, conferred the title of Cæsar on his cousin Julian for a campaign against the Franks and Alemanni who had again invaded Gaul. Julian gained the enthusiastic support of his soldiers by his able generalship. Although his settlement of the Salian Franks as federate allies of Rome in the provincial territory south of the Rhine was probably the best means of protecting Gaul from further attacks at the time, it marked a new stage in the weakening of the frontier.

The unimportance of Rome at this period is illustrated by the fact that Constantius' first visit to the city took place in 357, twenty years after his accession. The emperor was filled with awe at the sight of the buildings and statues with which his great predecessors had glorified their capital. He longed to add to the monuments of the city, but realizing that he could not hope to rival Trajan's Forum, contented himself with setting up in the Circus Maximus an obelisk which Thutmose III had erected at Thebes 1800 years before.

Julian's soldiers mutinied when Constantius ordered that they be sent to the east for his second war with Persia; they demanded that Julian claim full sovereignty as Augustus, and only the sudden death of the emperor prevented another civil war. Julian's brief reign, from 360-363, is famous for his attempt to reduce Christianity to a minor rôle in the empire. Greek philosophy was far more congenial to him than the Christian doctrines in which he was reared; he fostered Hellenism and the philosophical schools, forbade Christians to teach pagan literature, and tried to counteract the influence of Christian charity by organizing public relief on a similar basis. He was an excellent administrator and a brilliant thinker, as well as an able general. His victory over the Persian army at Ctesiphon proved fruitless, however, for he was killed before he could consolidate his gains, and his successor Jovian, who ruled only a year, surrendered the Roman claim to

Armenia and the land east of the Tigris. Jovian revived religious toleration, and no later emperor attempted to check the ascendancy of Christianity over paganism.

Two brothers, Valentinian I and Valens, generals of Pannonian birth, became Augusti in 364. Incursions of the barbarians in Britain, Gaul, and the Danube provinces, and a revolt of the Moors in Africa required constant campaigns on the part of the two emperors and their chief general, Theodosius. Yet Valentinian's seven-year-old son Gratian was made Augustus in 367, and when Valentinian died eight years later Valentinian II, a child of four, was also hailed as Augustus.

#### THE HUNS AND GOTHs: ADRIANOPLE

The serious danger which now threatened the Balkans resulted from the westward migration of the Huns, the Hsiung-nu of the Chinese annals, a nomad people of Mongolian origin. After their attacks on China in the second century B.C., they had been controlled by the Chinese rulers. About A.D. 350, a horde composed of many clans moved westward and seized a vast tract in central Asia. They subdued or incorporated the Alans and several Gothic tribes; other Goths retreated before their onset and occupied the lands about the Dniester and the Carpathians. In 376 Valens permitted a group of Visigoths to settle south of the Danube under the protection of the empire, on condition of surrendering their arms. They were to be given supplies until they reaped a harvest from their new lands. Since the negligence and greed of the imperial officials assigned to the district prevented this contract from being carried out, the Goths, threatened by starvation and still fully armed, began to plunder the country. Valens rashly attacked without waiting for Gratian's arrival with reinforcements from the west; his army was crushed at Adrianople in 378, and the Balkan provinces were at the mercy of the Goths.

The situation was saved by Theodosius, son of the general of Valentinian I, whom Gratian now appointed as Augustus. Within four years, Theodosius reduced the Goths to submission and established them as federate allies (*fœderati*) of the empire, who were bound to defend the frontier in return for definite subsidies.

#### THEODOSIUS THE GREAT: A.D. 378-395

The feeble Gratian perished in a war against Maximus, who gained imperial power in Britain, Gaul, and Spain, but was at last subdued by Theodosius. The Frankish general, Arbogast, who distinguished himself in the war against Maximus, anticipated the kingmakers of the fifth century by setting up the Roman Eugenius as a rival to Valentinian II in the west. Before Theodosius died in 395, however, the unity of the empire was reestab-

lished, order was restored in the Balkans, and peace was made with Persia. The influence of the Christian Church was greatly strengthened by the great Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who did not hesitate to require the emperor himself to do penance for a massacre committed by his troops at Thessalonica.

Theodosius left two sons, Arcadius, a youth of eighteen, to whom he assigned the eastern part of the empire, and the eleven-year-old Honorius, who was to rule in the west. The empire was not divided, but remained a single power, and all edicts were issued in the name of both emperors. Until 476, however, there were two lines of emperors, and the separate administration of East and West was accentuated by the jealousy of their respective generals and emperors, by the German invasions of the western provinces, and by differences in the administration and ritual of the church.

#### LOCAL CONDITIONS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

The wars of the fourth century increased the difficulties of small landholders in various parts of the empire. Many renounced the doubtful blessings of freedom and transferred ownership of their land to the neighboring nobles, for whom they worked as servile *coloni* in return for protection from brigands, barbarians, and the no less ruthless agents of the *fiscus*. Early in the fifth century Salvian, a priest at Marseilles, drew a graphic picture of the misery which forced men to forfeit their children's inheritance for the sake of present relief, and led others to seek refuge among the barbarians from Roman barbarity, and to renounce the once-cherished name of Roman citizen.<sup>6</sup>

In 364 an imperial edict instituted local "defenders of the state" to check the abuses of the fiscal agents, but official corruption and the necessities of the treasury prevented any real relief, and the legislation intended to aid the taxpayer resulted chiefly in reviving the activity of professional informers. The prosperity of the towns continued to decline, except where the courts of emperors or high officials provided an artificial stimulus. The curial class was nearly extinct by the end of the century. The great landholders, who were better able to meet or evade the exactions of the *fiscus*, transformed their villas into strongholds to defend their property and dependents against barbarians and brigands. (Reading List 110)

#### CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM

By the middle of the fourth century, popular interest in Christian theology was very keen. We are told that a baker responded to a customer's inquiry about the price of bread by saying: "The Father is greater than the Son." This interest gave added significance to the spread of unorthodox

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<sup>6</sup> *On the Government of God* V, 4-8.

beliefs, to which men clung long after they were condemned as heretical by church councils, but even the most bitter conflicts about doctrine and ritual sprang from the conviction of the single truth of Christianity, which must be accepted by all who would win salvation.

The apostasy of Julian was only a temporary setback in the growth of Christianity as the dominant power in the state. In the reaction which followed, the emperors attempted to root out paganism. The pagans, not the Christians, were now on the defensive. When Gratian withdrew public support from pagan cults in 381 and ordered the altar of Victory, the ancient symbol of the Fortune of the empire, removed from the senate house, the eminent statesman Symmachus led a movement for its restitution, and the altar became the focus of a struggle for pagan rights. In his eloquent addresses to Theodosius, Symmachus recalled the glories which Rome had won under the old régime:

Who is on such good terms with the barbarians that he can neglect the altar of Victory? . . . Your Eternity owes much to Victory, and shall be even more indebted to her in the future. Let those scorn her power whom it has not benefited.

The pagan mind of Symmachus could not comprehend rigid monotheism:

Each has his own customs, his own ritual; the will of heaven has assigned our cities various cults to protect them, and as newborn infants have individual souls, so the peoples also have their fates determined by separate powers.

Rome herself was represented as pleading for toleration:

We ask peace for the gods of our fathers, peace for our native divinities. It is only just to assume that the object of all men's worship is the same. We look up to the same stars, one sky covers us all, and the same universe surrounds us: do the means by which a man seeks the truth really matter? There is no single road by which we may arrive at so great a mystery.<sup>7</sup>

But this was the last great struggle of pagan syncretism; the Christian bishop Ambrose had more influence with Theodosius than the pagan senators. Successive edicts confiscated the salaries of pagan priests, forbade sacrifices, and ordered the temples stripped and closed or kept intact solely for their artistic value. Early in the fifth century, outspoken pagans were excluded from office and from the army. In the sixth century, pagans practically disappeared from the cities, and even in the more conservative country districts the new religion took over the shrines and festivals formerly dedicated to the old gods. The enormous power and property which the church had gained transformed its bishops into administrators whose secular

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<sup>7</sup> Symmachus, *Relatio* III.

interests often outweighed their spiritual functions and precipitated bitter controversies. Few, like Ambrose, could preserve a true balance between their spiritual and their secular life.

The great heresies, Arian, Monophysite, Pelagian, and Montanist, and the wild excesses of a Donatist faction in Africa, despite the efforts of the councils and of such individual leaders as Augustine, caused endless disputes, ardent rivalry, and even bloodshed and destruction of property. But the less spectacular devotion of bishops, priests, and deacons, monks, nuns, and pious laymen in works of edification and charity aided thousands for whom the imperial administration could no longer care.

The vitality of Christian thought stands out in striking contrast to the general sterility of the later empire. Apart from Julian's general, Ammianus Marcellinus, whose history contains much vivid detail and sound observation, and the poets Ausonius, Claudius, and Rutilius, whose poems belong to the Roman tradition despite occasional lip-service to Christianity, the great works of the age are Christian in inspiration and motive. The *Confessions* of St. Augustine, and his triumphant contrast between the eternal *City of God* and the transitory city of the world, the doctrinal works of the Church Fathers, their letters, which mingle secular and ecclesiastical matters in a rich mosaic, and the hymns of Ambrose, Prudentius, and Paulinus of Nola, illustrate the productive genius of their own age and exerted a profound influence in later times. Historians welded the Old Testament, the chronicles of past empires, and the deeds of Romans and Christians into a new synthesis which culminated in the Last Judgment and the life of the world to come. (Reading List 102)

#### THE GERMAN INVASIONS IN THE REIGN OF HONORIUS:

A.D. 395-423

The accession of Arcadius and Honorius in 395 inaugurated a new era, in which the emperors "reigned but did not govern." The Masters of the Soldiers, usually of barbarian origin, commanded in the field and directed the administration, while the weak descendants of Theodosius wore the imperial regalia and occupied themselves with domestic pursuits and palace intrigues at Ravenna, which was now the western capital, and at Constantinople.

The command of the eastern provinces was divided between several generals, of whom Rufinus was most influential in the early years of Arcadius. In the West a single Master of Soldiers, the Vandal Stilicho, was commander-in-chief and supervised the imperial officials. Rivalry between Stilicho and the eastern officials gave Alaric, king of the Visigothic *fœderati* in the Balkans, an opportunity to increase his strength and to claim the title of Master of Soldiers in Illyricum. At the beginning of the fifth century,

Alaric attempted to force Stilicho to grant him more desirable land in Italy. Stilicho successfully warded off both Alaric's troops and a horde of Vandals and Alans who attacked Italy in 406, but when Stilicho was murdered in a palace intrigue two years later, Alaric marched into Italy. In 410 the Visigoths captured Rome and plundered it for three days, before they withdrew in consideration of a huge ransom of gold, spices, furs, and silk. Insignificant though Rome now was in the imperial administration, the eternal city symbolized the prestige and authority of the empire which it had created. Jerome's lament, "in a single city the whole world has perished," reflects contemporary feeling far better than Orosius' estimate of the three days' pillage of Rome by the Goths as a trifling matter, compared with the Gallic siege and sack 800 years earlier.

Alaric marched south from Rome and died in southern Italy. His successor Athaulf led the Visigoths into Gaul and thence into northern Spain. He married the sister of Honorius and ruled as king of the Goths and Master of Soldiers under the emperor. His successors extended their holdings in Gaul as federate allies of Rome.

After their repulse by Stilicho in 406, the Vandals plundered Gaul and occupied Spain together with the Sueves and Alans. The last of the Roman troops in Britain were recalled in 410 for the defense of Gaul, and the civilian population which remained suffered so much from the attacks of Saxons, Jutes, and Angles that the island practically lost its Roman character before the Saxon kingdoms were established in the latter half of the century. Burgundians, Franks, and Alemanni poured into Gaul in the wake of the Vandal invasions, and settled on the upper Rhine, while the Salian Franks extended their power in northern Gaul. Before the death of Honorius in 423, the lands of western Europe, aside from Italy, were shared between the German tribes as federate allies of Rome, and the imperial administration. Britain was definitely lost, and Africa was disturbed by serious revolts which threatened the food-supply of Rome. (Reading List 112)

#### THE EMPERORS IN THE EAST

The eastern provinces were relieved by Alaric's departure for the West, but the Huns were now ravaging Asia Minor. They soon invaded the Balkans and forced Theodosius II (408-450) to pay them heavy subsidies. Attila, who had created a vast empire out of the Hunnish holdings in central and western Asia, claimed to be the overlord of the Roman emperor.

Theodosius fortified Constantinople by land and sea, and founded a Christian university there to rival the philosophical schools of Athens and Alexandria. The extant imperial edicts were gathered into a code which was published in 438. This Theodosian Code was the basis of imperial legislation, until the compilation of the more extensive work of Justinian a century later. The German rulers in the West, especially the Visigoths and

Burgundians, used it not only as the basis of jurisdiction over their Roman subjects, but as a source for the extension of their tribal laws which had proved inadequate in the new conditions under which they lived. German respect for Roman law is vividly illustrated by Orosius' account of the Visigothic king, Athaulf. At first, he said, Athaulf intended to substitute a Gothic state for Rome, but

when by long experience he had learned that the Goths could in no wise obey the laws, because of their unbridled barbarousness, and since he knew that no state should be cut off from law, without which government cannot exist, he chose rather to seek his glory in the restoration and increase of the Roman name by the strength of the Goths.<sup>8</sup>

The Theodosian line in the East ended with the death of Theodosius II in 450. Five strong rulers reigned during the latter half of the century; they controlled their generals and protected their territory from usurpers, barbarians, and Persians with fair success, but were unable to prevent ruinous religious and political factions. Marcian, Theodosius' successor, refused to pay tribute to the Huns, and settled the Ostrogoths as *foederati* in the devastated lands of Pannonia. Later emperors had serious trouble with the Goths, until in 483 Zeno gave Theodoric, their chief, leave to march against Odovacar, the German king whom he had accepted seven years earlier as patrician in Italy.

The eastern provinces were kept intact. The administration was modified to suit current conditions, the Persian wars were ended in 506 by a *status quo* treaty, and it was even possible to reduce the burden of taxation.

### THE WEST FROM 423 TO 476

The occupation of the western provinces by the Visigoths, Vandals, Sueves, Burgundians, and Franks as federate allies of Rome during the reign of Honorius was the initial stage in the disintegration of the Roman power in the western portion of the empire. During the reign of Valentinian III (425-455), Aetius, "the last of the Romans," as Master of Soldiers maintained the imperial administration in the lands which were still under Roman owners, and the German chiefs recognized his authority and proudly used their Roman title of "patrician" although they continued to extend their territorial holdings.

By 444 the power of the Huns had so increased that Attila demanded a Roman princess as his bride, with half the empire as her dowry. Aetius refused this demand, and formed a coalition of German *foederati* to defend Gaul against the common enemy. Attila invaded Gaul in 451 and was met on the Mauriac Plains near Troyes by Aetius and the Visigoths and Franks.

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<sup>8</sup> Orosius, *History against the Pagans* VII, 43, 4-6.

Although the battle was indecisive, the strength of the coalition was too great to justify further attempts on Gaul, and Attila marched southward and approached the gates of Rome. It is probable that disquieting news from his own territory, as well as the intercession of Leo I, bishop of Rome, determined his decision to withdraw without besieging the city. Like other nomadic peoples, the Huns were better able to create an empire than to organize and retain it; Attila's power was already crumbling when he invaded Europe, and the Huns ceased to menace the empire after his death in 453.

The murder of Aetius in the next year was a turning-point in the relations of Rome with the German *foederati*, who soon assumed the status of independent kingdoms, although they acknowledged the nominal sovereignty of the emperors. Valentinian III, who died in 455, was the last of the Theodosian line; thereafter Ricimer, a barbarian general of Suevic and Gothic ancestry, made and unmade emperors at his pleasure. Other king-makers followed, but in 476 Odovacar, chief of a German tribe which was serving in the imperial army, seized control, sent the imperial regalia from Ravenna to Zeno, who was now the sole emperor, and ruled Italy as king of the German soldiers and patrician over the Romans. (Reading List III)

#### THE VANDAL KINGDOM IN AFRICA

In 429 the Vandals under Gaiseric took advantage of a Roman revolt in Africa to occupy the land about Carthage; Valentinian was forced to recognize their status as federate allies. In 439, however, they attacked Carthage and began to form an independent and highly centralized kingdom. They built a fleet, captured Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and ravaged the coasts of the Mediterranean. The emperors were powerless to suppress them. In 455 they attacked and plundered Rome. Roman citizens in Africa were either dispossessed or treated as subjects. The power of the Vandals, however, declined rapidly after Gaiseric's death in 477, and the Moors in Mauretania and Numidia regained their independence during the next half century.

#### ROMANS AND GERMANS IN GAUL AND SPAIN

Except during the periods of invasion and of migration within the empire, relations between Romans and Germans in southern Gaul and Spain were generally peaceful. The old Roman laws against intermarriage were renewed by German rulers, but were seldom strictly enforced. A given proportion of the land with its cattle and *coloni* was assigned to the Germans to be held by them as "guests" of the empire. This land was taken chiefly from the estates of the great landholders. The Visigoths normally received two-thirds of the land, leaving the Roman nobles only one-third of their former holdings. This did not involve any displacement of population, for

the coloni attached to the land continued to cultivate it for their new masters.

The actual settlement of the barbarians afforded relief both from the fear of attack and the heavy costs of defense, though the Roman cities and the nobles paid taxes to the *fiscus* and the imperial administration continued as far as Roman citizens were concerned, while the Germans were governed by their own chiefs and gradually adopted Roman customs. The central government ceased to operate when the allies assumed independent status, but the Romans were still entitled to trial in accordance with Roman law. The letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop at Clermont in the latter part of the fifth century, show that the normal activities of wealthy Romans in southern Gaul were little affected by the new régime; taxes were still the chief topic of conversation, and holidays were celebrated as of old. It was difficult, however, he complained, to compose six-foot verses in good Latin style when seven-foot barbarian neighbors were likely to raid your pantry before breakfast.

The relations between Romans and Germans were best in the Visigothic territory and in that of the Burgundians on the upper Rhine, where there was more fusion than elsewhere. Comparatively few Romans seem to have survived in northern Gaul, and the Franks were consequently less subject to Roman influence. The cities in the south retained their Roman character, and enjoyed a measure of economic recovery, since they were freed both from the dangers of siege and oppressive taxation, for the simpler régime of the German kings required less revenue than the Roman bureaucracy. Many of the Goths and Burgundians sent their sons to Roman schools and themselves spoke such Latin as they could master, and imitated Roman customs. The Ostrogoth Theodoric said: "It is a poor sort of Roman that imitates a Goth, but a useful Goth that imitates a Roman."

The most serious obstacle to harmony was the fact that the Goths, Burgundians, and Vandals, before they settled in the empire, had been converted by Arian missionaries. It was difficult for them to understand why the Christian doctrines which Romans had taught them should be branded as heresy and attacked by the Roman clergy.

#### THE KINGDOM OF THEODORIC

Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who established his power in Italy in 493, wrote to Anastasius in 508, when he had become virtually the colleague of the emperor:

Our kingdom is an imitation of yours, a replica of the single empire . . . in so far as we follow you, we surpass other nations. We also cherish a deep reverence for the city of Rome, from which none can be divided who have once been united with it by their common name. May the Roman Empire always preserve its unity of purpose and of thought!

In accordance with this principle, he used Romans in his civil administration and even for some military posts. The great senator and scholar, Cassiodorus, was his secretary of state. One-third of the imperial estates in Italy sufficed to support the Ostrogoths, so that private lands were left undisturbed. Theodoric erected a palace and Arian churches at Ravenna, and took an active interest in the repair of aqueducts and public buildings throughout Italy, and especially in the restoration of Rome.

In the latter part of his reign, his attitude toward the Romans was affected by the persecution of the Arians which the emperor Justin initiated in the eastern provinces. Several prominent Romans, including the philosopher and statesman Boethius, were condemned for treason. In 526, however, before he could initiate the general persecution of Catholic Christians which he planned, Theodoric died, leaving his kingdom to his young grandson, Athalaric.

#### THE FRANKS UNDER CLOVIS

Theodoric had strengthened his position in the west by matrimonial alliances with Franks, Burgundians, and Vandals. The conquests of the Frankish king Clovis, however, thwarted Theodoric's plans for a peaceful union of the German states. In 486 Clovis conquered Syagrius, who ruled an independent Gallo-Roman kingdom on the Loire. The Franks were the only German people who settled in the empire as pagans, and some of them, including Clovis' wife, were converted by the Catholic clergy of northern Gaul. In 496 Clovis himself was converted, and forced his whole army to be baptized. The Franks thus became the natural allies of Roman Christians against the Arian Germans, and made the extirpation of heresy a motive in their wars with other states.

In a series of rapid campaigns Clovis conquered the Alemanni, forced the Burgundians, who were later completely subdued, to acknowledge his sovereignty, and in 507 defeated the Visigoths near Poitiers. Theodoric aided the Visigoths to recover Narbonese Gaul, but the Franks permanently annexed most of Aquitaine, and later regained all southern Gaul except a narrow strip of coast. The powerful kingdom which Clovis and his sons established was the only one of the successor-states which survived except that of the West Saxons who later united England in the single kingdom of Wessex. (Reading List 112)

#### THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN: A.D. 527-565

Justinian, a Moesian who had been the directing force in the administration of his uncle Justin (518-527), was one of the most notable of the Roman emperors. He was guided by a deep conviction of the power which the emperor should wield and determined to realize to the full the possibilities

of his office. He emphasized imperial absolutism; the emperor alone could create and interpret the laws. The theory of the principate, which based the legislative authority of the ruler on powers delegated to him by the people, was discarded.

A logical outcome of this emphasis on the emperor as the embodiment of the law was a far more complete and thorough codification of the civil law than that of Theodosius II. The *Code* itself, issued in 529, was followed by the *Digest*, which contained the commentaries of the most famous jurists, the *Institutes*, a handbook for students of law, and the *Novels*, which included the new statutes issued after the publication of the *Code*. The complete *Corpus Juris Civilis* is the most important monument of Justinian's reign and was to be a potent instrument in the development of monarchical theory in the states of mediæval Europe.

The *Novels* were written in Greek, an indication of the increasing rift between the Romans of the East and of the Latin West. They embody a comprehensive scheme of reorganization; the sale of offices was prohibited and every effort was made to prevent official corruption. Justinian established new small units for combined civil and military administration out of which the system of themes in the later Byzantine government developed. He prided himself on his civil administration for, as he wrote: "By constantly discovering brilliant devices we have given our commonwealth a new period of bloom."<sup>9</sup> (Reading List 94)

Among Justinian's economic measures the most valuable was the introduction of silk culture, which had so long been a Chinese secret and a Persian monopoly in trade. The raising of silkworms and the manufacture of silk fabrics gave a new prosperity to depressed districts in Greece and Asia Minor, and secured the purchasers of this most treasured luxury against the avarice of Persian merchants and the interruption of trade by the long series of eastern wars. The expenses of Justinian's reign were so heavy that although he levied oppressive taxes and reduced the imperial largesse, he left the treasury in debt.

He was the second founder of Constantinople by reason of his magnificent buildings, the most notable of which is the Church of the Holy Wisdom (Santa Sophia), the outstanding specimen of Byzantine architecture, with its many domes and exquisite harmony of design. Its fine mosaics, dating from various periods in the Byzantine Empire, were painted over by the Turks, who transformed the church into a mosque after their capture of Constantinople in 1453. A tenth-century mosaic recently uncovered shows Constantine and Justinian presenting the city and the church to the Virgin; Constantine is described as "the great emperor among the saints," but Justinian is only called "emperor of illustrious memory" (Plate 63).

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<sup>9</sup> *Novels* 103, preface, A.D. 536.

Justinian shared with his subjects a passionate love of the horse-races in the Hippodrome. On one occasion, the excitement of the rival factions at the races led to the Nika riots, which nearly wrecked the city and might have resulted in a disastrous rising had not the empress Theodora handled the crisis with remarkable sagacity.

Justinian's theory of imperial absolutism included sovereignty over the universal church. He succeeded in imposing his will on the patriarchs of the eastern cities, but his attempts to direct ecclesiastical policy in the West widened the breach which was already forming between the Pope at Rome and the eastern bishops, and prepared the way for the later complete schism between Catholic and Orthodox Christians. He closed the philosophical schools of Athens, Antioch, and other Greek cities as relics of paganism, and exiled the philosophers, who found a welcome at the Persian court.

The theory of absolute sovereignty also required recognition of the emperor's supremacy by all other rulers, and the recovery of the lost western provinces. In spite of Justinian's shrewd diplomacy in turning his enemies against one another, he had to wage long and costly wars in the east and north and to pay large subsidies to the Persians, Bulgars, Slavs, and Avars, who combined against the empire. He also strengthened the fortifications of the Balkan frontier in the vain hope of preventing further Slavic invasions. A mass attack of the Huns was repulsed by Justinian's great general, Belisarius.

The detailed account of Justinian's wars given by the historian Procopius shows how completely the Romans had adopted oriental tactics and equipment for the bands of *condottieri* which now made up their army. The mounted and heavily armored cataphracts were the major troops. Procopius' history also shows what an inadequate supply of soldiers was available for Justinian's protracted campaigns.

Dynastic disputes in the Vandal and Ostrogothic kingdoms afforded the tenuous pretext necessary for their conquest. In 534 Belisarius ended the Vandal rule in Africa, but was unable to reduce many of the free Moorish tribes. The war and the heavy taxes imposed to meet its expenses completed the economic ruin of the once flourishing province of Africa. A strip of southern Spain was also recovered, and the Frankish king acknowledged the formal overlordship of the emperor.

The wars of Belisarius and Narses against the Ostrogoths continued intermittently for twenty years, until 555. During this time, many parts of Italy were devastated, Rome was besieged by the imperial armies, its aqueducts were destroyed, and the population was so reduced that more statues than living men were said to have survived the ruin of the city. Rome never recovered its former size until modern times, for the conquest by the Roman armies was far more destructive than the raids of Goths or Vandals, and left no single power in Italy capable of undertaking the diffi-

cult task of reconstruction. Many of the famous buildings of the Eternal City survived, however, until the troops of Charles V, ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, completed the work of destruction nearly a thousand years later (Plate 64).

The outcome of Justinian's enterprise was a greater tragedy for Italy than the immediate devastation wrought by the Roman and Gothic armies, for in recovering Italy he ruined the Ostrogothic kingdom, which, although it was weaker than in the days of the great Theodoric, provided a surer defense against northern invasion than the empire could now afford. Instead of creating a second emperor for the West, Justinian appointed prefects, who were later called *exarchs*, to represent him at Ravenna and Carthage. But the western provinces had a secondary place in Byzantine policy, and the exarchs could not command sufficient troops or funds to safeguard them. Three years after Justinian's death, the Lombards began the last great tribal invasion of Italy. Rætia, Noricum, and Pannonia were overrun by the barbarians and were lost to the empire, and the territory of the exarchate of Ravenna was diminished by the Lombard conquests.

#### THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE: HERACLIUS AND THE PERSIAN WARS

The death of Justinian marks the beginning of the mediæval phase known as the Byzantine Empire. The language of the administration and of the people was Greek, the ritual and even the doctrines of the Orthodox Greek Church diverged ever more widely from those of the Latin Catholics under papal authority, and the racial character of Greece and the Balkan provinces was much affected by repeated invasions of the Bulgars, Slavs, and Avars, which threatened to destroy the empire. Their settlements were chiefly in the rural districts, since the strongly fortified cities resisted their attacks successfully, and the emperors gradually regained control. The Slavic states which grew up in southeastern Europe and in Russia were brought under the influence of the empire chiefly by the activity of Orthodox missionaries who converted their rulers and made them a part, in religious matters at least, of the Byzantine theocracy.

During the reign of Phocas, who was apparently the most unmitigated monster among ancient rulers, the Persians captured Syria. While Phocas' successor, Heraclius (610-641), was preparing to recover the lost territory, the Sasanid Osroes captured Jerusalem and Egypt where, as in Syria, popular antagonism to Roman rule was very strong. Heraclius aroused great enthusiasm by his propaganda for a crusade to recover the Holy Land. In 627 his army was completely victorious and he was able to carry the war into Persia and force the Persians to return their conquests, captives, and the sacred relics which had been carried off from Jerusalem. But the ruin wrought by the war, and the taxes imposed to pay its costs, increased local antagonism to Byzantine rule. (Reading List 113)

## THE RISE OF ISLAM

At the very moment of Heraclius' great victory, the first bands of Arabs, inspired by the teachings of Mohammed, the inability of their land to support its growing population, and the ambition of their leaders, began the raids which were to result in the conquest of a larger territory than Rome had ever ruled.

Actual warfare began in Palestine in 633: the Syrians welcomed Arabian domination as a relief from Byzantine oppression. In 636 a decisive battle near the Jordan forced Heraclius to withdraw, with a lament for the loss of so fair a land.

The Moslem invasions were far the greatest of the long series of Arabian migrations into the fertile lands of the Near East, which had been a decisive factor at so many crises of the ancient world. Within a century, the Moslems conquered all the former holdings of the Achæmenid Persians except Asia Minor, and added to them north Africa and Spain. Thus the Semites recovered sovereignty in the eastern world and by the unifying force of Islam, which recognized no distinction of persons, race, or servitude in the worshippers of Allah and which made the use of the Arabic language for the sacred words of the Koran compulsory for all the faithful, created a lasting power. When the essential boundaries of Islam had been established by a century of phenomenal conquest, internal conflicts altered its political organization and separated the Abbassid Caliphate with its capital at Baghdad from the lesser Ommiad power in the west. (Reading List 114)

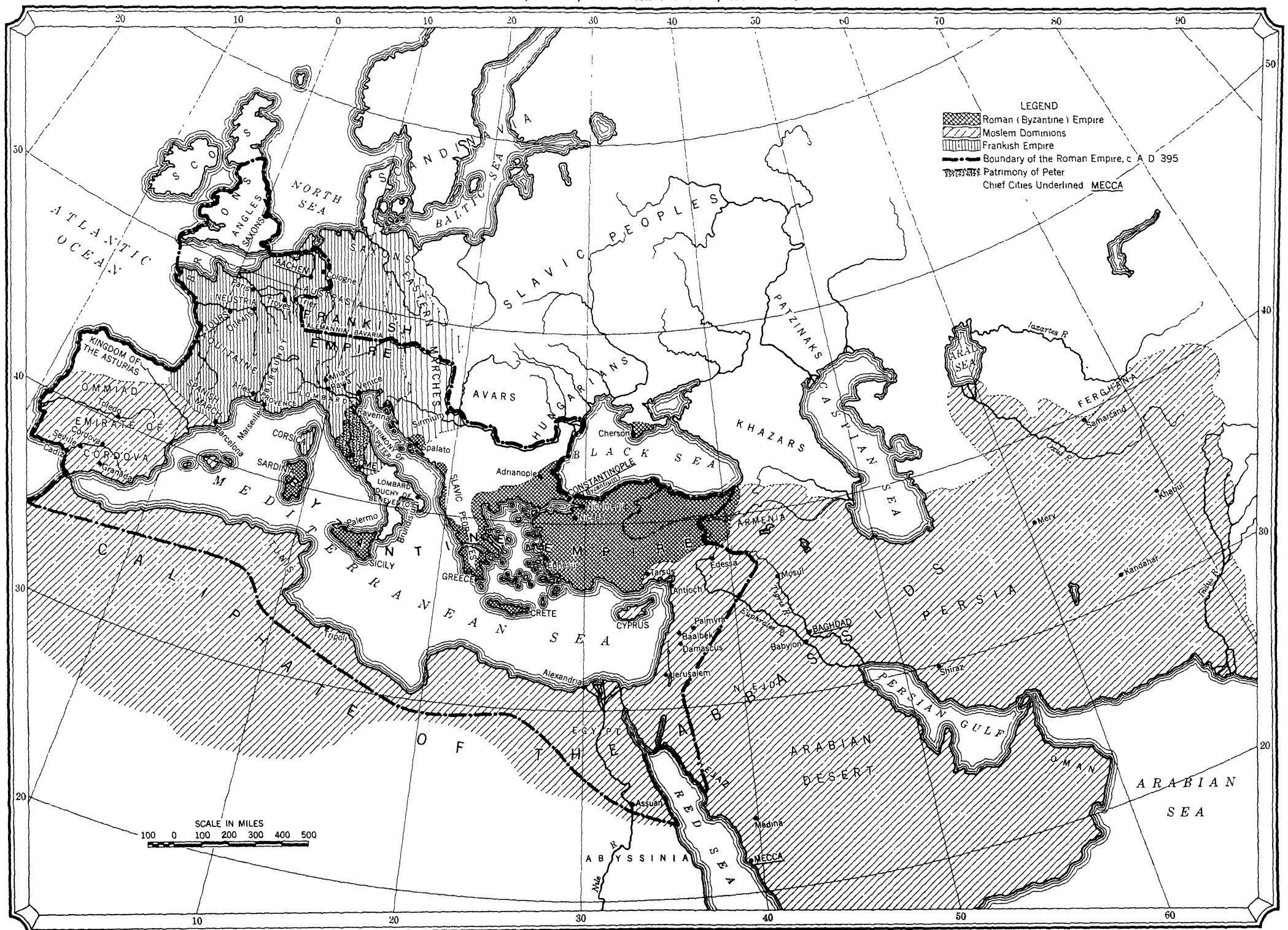
## THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

Thus, by the middle of the eighth century, the Mediterranean world and the oriental countries adjoining it had taken on a new aspect. The former territories of the Roman Empire were partitioned among three great powers, of which the Byzantine Empire, with its capital at Constantinople, the "Second Rome," was most truly heir to the legacy bequeathed by the Cæsars, and the senate and people of Rome. Yet its administration was oriental in origin, its language was Greek, its population contained a large intermixture of Slavic elements unknown to the classical world, and its influence was exerted chiefly over the Slavic kingdoms of a territory which earlier Greeks and Romans had known only vaguely as Scythia.

The oriental provinces of the former Roman Empire, together with the Persian satrapies, the whole territory of the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Median, and Chaldæan Empires, except for Nubia, which maintained its independence as the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, formed the territory of the Caliphate of Baghdad. The Caliphate extended its influence over the independent states in the east through the work of Moslem missionaries,



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as the Byzantine Empire did in the case of its northern neighbors. The Islamic culture which developed in this vast domain was a brilliant synthesis of Persian, Chaldean, and Greek elements, since the poverty of Arabia had precluded the growth of an advanced civilization on their native soil. Much of the cultural inheritance which the Moslems so readily assimilated, however, was the work of related peoples who, like themselves, had successfully abandoned the hardships of the Arabian desert for the richer opportunities of the neighboring lands.

A greater change than this westward shift of the frontier between the Roman and oriental worlds was the cleavage between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The ancient unity of the Mediterranean world was completely destroyed, since Islam and Christendom faced one another on opposing shores. With Spain, Africa, and Syria in Moslem hands, only the northern coast of the Mediterranean remained for the western civilization of mediæval and modern times.

The third great power was that of the Franks, who had added lands across the Rhine to the old Roman provinces of Gaul, and who at the close of the eighth century conquered the Lombards in northern Italy and formed an alliance with the Pope which helped to identify their state with western Christendom. Italy itself, from which the political unity of the Mediterranean world had proceeded, was no longer a single state, but was partitioned between the Franks, the Papacy, the Byzantine Empire, and the Lombard duchies in the south, and was constantly threatened by Moslem piracy.

#### THE SURVIVAL OF ANCIENT CULTURE

The three powers followed divergent lines in artistic development, as well as in language, religion, and political organization. But all drew heavily on the Græco-Roman world for their literature and science. Arabic scholars translated the works of Greek philosophers and scientists and made them, with Babylonian and Persian lore, the basis of active researches which later stimulated the development of western science. Some of the most important treatises of Aristotle were known during the Middle Ages only through the medium of Arabic translations.

Although many ancient texts perished during the recurrent Dark Ages of the Byzantine Empire, others were carefully studied, transcribed, and edited. The character of the Greek language changed, but scholars still read classical Greek, and education was still based on the curriculum of the ancient rhetorical schools. After the ninth century, scarcely any one in the West was trained in Greek aside from the vulgar jargon of trade, but translations of Greek philosophical works made by Boethius, the incorporation of Greek ideas in the theological writings of the Church Fathers, and the scientific materials in the *Natural History* of the Elder Pliny and

in later encyclopædic works, together with Latin epitomes of the epic themes of Homer, preserved much of the Greek legacy for Latin readers, albeit in pedestrian and often garbled form.

Throughout western Christendom, the curriculum of the Roman rhetorical schools was retained and, although the study of theology was the primary purpose of education, the Latin classics were considered the essential foundation for all students. Boethius, Cassiodorus, and other scholars of the fifth and sixth centuries did much to establish the canonical list of authors to be read for the acquisition of both divine and human knowledge, and wrote many textbooks which were widely studied and imitated. The Latin grammar composed by Donatus in the fourth century was the chief textbook used for elementary instruction for over 1400 years. Although the standards of Latin usage were much affected by vulgar dialects and by poor instruction, the more carefully written manuscripts of classical authors afforded models by which the living language of mediæval scholarship and of formal literature was saved from undue vulgarization.

#### ROMAN LAW

From the sixth to the eleventh century, the legal systems of the European states were based on a combination of Germanic tribal customs with the selections made by early German rulers from the Theodosian Code. In the twelfth century, however, interest in the principles of Roman law was stimulated by the study of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian, interest in which was revived at Bologna at a time when the growth of civic and national institutions made it particularly valuable. Ulpian's definition of the absolute power of the emperor as derived from the consent of the people was used to support both royal authority and popular sovereignty, and mediæval respect for Roman precedent lessened the opposition to innovations in government for which a text could be cited from the Code. Although the direct influence of Roman law has decreased in recent years, a true understanding of the political theory on which the constitutions of modern states are based can hardly be gained without some knowledge of the Code of Justinian.

#### THE CONCEPT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN LATER TIMES

One of the most striking survivals of the Roman Empire until very recent times has been the idea of the empire itself. The persistent conviction that there could be but one empire, and that the Roman power was destined to last as long as the present world, led to the belief that the imperial power in the West had not come to an end, but had been transferred to the Franks, first by the coronation of Charlemagne as Augustus in Rome in the year 800, and secondly by that of Otto the Great in 962,

which began the strange history of the Holy Roman Empire. A similar theory in the East led to the identification of Constantinople as the Second Rome; when Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453, Moscow was ready to take over the imperial rule as the Third Rome, which should uphold Christendom against the heathen until the coming of Antichrist: "For two Romes are fallen, but the third stands, and a fourth there shall never be."<sup>10</sup> The priests of the Orthodox Church vigorously fostered this theory, which made the single legitimate Cæsar responsible alike for the welfare of the church and the empire, both of which were universal in theory. In both East and West the idea of the Roman Empire was used by the heads of the church to support the predominance of spiritual over temporal sovereignty, but the Holy Roman Empire often used it as a means of subjecting the papal to the imperial power instead. The rulers of lesser Slavic states, like those of Russia, conceived of their power as an inheritance from that of the Byzantine emperors, and adopted the Roman names and insignia of sovereignty.

Although the idea of Rome lost its real influence in the West with the downfall of the Hohenstauffen emperors, and came to be considered of ill omen in the Slavic reaction in seventeenth-century Russia, it was not finally abandoned until very recent times. After Napoleon put an end to the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, the title persisted in central Europe until the revolution of October, 1918 in Prague, and in Russia until 1917. Still more recently, the concordat between Greece and Turkey in 1930, by which both renounced the idea of reviving the ancient empire with its capital at Constantinople and abandoned the old ideology which had bred so much hostility, laid the ghost of the Roman Empire in the East.<sup>11</sup> More recent attempts to make the Roman Empire the basis for current imperialistic expansion spring from motives of modern policy and lie outside the direct line of the imperial tradition of Rome. (Reading List 115)

In almost every respect, the influence of the Roman Empire itself, and that of the older civilizations from which it sprang and which it incorporated, are less directly felt in our generation than at any earlier time at which scholarship and serious consideration of the fundamental concepts of human history have flourished. Yet the study of the ancient world illuminates by contrast the innovations of modern times, calls to our attention the factors which have dominated human life at all ages, and helps us to understand more clearly the interworking of social and political forces under the stress of man's needs and ambitions.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from a sixteenth-century writer by H. Schaeder, *Moskau das dritte Rom* (Hamburg, 1929), 55.

<sup>11</sup> A. J. Toynbee in the *Survey of International Affairs* for 1930 (London), 167-168, calls the Ottoman Empire "the last and strangest incarnation of Rome."



## READING LISTS

THE FOLLOWING LISTS, numbered for convenient reference in the text, give a brief selection of reading on individual topics. Periodical articles are occasionally listed on topics for which materials are not readily available elsewhere, and a few foreign books are cited in cases where up-to-date accounts are not yet obtainable in English. For translations of classical authors, the Loeb Library, now published by the Harvard University Press, is recommended. Fuller bibliographies will be found in many of the books listed, especially in the *Cambridge Ancient History* and the pertinent articles in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. See also sections C, D, and E of *A Guide to Historical Literature*, edited by G. M. Dutcher and others, Macmillan 1931, for brief critical estimates of important books in the field of ancient history.

In these lists titles marked \* are cited in abbreviated form after their first mention. In secondary works small Roman numerals indicate chapters and Arabic numerals are used for pages. Source materials are given first in each list.

The following abbreviations are used:

BASOR: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

CAH: *Cambridge Ancient History*

EnSS: *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*

### GENERAL REFERENCES

- \**Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. J. B. Bury and others, Cambridge and Macmillan 1923-  
(Vols. I-XI and Plates I-IV in print; Vol. XII and Plates V forthcoming)
- Eyre, E., ed., *European Civilization: its Origin and Development I-II*, Oxford 1934

### TEXTBOOKS

- Caldwell, W. E., *The Ancient World*, Farrar & Rinehart 1937
- Laistner, M. L. W., *A Survey of Ancient History*, Heath 1929
- \*Rostovtzeff, M. I., *A History of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. Oxford 1930, 2 v.
- Trevelyan, A. A., *History of Ancient Civilization I*, Harcourt Brace 1936; II forthcoming

### THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

- Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Times*, 2nd ed. Ginn 1935, i-ix
- \*Hall, H. R., *Ancient History of the Near East*, 9th ed. London 1936
- Laistner, M. L. W., *Greek History*, Heath 1932, i-viii

### GREECE

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- Botsford, G. W., *Hellenic History*, Macmillan 1923
- \*Bury, J. B., *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander*, 2nd ed. Macmillan 1922
- \*Jardé, A., *The Formation of the Greek People*, Knopf 1926
- Laistner, M. L. W., *Greek History*, Heath 1932
- \* " " *A History of the Greek World from 479 to 323 B.C.*, London 1936
- Robinson, C. E., *A History of Greece*, Crowell 1929

#### SOURCE-BOOK

- \*Botsford and Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization*, Columbia 1929

#### CULTURAL HISTORY

- Livingstone, R. W., ed., *Legacy of Greece*, Oxford 1921
- Van Hook, L., *Greek Life and Thought*, 2nd ed. Columbia 1930

## ROME

## GENERAL TEXTBOOKS

- Boak, A. E. R., *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.*, 2nd ed. Macmillan 1929  
 Cary, M., *A History of Rome to the Reign of Constantine*, Macmillan 1935  
 Frank, T., *A History of Rome*, Holt 1923  
 Robinson, C. E., *A History of Rome*, Crowell 1935

## THE REPUBLIC

- \*Frank, T., *Roman Imperialism*, Macmillan 1924  
 \* " " *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* I, Johns Hopkins 1933  
 Heitland, W. E., *The Roman Republic*, Cambridge 1909, 3 v.  
 Mommsen, Th., *The History of Rome*, reprint Scribner 1905, Everyman 1911, 4 v.  
 Scullard, H. H., *The Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.*, London 1935

## THE EMPIRE

- Jones, H. S., *The Roman Empire*, Putnam 1908  
 Nilsson, M., *Imperial Rome*, London 1926  
 \*Rostovtzeff, M. I., *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1926

## SOURCE-BOOK

- Munro, D. C., *Source-Book of Roman History*, Heath 1904

## CULTURAL HISTORY

- Bailey, E. C., ed., *Legacy of Rome*, Oxford 1923  
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## READING LISTS

## I. THE PROGRESS OF ARCHAEOLOGY

- Breasted, J. H., "The New Crusade," *American Historical Review* xxxiv (1929), 215-236  
 CAH I iii, Macalister, "Exploration and Excavation"  
 Casson, S., *Progress of Archaeology*, McGraw-Hill 1935  
 Randall MacIver, D., "Archaeology as a Science," *Antiquity* VII (1933), 5-20  
 Reports of current discoveries and research in the following periodicals:  
     *The American Journal of Archaeology*  
     *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*  
     *Antiquity*  
 \**Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*  
*Illustrated London News*; this journal often has the first published reports of new discoveries, with fine illustrations

## 2. HISTORICAL CONCEPTS

- A list of articles from *EnSS* which deal with important historical concepts; the first part of the article usually treats the ancient period:  
 Civilization (Brinkmann); Commerce (Hammond); Corvée (Esmonin); Culture (Malinowski); Democracy (Laski); Empire (Breysig); Folklore, Magic, Myth (Benedict); Food Supply (Hacker); Government (Shepard); \*Historiography, Ancient (Glover); History (Berr, Lefebvre); Imperialism (Bonn); Land Tenure (Brinkmann); Machines and Tools, Migrations (Feldhaus); Property (Hamilton); Race (Boas); Slavery, Ancient (Westermann); Tribute (Heichelheim); War (Johnson)

## 3. ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY

- East, G., *An Historical Geography of Europe*, London 1935  
 Rose, J. H., *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*, Macmillan 1933, 1-32

Sample, E. C., *Geography of the Mediterranean Region: its Relation to Ancient History*, Holt 1931, esp. ch. i

\*Toynbee, A. J., *A Study of History*, 2nd ed. Oxford 1935, I, 302-318; II, *passim*

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4. EARLY MAN

*EnSS*; Primitive Archaeology (Wissler), Archaeology (Kroeber), Primitive Pottery (Stern)

Burkitt, M. C., *Prehistory*, Cambridge 1921

" " *Our Forerunners*, Holt 1924

Childe, V. G., *The Dawn of European Civilization*, London 1925

\* " " *Man Makes Himself*, London 1936

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Mumford, L., *Technics and Civilization*, Harcourt Brace 1934, 66-85

Osborn, H. F., *Men of the Old Stone Age*, 3rd ed. Scribner 1924, esp. ch. vii

5. RECENT DISCOVERIES IN SYRIA, ASSYRIA, AND PALESTINE

Reports of work at Carmel, Garrod, D., *BASOR* 1931-36; *Antiquity* VII (1934), 133-150; Curwen, *Antiquity* IX (1935), 62-66

Garstang, J., reports on Jericho in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XXII (1935), 143-184; XXIII (1936), 67-100

Mallowan, M. E. L. and Rose, J. C., *Prehistoric Assyria*, Oxford 1933

Schmidt, E. F., *Anatolia through the Ages*, Chicago 1929, and later publications of the Oriental Institute

Speiser, E. A., *Excavations at Tepe Gawra* I, Univ. of Pennsylvania 1935, and reports on Tepe Gawra in *BASOR* LXVI (1937), 2-19

Virolleaud, Ch., *Mission de Ras Shamra*, Paris 1936, and annual reports on Ras Shamra in *Syria* X (1929) and subsequent issues

6. THE DIFFUSION OF CULTURE

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\*Childe, V. G., *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, 3rd ed. London 1935, esp. the concluding chapter

Vayson de Pradenne, A., "The World-wide Expansion of Neolithic Culture," *Antiquity* IX (1935), 305-310

7. EGYPT AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT IN THE PRÉDYNASTIC PERIOD

\*Breasted, J. H., *A History of Egypt*, new ed. Scribner 1924, i-iii

Brunton, G., "The Beginnings of Egyptian Civilization," *Antiquity* III (1929), 456-467

Childe, *Man Makes Himself*, vii-ix

Hall, *Ancient History of Near East*, iii

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\*Moret, A. and Davy, G., *From Tribe to Empire*, Knopf 1926, part II, i

\*Olmstead, A. T., *A History of Palestine and Syria*, Scribner 1931, i-iv

Speiser, E. A., *Mesopotamian Origins*, Univ. of Pennsylvania 1930

Woolley, C. L., *The Sumerians*, Oxford 1929

" " *Ur of the Chaldees*, London 1930

8. EGYPT DURING THE OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOMS

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Breasted, *Egypt*, iv-xi

Erman, A., *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Macmillan 1894 (somewhat antiquated)

Gardiner, A. H., *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig 1909

Glanville, S. P. K., *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, London 1939

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 Moret and Davy, *From Tribe to Empire*, part II, ii; part III, i

#### 9. EGYPTIAN ART AND LITERATURE

Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago 1906-1907, 5 v., collection of historical records in translation  
 Capart, J., *Egyptian Art*, London 1923  
 " " *Lectures on Egyptian Art*, Chapel Hill 1928  
 Erman, A., *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, London 1927

#### 10. EARLY RELIGION AND MAGIC

EnSS; Animism, Magic, Myth, Ritual (Benedict); Cults (Kallen)  
 Breasted, J. H., *The Dawn of Conscience*, Scribner 1933  
 \*Budge, E. A. W., *Babylonian Life and History*, 2nd ed. London 1925, iv-vi  
 Jastrow, M., *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, Putnam 1911

#### 11. SYRIA AND MESOPOTAMIA IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*  
 \*Cameron, G. G., *History of Early Iran*, Chicago 1936, i-v  
 Delaporte, L., *Mesopotamia*, Knopf 1925  
 Gadd, C. J., *History and Monuments of Ur*, London 1929  
 Hall, *Ancient History of Near East*, 179-211  
 Jastrow, M., *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, Lippincott 1915  
 King, L. W., *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, Stokes 1923  
 " " *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, London 1898-1900, 3 v.  
 Olmstead, *Palestine and Syria*, v-ix  
 Smith, S., *Early History of Assyria*, London 1927, iii-v, xi-xii

#### 12. CUNEIFORM LAW

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 Cook, S. A., *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, London 1903  
 Harper, R. E., *The Code of Hammurabi*, Chicago 1904  
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 Marshall, J., *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, London 1931, 3 v., a full account of the first investigations of the site: see especially the introductory chapters in v. I

#### 14. MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS; THE INDO-EUROPEANS

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 CAH II, i-ii, Giles, "Peoples of Asia Minor: Peoples of Europe"  
 Curry, J. C., "Climate and Migrations," *Antiquity* II (1928), 292-307  
 Haddon, A. C., *The Wanderings of Peoples*, Cambridge 1911  
 Toynbee, *Study of History* III, 395-452 on the general problem of nomadic invasions of settled communities  
 On the place of migrations in world history see especially A. and E. Kulischer, *Kriegs- und Wanderzüge: Weltgeschichte als Völkerbewegung*, Berlin 1932  
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 Charpentier, J., "The Original Home of the Indo-Europeans," *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies* IV (London 1926-28), 147-170  
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 Jârdés, *Formation of Greek People*, 55-77  
 Myres, J. L., *Who Were the Greeks?* Berkeley 1930

15. THE EARLY PEOPLES OF ITALY

- \*Homo, L., *Primitive Italy and the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism*, Knopf 1926, 23-98  
 Randall MacIver, D., *Iron Age in Italy*, Oxford 1927  
 " " *Italy before the Romans*, Oxford 1928  
 " " *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford 1924  
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 " *Kleinasien*, Munich 1933  
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*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed. 1929; Hittites (Hrozny)

17. THE HURRI AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

- Albright, W. F., "Western Asia in the 20th Century B.C.: the Archives of Mari," *BASOR* LXVII (1937), 26-30; cf. *BASOR* LXIV (1935), 23 ff.  
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 Meek, T. J., *Hebrew Origins*, Harper 1936

18. THE CRETAN CIVILIZATION

- Baikie, J., *The Sea Kings of Crete*, 4th ed. London 1926  
 Evans, A., *The Palace of Minos*, Macmillan 1921-35, 4 v.; the full account of the excavations at Cnossus, magnificently illustrated  
 Glotz, G., *The Aegean Civilization*, Knopf 1927  
 Hall, *Ancient History of Near East*, 31-56  
 " *Aegean Archaeology*, New York 1915

19. THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

- CAH* II iii-viii, Breasted on the Egyptian Empire  
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 Moret and Davy, *Tribe to Empire*, part III, ii-iii  
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*Homeric Hymns*  
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30. GREEK COLONIZATION

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 Richter, G. M. A., *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 2nd ed. Yale 1930

33. GREEK PAINTING AND POTTERY

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 Richter, G. M. A., *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, Yale 1923

34. THE GREEK RENAISSANCE

- Poems of Sappho, Alcæus, Archilochus, and others; note especially the collection in *Lyra Graeca*, ed. J. M. Edmonds, Loeb Library, Harvard 1922-27, 3 v.  
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 Herodotus, *Histories*, for accounts of the tyrants and their courts; see index s. v.  
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*EnSS: Tyranny* (Watkins)  
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